Architecture in the Balkans

FROM DIOCLETIAN TO SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT

Slobodan Ćurčić

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS • NEW HAVEN AND LONDON

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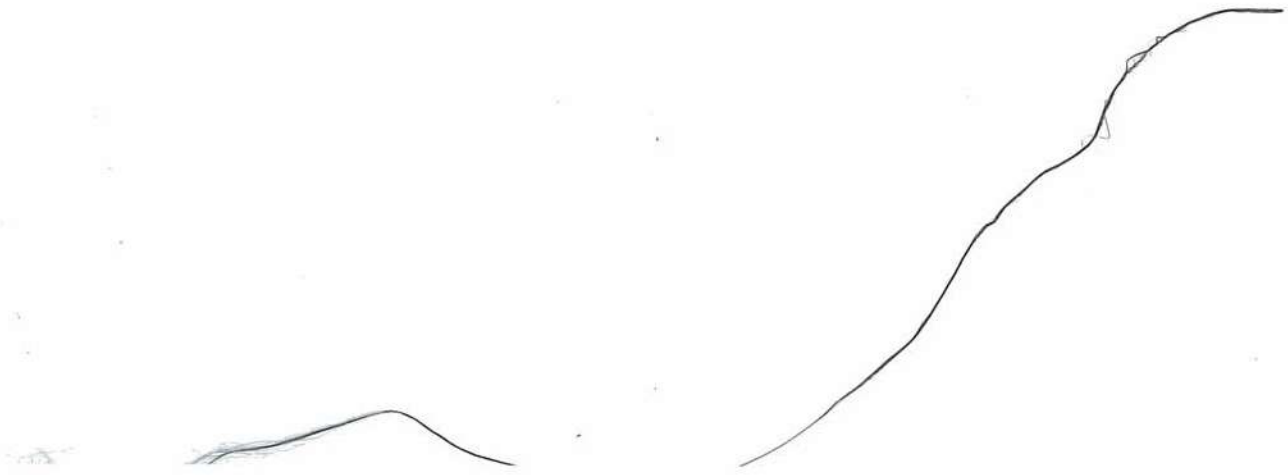

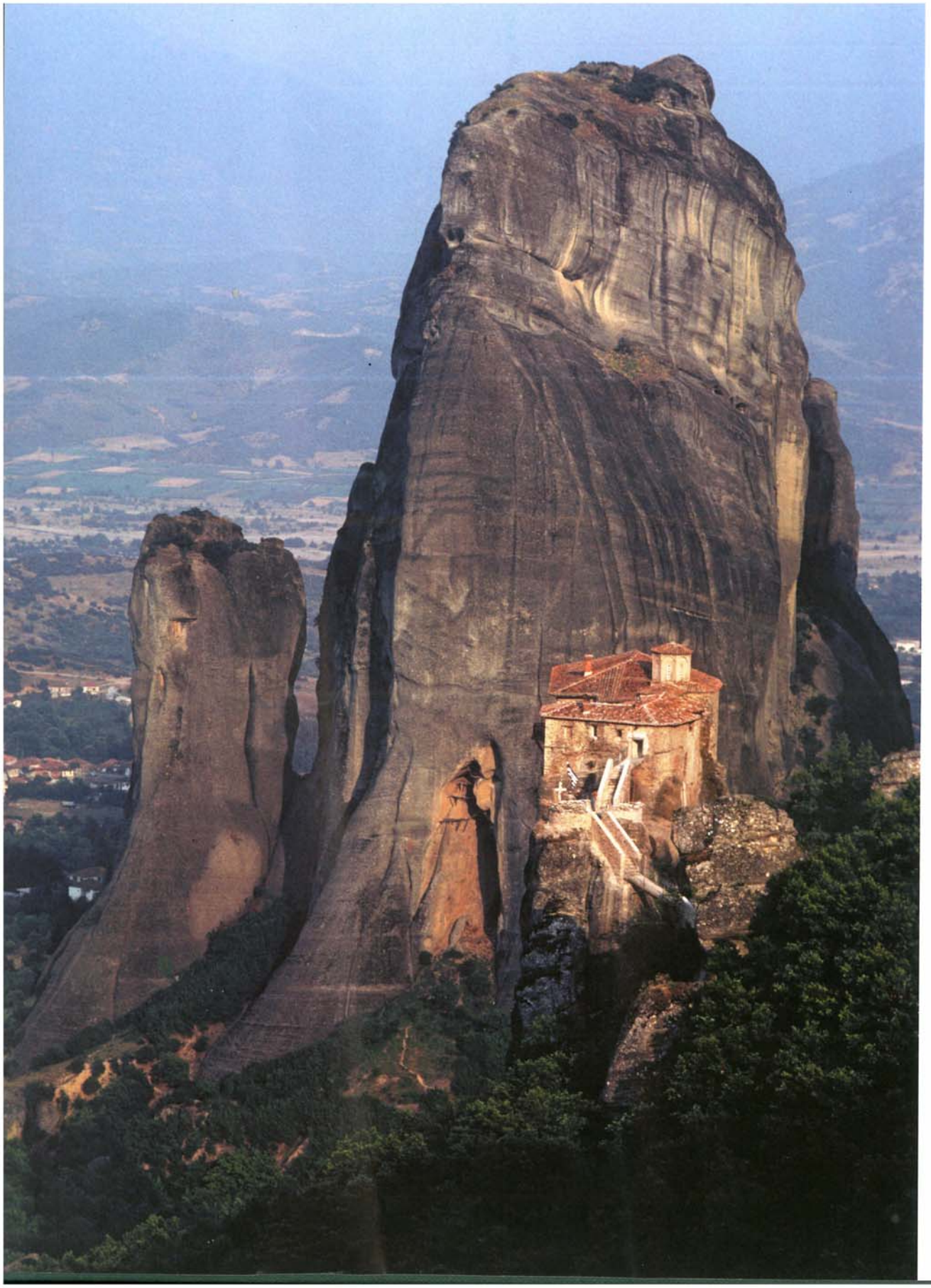

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Endpapers Constantinople, Binbirdirek Cistern: 19th-century interior view, lithograph (detail of fig. 87A)
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PREFACE

It is essentially impossible to say exactly how and when this project began. That it lasted many years is a truism barely worth noting. In some sense, it would not be a gross exaggeration to suggest that the making of this book was actually a task of a lifetime. Built into it, inextricably, are components of my knowledge and professional experiences acquired throughout my adult life. Most of these can no longer be individually identified or independently assessed. My first serious study travels undertaken as a student of architecture in the early 1960s, for example, were already predominantly focused on the Balkans. Imperceptibly, perhaps even subconsciously, the laying of the foundations of what is presented here must certainly have begun already then. My training as an architect, and my subsequent training as an architectural historian, continued adding to the then still unrecognizable form of the present construction. My graduate studies and the writing of my doctoral dissertation, ultimately published as a book entitled *Gra anica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park and London, 1979), further deepened my interest in the region and its architectural heritage. In those formative years (1968–1971) I had an incalculable benefit of having been a student of the late Richard Krautheimer at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. His intellectual impact, profound knowledge, personal trust and support form the cornerstone of my education and my professional success. It was he who prophetically remarked to me on more than one occasion that my initial deep interest and commitment to Late Byzantine architecture would some day be, if not superseded, then certainly expanded in the direction of late antiquity. The wisdom of his prediction has been born out time and again during the later years of my professional career. This book, it is my hope, encapsulates the spirit of that notion better than any further introductory words could.

Another individual whom I wish to remember as someone who played a key role in my formative years as a student interested in architecture in the Balkans was the late George Stričević, at the time Professor at Barnard College and Columbia University in New York, and subsequently at the University of Cincinnati. His extensive knowledge of late antique and medieval architecture in the Balkans, combined with his creative thinking, enthusiasm, openness and generosity in exchanging ideas, as well as personal friendship were a continuous source of inspiration for me until his untimely death in 1999.

My first conscious thinking specifically related to this project began in the late 1970s, when I was invited to write a volume on *Art and Architecture in the Balkans. An Annotated Bibliography* for a series entitled *Reference Publications in Art History: Medieval Art*

and Architecture, by Herbert L Kessler, the editor of the series. Collecting information for that book, published in 1984, was truly an eye-opening experience that led to my first realization of the shortcomings and flaws in scholarship dealing with the rich material at hand. It is particularly telling, I believe, that in the bibliographical material I was able to collect at the time, of the nearly 2000 entries only *thirty-two*, or 1.5% specifically addressed issues concerning the region of the Balkans as a whole.

The first concrete step toward the making of the present book took place in 1990–91 when, as a recipient of an IREX Fellowship, I was able to spend a year living and traveling in the Balkans, discussing the problems with numerous colleagues and, in general, laying the groundwork for the eventual writing of the present volume. The year 1990–91 was far more decisive than I, or anyone else at the time, could have realized. By the summer of 1991 the process of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia had begun in earnest, starting a spiral of violence that would continue through much of the decade that was to follow. My easy, unobstructed travels in various parts of what was then still a single state of Yugoslavia during the fall of 1990 and the spring and summer of 1991, were conducted in the last possible moment. In fact, some of the territories I was in the position to visit then remain generally difficult of access even as of this writing. The turmoil that engulfed the central part of the Balkans in the 1990s, paradoxically, solidified my commitment to the present project.

The next step of enormous importance in my development came with the opportunity to co-organize with Evangelia Hadjitryphonos an exhibition entitled *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, held in Thessaloniki in 1997. The organization of this exhibition involved close collaboration with numerous scholars from different parts of the Balkans and beyond. Co-editing the catalogue, published under the same title, sharpened my perception of many issues ranging from historiographical problems to new material that I needed to take into account. Fortunately, as challenges mounted, my interest in the project also grew. Writing the text over the years made me think deeper and harder about the problems many of which, seemingly impossible to resolve in the past, gradually began to make more sense. It was that particular realization, recurring as it did on several occasions that in no uncertain terms re-affirmed my conviction that I was on the right course.

The process of organizing the material and the writing of the book came without the convenience of any precedents that I could rely on. In carrying out these tasks I quickly became aware of the fact that I was truly 'on my own'. Such a realization may have its stimulating moments, but it can also bring about periods of frustration and uncertainties. It is at such crossroads that one begins to search for advice and encouragement. I have been extremely privileged in having had the understanding and support from many friends and colleagues who generously responded to my special pleas. It is with great personal pleasure and gratitude that I mention them here in alphabetical order: Elka Bakalova, Charalambos Bouras, Evangelos Chrysos, Slobodan Dušanić, Clive Foss, Oleg Grabar, Petre Guran, Johannes Hahn, Asen Kirin, Thomas Leisten, Heath Lowry, Svetlana Popović, and Alice-Mary Talbot. Each of them generously agreed to read some part of the text related to their special fields of interest. Beyond the help received at certain critical moments from the mentioned individuals, I had the extraordinary good fortune of having benefited from the continuous advice and support of Peter Brown, an esteemed Princeton colleague. He alone has read the text of the entire book, as it evolved over the years. His unselfish, open-minded readiness to read about the history of architecture in the Balkans within a chronological frame stretching well beyond the limits of late antiquity even by his own standards, is a form of support that exceeds my ability to adequately acknowledge. The writing of this book became a true intellectual challenge in no small measure thanks to Peter Brown's continuous wise counsel.

Acknowledging colleagues who have been directly involved in reading parts of the text was a relatively simple task. Acknowledging individuals who have made contributions in different ways is far more difficult. Nonetheless, I would like to single out, in alphabetical order, several colleagues and friends to whom I owe special thanks for various different personal contributions: Zeynep Ahunbay, Charalambos Bakirtzis, Nikolaos Bakirtzis, Stefan Boiadzhiev, Nikos Charkiolakis, Lois Drewer, Smilja Marjanovi -Dusanić, John Haldon, Olivera Kandić, Vojislav Korać, Manolis Korres, Alexei Lidov, Ljubomir Maksimović, Stavros Mamaloukos, Milka Čanak-Medić, Nikolaos Moutsopoulos, Robert Ousterhout, Urs Peschlow, Danica Popović, Marko Popović, Jean-Michel Spieser, Cecil L. Striker, Gojko Subotić, Marica Šuput, Piro Thomo, Miloje Vasić, Panayotis Vocotopoulos, and Mirjana Živojinović. Far greater in number would be the list of individuals whose input cannot not be specifically recorded or quantified. Discussions, debates, reviewing of new material, comments expressed in passing, procuring of illustrations, all are part of the making of an enormous mosaic in which each small cube has its significance, and yet, as such cannot be individually described. It is with gratitude that I acknowledge collectively scores of friends, colleagues, former and present students who here remain unnamed, for bearing with me over the years and for having shared willingly aspects of their knowledge and wisdom that, in one way or another, may have contributed to the making of this book.

Some of my close colleagues and friends, whose knowledge and counsel I deeply cherished, sadly, have passed away during

the long years of the book's making. With a particular sense of gratitude I remember instrumental discussions that I had in the early stages of this project with the late Vojislav J. Djurić. The welcome he extended to me in Belgrade in 1990–91, at the very beginning of my work on the book itself, played a major role in its initial conceptual mapping. I also benefited from several discussions with the late Petar Miljković-Pepek during my visit in Skopje in 1996 and his visit to Thessaloniki in 1997. Others on the list of departed colleagues and friends to whom I am indebted in various ways include: Jelisaveta Stanojević-Allen, Gordana Babić, Laskarina Bouras, Zaga Gavrilović, Sotiris Kissas, Doula Mouriki, Petar Petrović, and Vladislav Popović, all of whose personal support and friendship live on in my memory while their published scholarly works continue to provide me with sources of inspiration.

The quality of the book before the reader owes a great deal to the numerous drawings that were specifically made for this purpose. Two individuals worked on this material tirelessly over the years. The work on the drawings began in earnest in the mid-1990s with a major involvement by Joel Kelley, architect, then a student in the School of Architecture at Princeton University, and who also continued working on this task for two years following his graduation. He was succeeded in his task in 2003 by Jelena Bogdanović, now a junior professor, and at the time a graduate student in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, who until 2006 finished a vast number of drawings and also ably managed the database of all illustrations in the book. She was an invaluable general assistant and an enthusiastic supporter during the three critical years, as the project was nearing its completion. The initial development of a database of all the illustrations was due to Nicola Camerlenghi, at the time also a graduate student in the Department of Art Archaeology at Princeton University. Digitization of all photographs and slides was done by Jelena Bogdanović, David Connolly, Katherine Marsengill, Ljubomir Milanović, and Milica Wainwright. The printing of black-and-white photographs from my own negatives was the work of David Connolly and Danica Ćurčić, while Shari Kenfield ably handled the acquisition of numerous illustrations from other sources, as well as permissions for their publication. In the final stages of completion of the work on illustrations the help of Dijana Škori -Andrijanić, Eve Dova, Katherine Marsengill and Brent Adams became crucial. I had the good fortune of Eve Dova being on hand in the final proof stages of the book when a number of mistakes detected in a few drawings could still be corrected. Collectively, the work of all of the mentioned individuals is an inseparable part of this book without which its materialization could not have taken place, and I thank them all for their input. I have also benefited from having had the opportunity to take advantage of the great photographic collection at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. There, I am grateful to Natalia Teteriatnikov, the former curator of the photo collection, for her help, and for the permission that, through her, was extended to me for the use of the relevant photographs in the publication of this book.

The geographic maps, specially produced for this occasion, constitute anther important aspect of the book. After several years of searching for an individual or individuals that could carry out this complex task, I finally had the good fortune of solving the problem with the help of my colleague, Dr. Danica Popović, of the Balkan Institute of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Belgrade. In the late 2007, she brought me into contact with Mr. Dragoljub Štrbac of the Geographic Institute "Jovan Cvijić" in Belgrade. As a result of an exceptionally fruitful collaboration during 2008 and 2009, Mr. Štrbac was able to produce a major database from which all maps in this book were generated. The ten maps (Introduction and Chapters 1–9) are the fruits of that enterprise. Mrs. Mirela Butirić, also member of the Geographic Institute "Jovan Cvijić", capably produced the maps in their final graphic form. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Štrbac for his interest, enthusiasm, and outstanding professional input, and to him and Mrs. Butirić, for having produced the maps, possibly the first of their kind in the Balkans, using the most advanced technological tools and highest professional standards.

Over the years I benefited in a major way as a recipient of several fellowships that provided me with major opportunities without which this book would not have materialized, certainly not in its present form. In 1990–91, at the very beginning of my project, I received an IREX (International Research and Exchange) Fellowship for Eastern Europe that enabled me to spend a full year in the former Yugoslavia. In 1996–97, I was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship that enabled me to spend a year, this time mostly in Greece, but also with invaluable opportunities for trips to Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey. In the spring of 2000 I had the good fortune of having received a Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks that provided me with an opportunity to spend a semester in Washington D.C. working intensively on my book at a critical time when the development of certain concepts benefited in a major way from a superb library, as well as from the discussions with colleagues present there at the time. In the summer of 2002, I had yet another opportunity of being in residence at Dumbarton Oaks, this time accompanying my wife, Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, who was a recipient of a Dumbarton Oaks Summer Fellowship at the time.

In addition to the generous grants received from the mentioned institutions, the making of this book also benefited from substantial additional grants. My year at Dumbarton Oaks in

Spring 2000 was made financially possible by a special subvention from the Dean of the Faculty of Princeton University. The actual making of the book would not have been possible without the continuous general and generous support for travel purposes and for the making of the drawings and photographs for the book received over the years from the Spears Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology. Ultimately, the production of the book in its present form would have been unthinkable without a major grant received from the Publications Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. The understanding and the constructive support received from the two successive chairmen of the Department of Art and Archaeology – Patricia Fortini Brown and Hal Foster – have played an enormously important role that I greatly appreciate. Also at Princeton, over the years I have benefited in more ways than I can possibly account for from my affiliation with the Program in Hellenic Studies. The Program has truly been my 'intellectual home' of the highest quality. Associations with innumerable visiting colleagues over the years facilitated by the Program have made the rich intellectual environment of Princeton itself even richer. The Program's Executive Director, Dimitri Gondicas has been an unfailing supporter. No words can adequately express the extent of my heartfelt gratitude to him and to the Program that he has been administering with skill and efficiency over the years.

In the present-day publishing world polarized by the enchantment for dazzling "coffee-table" books on the one hand, and short art history books "with a message" on the other, in an environment haunted by stringent demands for economic viability, finding a publisher for this book was a particular challenge. I have had singularly good fortune in having had the book accepted for publication by Yale University Press in London, presently the pre-eminent publishing house of scholarly books on art and architecture in the English-speaking world. Gillian Malpass, the fine-arts editor, extended an inordinate amount of attention to me as an author. Her devotion and goodwill have made the ultimate stages of the making of this volume, a constructive as well as pleasant experience. The production of the book was carried out under her supervision in collaboration with her outstanding colleague Emily Lees, to whom I am in special debt; throughout the entire process she was my steady contact, ever accessible, infinitely patient and helpful. The extraordinary volume of the task brought into the picture several more individuals, most notably Elizabeth McWilliams, but also Sarah Faulks, Delia Gaze, Barry Kew and Meg Davies, who contributed fundamentally at different stages of the lengthy enterprise, and whose input I gratefully acknowledge. In the 'shadows' of the entire long process involving Yale University Press, remain the anonymous readers, whose favorable reports opened the way to the book's acceptance for publication, to whom I also extend my sincere thanks, despite the limitations of their anonymity.

Consciously embarking on this project two decades ago meant starting a voyage into the unknown with all of its exciting prospects, but also with all the potential risks and uncertainties. I was at a great advantage of having always had at my side members of my family and friends who had faith in me and in my ability to survive this long and arduous journey. Not all of my colleagues, however, were unequivocally sympathetic, or so convinced of the realistic prospects of the project as I envisioned it. Some, in fact, expressed unconcealed doubts that it could ever be carried out. I listened to them carefully, and seriously weighed their cautionary remarks. In the final analysis, I am glad that I saw things differently and that I was not deterred from moving ahead. In this long process a group of colleagues and friends with common interests in the history and culture of the Balkans began to form. Initially, the group gathered under a modest umbrella entitled AIMOS (Society for the Study of History and Preservation of Architecture in the Balkans), formed in conjunction with the planning and making of the mentioned exhibition in Thessaloniki, in 1997. Co-publishing the catalogue of that exhibition and its subsequent taking over of the role of the publisher of *Mnemeio & Perivallon* (Monument and Environment), a major Greek journal devoted to the study of the history and preservation of architecture and man-made environment, has given AIMOS a purpose and a base upon which its various activities now rest. I have greatly benefited from my associations with this group, whose membership and activities continue to flourish.

Years spent on my own project have unquestionably been taxing. By relentlessly devoting my time and energy to the project's needs, I have unavoidably neglected many other facets of my own life. Some of these acts of negligence were committed consciously but some, I fear, may have been perpetrated unwittingly. My sincere hope is that any such acts of my neglect have not unduly penalized those closest to me, for whom such treatment would have been thoroughly undeserved. The person to whom this book owes the most, without any question, is Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, my wife, colleague, and true companion during the particularly trying years of my life. Her spirit and support have made these very years also the happiest ones for me. She has been involved in the making of this book in many different ways – as a reader and critic of its various parts and, above all, as a person whose faith in the project itself never wavered, thus providing me with an inexhaustible source of inspiration and determination. Sharing the love of architecture in the Balkans with her has been singularly the greatest joy of my professional career. The dedication of the book to her, therefore, is but a small measure of my deepest gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

Writing the introduction for this book is a daunting task, not because of the book's size, but because its chronological and geographic parameters are not those of a conventional account. The book aims at discussing developments in architecture over a span of twelve-and-a-half centuries, from late antiquity to the dawn of the modern era, while the territory it proposes to investigate is that of the Balkan peninsula, the southeastern corner of Europe. As such, it is charting a new field of investigation, for there has never been an attempt to undertake such a task before. Writing this introduction, then, inevitably means facing an intimidating challenge of anticipating, if not meeting, all the expectations and questions that will understandably arise in readers' minds. Defining its all-embracing parameters, therefore, seems to be the imperative point of departure.

Books about the Balkans have abounded within the past two decades. This sudden spree of "interest" in the region was brought about by the regional drama that began to unfold in the early 1990s and whose effects are still being felt. Focused on the exceptionally violent disintegration of the former state of Yugoslavia and its aftermath, much of what has been written has little positive to say about the region. The very name – "the Balkans" – in fact, has become virtually synonymous with all things negative.[1] Words – such as "balkanization" – coined to signify divisiveness, using petty, devious, and violent methods for resolving political issues, have gained considerable currency and have tended to color perceptions of the Balkans, even in matters that have nothing to do with current politics. "The Balkans" in the minds of Western readers now evokes little more than a bleak territory inhabited by uncivilized peoples in a remote part of the world whose precise geographic location, identity and historical significance remain murky at best.[2]

Seen against such a gloomy background, the concept of historically significant architecture in this area may appear as a paradox of sorts. The very notions of culture, of creative productivity, and of rich historical heritage have become mentally antithetical to the understanding of the Balkans itself. If there is any general sense of architectural heritage in the region that may be operative at all, most likely it is a negative one, reflecting the sense of recent destruction. Some may remember the Balkans by the well-publicized drama of the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar in 1993. At the same time, few will readily connect the name of the Balkans with some of the very greatest architectural achievements of all times – the Parthenon, or Hagia Sophia. Those who may remember such facts probably perceive these buildings as isolated phenomena, as museum-like treasures placed on exalted pedestals, and not as being integrally

Map of the Balkans

linked with the region that produced them and to which they belong.

Recent trends in writing about the Balkans, however, must not obscure the fact that some significant contributions to regional history were initially penned in Western languages. Written some time ago, however, they have become vastly outnumbered by recent works, almost exclusively focused on the current political situation with a generally negative outlook. Furthermore, the older contributions that may have helped shape a more positive view of the region have largely remained without a follow-up in Western historiography, thus causing critical discontinuity in patterns of thought and consciousness-building. The unfortunate fact remains that "negativism" as it pertains to the subject of the Balkans has always been a more fertile soil for the planting of new seeds than any of the alternatives, and that it has had a far greater longevity than any of the positive initiatives. One must also not overlook the fact that a tradition of less than favorable, not to say outright prejudicial, ways of viewing the Balkans in the West had taken a firm root long before the most recent unfortunate developments.[3] Nurtured by clichés made popular in literature, with satirical and ironic overtones, the understanding of the Balkans has been colored by a deep sense of "otherness" that placed that corner of Europe – at least mentally speaking – well outside Europe's own boundaries.[4] This point of view was substantially reinforced by a controversial book written by an eminent political scientist, which acquired considerable currency at the height of the confrontations in the former Yugoslavia, but whose legacy, one may hope, will have proved relatively short-lived.[5]

The Geographic Setting

For our purposes, the reader must be alerted from the outset that the term "the Balkans" as used throughout this book has only one meaning – that of a geographic area. All other definitions of the Balkans, of which several are currently in circulation (e.g., political, cultural), have consciously been avoided. The tendency in Western thinking, for example, to draw lines that divide the region into its "acceptable" and "unacceptable" parts – which in scholarship has spun off such phrases as "Greece *and* the Balkans"[6] – will be rejected in our context. Our task will be the examination of architectural developments over a period of time spanning more than a millennium within the Balkans *as a single space* within clearly defined parameters. This "physical" definition of the Balkans poses the need to define these geographic parameters in precise terms. A pioneer of modern regional geography, Jovan Cvijić, undertook that task nearly a century ago.[7] Cvijić's method of studying geography included a major anthropological component – he referred to his approach as *anthropogeography* – which, at times, much like modern cultural geography, tended to blur the precise understanding of what should be considered to constitute the physical space of the Balkans and what not. Despite this, Cvijić did manage to come up with a definition that is generally still considered acceptable, if not necessarily always for the same reasons he used (Map a).

According to Cvijić's definition, the Balkan peninsula is the easternmost of three large peninsular formations that jut into the Mediterranean basin from the southern fringes of Europe; the other two are the Iberian and the Apennine peninsulas. The continental mass of the Balkan peninsula is defined by the Adriatic and the Ionian seas on its west side, by the Mediterranean, the Aegean, and the Sea of Marmara in the south, and by the Black Sea on its east side. To the north, two major rivers – the Sava and the Danube – delineate its land parameter. The westernmost part of this line of demarcation requires following the Sava Dolinka, one of the two tributaries that make up the Sava, to its source and linking that point to the source of the River Soča. From there, the line follows the Soča south to the town of Gorizia, from where an imaginary straight line extending to the Gulf of Trieste encloses the northwestern corner of the peninsula. At the east end of the demarcation line, the Danube, flowing generally in an easterly direction, makes an abrupt turn to the north near the site of Silistra, whence it continues in a northerly direction for approximately 160 kilometres, before turning east again and, fanning into an enormous delta, empties into the Black Sea. The geographic area to the southeast of this lowest section of the Danube constitutes a region presently known as Dobruja.

The relative ease with which the continental parameters of the Balkan Peninsula have thus been defined is in sharp contrast to the problems that arise in relation to some of the islands in the seas surrounding it. On the western side of the Balkan peninsula, the islands are all neatly clustered along the Dalmatian coast and the western coast of Greece, thus forming a natural extension of the continental mass of the peninsula. On the south side the situation is quite different, and here my definition of "physical space" briefly parts company with Cvijić's "anthropogeographic approach." The Aegean islands form several clusters spread across the entire sea. Some of these islands, as is the case with the Cycladic group, with Euboea, Thassos, and Samothrace, to name the main ones, similarly form natural "extensions" of the Balkan continental mass. This cannot be said of the other islands, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, Kos, Rhodes, etc., that, equally naturally, constitute "extensions" of the continental mass of Asia Minor. Needless to say, this does present a problem. The Aegean islands, as is well known, since time immemorial have been veritable "stepping stones" in the processes of cultural transmission. Linked as they were to established trade routes, they

often played crucial roles in cultural developments. For the purposes of this book, these islands have been included whenever developments associated with them provided clear links with larger webs of related developments in the Balkans. A special case is that of the island of Crete. The largest land mass in the center of the eastern half of the Mediterranean Sea, Crete, marks the southernmost, albeit remote fringe of the Balkan Peninsula. On account of its isolation, Crete constitutes a virtual world of its own. Its monuments, as in the case of the easternmost Aegean islands, were taken into account only selectively, without any attempt at discussing any of the related developments comprehensively. The ad hoc "compromises" made in these contexts were deemed necessary, given the overall conception of the book.

Difficulties in establishing "clean lines" of demarcation embody the frustrations that scholars dealing with the geography of the Balkans have had to face long since. Certain physical misconceptions about the Balkan peninsula have their distant origins in Roman times. Thus, Strabo and, following him, Ptolemy refer to a mountain range that roughly bisects the Balkan peninsula along a line that stretches from east to west. Strabo refers to it as "Catena mundi" (the crest of the world). Remarkably, this imaginary mountain range, actually composed of several existing mountain ranges that are *not* continuous, recurs in geographic works and on maps of the Balkans until well into the nineteenth century. The Romans perceived the "Catena mundi" not merely as an ominous physical barrier; to them, it was a dividing line between the civilized world to the south and the barbarian one to the north. This "geography of imagination" may have been informed by the concept of impregnable *limes*, reflecting the perpetual desire of the Romans to keep the uncivilized "barbarians" at bay.

The eastern part of the Roman imaginary "Catena mundi" was a mountain range known as Haimos (or Aimos) to the ancient Greeks. Today referred to as Stara Planina, this range was ascribed a generic name – Balkan (meaning "mountain" in Turkish) – by the Ottomans. Early Western travelers in the region apparently embraced the term and began to apply it to the region as a whole. The early nineteenth-century German geographer A. Zeune is credited with the actual introduction of the name *Balkanhalbinsel* (Balkan peninsula) into the scholarly literature.[8] Subsequent efforts – motivated by a variety of factors – to change the name of the peninsula have all failed.

The problem of the spatial demarcation of the Balkans is further complicated by yet another matter – that of the modern state boundaries. In developing the structure of this book, every effort was made to steer away from the use of modern political boundaries as a means of organizing and presenting the material. Within the time frame of my writing such an approach has been vindicated, if only for pragmatic reasons. At the outset of this project in 1990–91, there were five states within the geographical area of the Balkans; today there are nine, while various further disintegration processes are still brewing. The real decision to avoid associating the historical material with modern political entities, however, was informed by very different, conceptual reasons. Virtually none of the modern states – neither those extant around 1920, nor those on the map around 1940, nor the ones we knew in 1990 – matched any comparable political formations in the past. Relying on modern political boundaries, as scholars in all Balkan countries commonly do, inevitably leads to misinterpretations – conscious or subconscious – and misunderstandings that this study deliberately attempts to avoid. We will return to this issue below.

Because of the decision to use a geographic notion of area as the defining frame of reference, other, related choices that had to be made may also be brought into question. Thus, for example, certain broad cultural frames of reference had to be consciously broken down, if the notion of "geographic area" were to be respected. One of the results of this line of thinking was the exclusion of Walachia and Moldavia (present-day Romania) from consideration in the book. Culturally, these two late medieval entities were intimately linked with contemporary developments in the Balkans. So strong and so important were these ties that in the minds of many scholars Romania must be considered a "Balkan state." In order to maintain the strictly geographical definition of the Balkans as described above, however, a different choice had to be made, respecting the Danube–Sava line as the northern frontier of the peninsula. As a result of the application of the "geographic criterion," only a portion of Romanian territory – its province of Dobruja – is actually included in this study, because it is located on the right (southeastern) bank of the lower Danube. Similarly, the inclusion of Turkey is limited only to its territories *on* the Balkan peninsula. The exclusion of Asia Minor, of course, implies severance of certain cultural phenomena from their larger natural parameters over long historical periods. At least one of the potential problems in our context was "solved" by the breakup of the former state of Yugoslavia. Slovenia, one of its former constituent republics, has become an independent state. Connected to the Balkans neither geographically nor culturally, Slovenia has not been included in this study. Ultimately, it is our hope that the main objectives of this book will vindicate all the difficult choices that had to be made in the process of its conceptual framing.

The interior of the Balkan peninsula is dominated by several mountain ranges, while its major flatlands are organized around the periphery – the Pannonian Plain to the north, the Lower Danube basin to the east, and the Maritsa river basin to the southeast. Several major mountain ranges are spread through the

region, while other minor mountainous formations fill out much of the intervening space. The Dinaric mountain range stretches from the northwestern corner of the peninsula along the Adriatic littoral as far as the delta of the River Drim in north Albania. A string of independent mountains – Šara, Koritnik, Korab, Galičica, and Pindos – stretches south from the region of Kosovo to the Gulf of Corinth, while the Taygetos (also Taïgetos) Mountain may be considered its southernmost extremity in the Peloponnisos. The Stara Planina (Balkan) mountain range stretches eastward from the river Timok, in eastern Serbia, to the Black Sea coast, paralleling the course of the Danube to its north. Another major mountain range, the Rodopi (also Rhodopē), runs parallel to the Stara Planina in southern Bulgaria and northern Greece, stretching from the Struma (Strymon) river basin in the west to the Maritsa (Meriç, Evros) river basin in the east. Innumerable smaller mountains and hills fill out much of the remaining territory of the Balkans; arable flatlands and passable valleys constitute proportionally only a very small portion of the territory. Major transportation routes crossed the Balkans, as they still do, along the strategic river valleys. The main route links Istanbul (Constantinople) with Belgrade and central Europe beyond, via the cities of Edirne (ancient Adrianople), Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis), Sophia (ancient Serdica), and Niš (ancient Naisus), along the rivers Ergene, Maritsa, Nišava, and Morava. The second major road links the city of Thessaloniki on the Aegean coast to Belgrade via the cities of Skopje (ancient Scupi) and Niš along the rivers Axios (Vardar) and Morava. The third major route – the Via Egnatia – crosses the peninsula in the east–west direction, linking Istanbul with Dürres (ancient Dyrrachion) via the cities of Ferrai, Kavala (ancient Christoupolis), Thessaloniki, Bitola (ancient Herakleia Lynkestis; also Heraclea Lyncestis), and Ohrid (ancient Lychnidos). Since antiquity, the urban population has been concentrated along the sea coasts, as well as along the main navigable rivers. Having discovered the wealth of natural resources in the Balkans, the Romans populated its interior as well, confronting in the process the indigenous settlers in the region, mostly the Illyrians and Thracians, who were driven into the inaccessible mountainous areas beyond Roman reach. Imperial control patterns introduced and maintained by the Romans would continue under the Byzantine and ultimately the Ottoman empires. Thus, the geographic makeup of the Balkan peninsula played a major role in the perpetual struggle for regional control between the imperial powers – the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Ottomans in succession – and the indigenous populations, the Illyrians and Thracians, and later the Slavs.

These idiosyncratic conditions, substantially predicated on geographic factors, have played a major role in architectural production. Ancient cities in the Balkans, with the exception of a few isolated buildings, have generally disappeared from the scene. Our knowledge of these conglomerations is dependent almost exclusively on archaeological excavation. The Roman propensity to build their cities in low-lying areas, close to major communication routes, was driven by the functional utility of such establishments. From as early as the third century AD, it became clear, however, that such cities were at risk from "barbarian" invaders, whose exclusive goal was plunder. The initial response was a major investment in the building of walls around existing cities and their inclusion in the construction of new ones. New urban entities became considerably smaller, were more widely scattered, and increasingly began to be built on higher terrain, which, at least theoretically, made them less vulnerable to sudden attacks. By the sixth century, new forms of urban conglomerations appeared in the Balkans, whose character had practically nothing to do with the ancient urban heritage, but reflected characteristics that could be labeled "medieval" even at this early date. As will be seen, recurrent reliance on fortification architecture and on the mountainous topography of the terrain became hallmarks of architecture in the Balkans, since struggles for the control of territories continued for centuries.

To sum up the various issues related to the geographic definition of the Balkans, we will briefly return to the neutral concept of "geographic area" as employed in the making of this book. The central idea of this study has been to explore historical developments on the territory of the Balkan peninsula within a given span of time and as reflected through the medium of architecture. During certain periods, as we will see, the peninsula was dominated by a single political and cultural entity – successively, the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires – at the expense of other, lesser regional entities. At other times, these "lesser regional entities" assumed greater importance, even asserting their predominance for limited periods of time. At all times, however, the "geographic area" of the Balkans was a stage for active cultural interchange. The demonstration of this, in fact, may be the most important conceptual contribution of this book. The Balkan peninsula, in the final analysis, predominantly constitutes a space of perpetual interaction of various forces whose cultural dimensions, as expressed in architecture, concern us here. The architectural legacy of the Balkans, as we will attempt to demonstrate, is probably the clearest manifestation of these interactive processes. To be able to understand this, however, it is essential to abandon all of the classification systems currently in use, such as "national schools" of architecture. The material, above all, must be allowed to "tell its own story." Time and again, this author has been greatly surprised and rewarded by the discovery of how easily certain "problems" current in modern historiography could be resolved if specific veils were lifted and the problem examined freely within an expanded frame of reference.

The Chronological Framework

The initial intent of this book was to investigate the development of *medieval* architecture in the Balkans. In attempting to define the span of time that would correspond to the "Middle Ages" within the Balkan peninsula, it soon became apparent that the conventional chronology of the "Middle Ages" as applicable in the West could not be employed here. Thus, new chronological parameters had to be sought. Eventually, it became clear that this study ought to begin with an exploration of the architecture of late antiquity. Accordingly, it also became apparent that some of the critical architectural developments of late antiquity had actually emanated from the Balkans. At the same time – and this, too, is an essential realization – the area of the Balkans also became a major recipient of trends coming from elsewhere. Thus, the transformations of the Roman Empire from the period of the Tetrarchy to the establishment of the new order within the Christian framework, within a time span of merely thirty to forty years, affected the Balkans profoundly. The architectural patronage of the principle protagonists of these changes – the emperors Diocletian, Galerius, and Constantine I – left a lasting imprint on the Balkans, not the least of which was the establishment of the new Christian imperial capital, Constantinople. Christianization of the Roman Empire proved to be a relatively slow process, especially in the Balkans, where its major effects began to materialize only in the fifth century. In contrast to the general decline in the West during the corresponding period of time, the Balkans experienced major growth, as evidenced by the volume of building construction. Equally significantly, major policy changes reflected the attitudes of the emperors who were addressing the perpetual problem of invasion. Abandoning the traditional Roman stance of defending the Danube frontier, Byzantine emperors of the fifth century sought other mechanisms in dealing with these realities. At the same time, and as a result of such new policies, the protecting and securing of individual properties passed almost entirely into local and even private hands. Security no longer depended on a distant well-fortified frontier that protected the state as a whole, but had to rely on individual city walls or the fortified enclosures of complexes such as villas and monasteries. At the same time, the will or the ability to champion the defenses of the empire steadily slipped from secular into religious hands. The fifth century in the Balkans demonstrates in no uncertain terms how the invisible Christian saints became paramount guarantors of local security. Successful management of such a "defense policy," needless to say, reflects the growing power of the Church as an institution. The efforts of the emperor Justinian I (527–65) illustrate the last organized attempt to revert to the old policies of *limes* defenses under the auspices of a powerful state. The ultimate collapse of his efforts in the last decades of the sixth century brought about a prolonged period of "coming to terms" with the new realities. Faced with a string of crises of varied character, which ranged from the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans to the rise of Bulgaria, the Iconoclast crisis, and ultimately to the total preoccupation with major new developments in the Near East with the rise of Islam, by 900 the Byzantine Empire had been substantially transformed. The new forms of architecture and architectural patronage that came into being at the end of all of these crises reflect also the new political and cultural realities in the Balkans. Although the Byzantine Empire managed to maintain relative control of affairs on most of the Balkan territories until the end of the twelfth century, the extent of its control was considerably modified with the passage of time.

New challenges emerged in the form of fledgling local states and their external powerful champions, especially in the West. The collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 was the ultimate result of these developments. Its "rebirth" in 1261 put it into a new historical role, as one of several petty players on the stage of the newly emerging world order. The fourteenth century, almost entirely given over to that process, also witnessed an almost paradoxically high level of architectural activity. A large percentage of what was being built, not coincidentally, was again security-related architecture – city walls, fortresses, forts, fortified monasteries, private towers, and the like. At the same time, a very different situation was emerging along the Adriatic littoral, chiefly under the influence of the Byzantine adversary, Venice. Independent towns, whose origins in most cases went back several centuries, acquired new levels of political autonomy and economic prosperity.

A major new power – the Ottomans – effectively managed to fill in the political vacuum left in the Balkans in the aftermath of the crises of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans were in control of approximately one half of the Balkan peninsula. Their progress, temporarily stalled by the major defeat they suffered at the Battle of Angora in 1402, continued full-force under Mehmed II, who conquered not only Constantinople in 1453, but also went on to claim most of the Balkan peninsula before his death in 1481. With the conquest of Constantinople, the stage was set for a major architectural outpouring under the auspices of a new political and religious partnership in the form of a powerful Ottoman empire. Very much like what had taken place a thousand years earlier, under the auspices of the Byzantine emperors and the Christian Church, the face of the Balkans and its new center par excellence – Constantinople, later Ottoman Istanbul – were being transformed under the direction of the Ottoman sultans. The apogee of this development came around the middle of the sixteenth century under Süleyman I. Having failed in his efforts to penetrate deeper into central Europe, toward the middle of the sixteenth century Süleyman I turned to finding

effective ways of maintaining the firm Ottoman footing in the Balkans. It was around this time that forms of collaboration with the subjugated peoples began to be explored, as potentially important weapons in resisting Western pressures. Relying on centuries-old regional tensions and adversarial relations, the Ottomans effectively pitted the Orthodox populations against their Catholic counterparts along the Adriatic littoral, perceived as agents of Western interests working against their own empire. Thus, the seeds of yet another world order, whose fruition would become fully apparent in the aftermath of the First World War, were being sown on Balkan soil. The architectural implications of these developments after *circa* 1550 were also very different. It was on the basis of these factors that the decision was reached to use the mid-sixteenth-century watershed as an appropriate point for the termination of this study.

Finally, it should be noted that the architectural developments that took place over the span of nearly thirteen hundred years involve dealing with architectural traditions that have been classified in scholarship in a variety of ways. Usually falling under the rubric of "period styles," a concept currently under strong criticism, such divisions still, not only exist, but one may say, are generally deeply entrenched in scholarly literature. Among other tasks this book has had to face, then, was the challenge of bridging, if not outright confronting, most often artificial categories with their pronounced parochial intellectual tendencies. To help the reader fully comprehend the implications of dealing with this challenge, the "periods" and "styles" in question are as follows in roughly chronological sequence: Late Roman, Early Christian, Early Byzantine, Early Medieval, Pre-Romanesque, Middle Byzantine, Romanesque, Late Byzantine, Gothic, Ottoman, Renaissance, and Post-Byzantine, to mention but the principal "canonical" categories.

Architecture and the Dynamics of Architectural Production

This book is a study of the Balkans as seen through the lens of architecture. "Architecture" has different connotations to different people. Its basic definition concerns the man-made environment – buildings in which people live, in which they bathe, conduct their business, in which they worship, in which they perform various ritual acts related to matters of law or state, in which they are laid to rest, and so on. For the purposes of this book this definition was expanded to include other types of buildings conventionally thought of as strictly "utilitarian" in nature – bridges, fortifications, etc. In other words, the overriding concern here has been to analyze all aspects of the man-made environment at the time of its creation and, in one form or another, as it is still known to us, with hopes of understanding how it was shaped over the centuries. Gauging processes of change over time, on the other hand, enables us to understand certain broader historical phenomena. Thus, architecture also becomes a tool for a better understanding of history, while a single building becomes a historical document of sorts.

Furthermore, the notion of "architecture" is identified all too commonly exclusively with individual buildings. A particular tendency in the older historiography that has addressed the architecture of past epochs has been to focus on buildings as "monuments," as isolated objects, not different from works of art or artifacts on display in a museum. Such an approach has had the unfortunate tendency of de-contextualizing individual architectural "creations" to the point where they came to be viewed without any concern about what actually stood in their vicinity and why, as well as without paying attention to the historical context of a building itself, that is, its life subsequent to the moment of its creation. In this book, the principal objective has been to overcome all narrow definitions of architecture and to view it in as broad a sense as possible. Although individual buildings were invariably recognized as the unavoidable "building blocks" of this study, they have been variously grouped and considered in other, broader contexts that illuminate their meaning more adequately.

Architectural production in the Balkans over the centuries has been influenced by a variety of factors. Some of these – as, for example, patronage – are highly visible, historically speaking, and have attracted scholarly attention. Other factors, such as the formation and functioning of building workshops, on account of sparse historical evidence, have not been nearly as apparent. Yet both of these factors, in addition to many others, played their significant roles. One of the aims of this study has been to detect the forces responsible for the shaping of architectural traditions within the Balkans over the centuries. These processes, although linked to major political developments, do not necessarily always coincide with them. At times clearly defined, they can be comprehended and analyzed without difficulty. At other times, they are barely perceptible and require far greater sensibilities on the part of the researcher to be detected. The major parameters of any given architectural tradition are cultural. Within such a cultural framework, given the favorable political and economic conditions, a tradition can be nurtured over prolonged time spans. Yet, even within such an "ideal" framework, other factors could – and often did – enter into the picture. For a number of reasons, a builder or a group of builders could leave a building center with which they were associated and travel to another location to do their work. Factors influencing their choice may be linked to the center that they came from, or to the center to which they moved. Declining volume of work, decreased pay, dissatisfaction

with working conditions, all could have led a builder or a group of builders to leave their original base of operations. Better pay, the promise of more extensive future work, increasing responsibilities, etc., on the other hand, may have been the chief attractions that caused a builder or a group of builders to seek work elsewhere. Detecting such movements without documentary evidence – which is practically nonexistent – is extremely difficult. At the same time such mobility of builders has been a reality from the earliest times. Whether mandated by patrons, or voluntary, on the part of the artisans, such movements became potentially important mechanisms for the transmission of ideas and of technical knowledge and skills.

A related, but even more complex issue is the movement of builders and artisans across state frontiers and, at times, cultural frontiers. Our modern manner of thinking imposes on us various models regarding such issues. As a result, we are inclined to view some of them as "acceptable-possible," and others as "unacceptable-impossible." Matters that determine such models in our way of thinking may have to do with political, ideological, and even moral factors. To what degree a medieval builder or artisan would have been affected by such constraining factors is difficult to say with absolute certainty. There are strong indications in certain instances, however, that these factors played a minimal role, if any at all. Instances of builders of demonstrably different cultural backgrounds working in a "foreign" cultural context are known. Their presence there was clearly predicated on their high professional reputation. We are led to the tentative conclusion that it was quality in architectural matters that took precedence over cultural or religious background in the hiring of a given builder or artisan. Being a Catholic and working for an Orthodox patron, for example, was not inconceivable, any less than was being an Orthodox and working for an Islamic patron. Given that such possibilities did exist, an understanding of some transcultural phenomena becomes much easier. Furthermore, in another effort to escape our modern constraints and prejudices, we must remind ourselves that medieval "borders" were far more porous than modern ones. Thus, the movement of artisans, generally speaking, was far more feasible, as was, consequently, the transmission of ideas and technical know-how than we may be prepared to think. Breaking through some of our own prejudices, in contexts such as these, becomes an absolute prerequisite for grasping the scope and the importance of certain developments in the Balkans during the period under consideration.

Last but not least, an analysis of buildings that proposes to address important broader issues such as the transmission of ideas – generally referred to in older scholarship as "the spread of influences" in reference to stylistic and typological phenomena – must confront the daunting reality of the profound lack of documentary evidence. Throughout this book, the reader will be reminded of this and the related problems. At the same time, material evidence provided by the buildings themselves, if subjected to close scrutiny can yield unequivocal evidence supporting important hypotheses, for which no other forms of documentation exist. Recent scholarship has begun to focus on such research goals and methods of gathering evidence that can ultimately yield important new results in this domain. Issues related to the question of the existence of architectural scaled drawings, of models, or of similar tools potentially used in the design process are now undergoing thorough scrutiny in contrast to previous attitudes that were generally dismissive of even a possibility of their existence. This book has been aimed at contributing to this process and its results, it is our hope, will be revealing in a number of important contexts.

Historiographical Issues

As indicated earlier, this book is the first attempt at presenting the material in question in this manner. Earlier efforts to present broader perspectives were fraught with problems, or were in different ways limited in their scope.[9] The single most important problem that confronts scholarship dealing with the history of architecture in the Balkans is the fact that the material as a whole has never been dealt with on a broad, regional basis. One of the obstacles facing scholarship from the very beginning has been directly related to the mechanical application of the system of "period styles" invented and employed in a western European context. Historical developments in the Balkans do not fit into this periodization system. Regional chronological frames deviate substantially from those known in the West. Styles, equally commonly, overlap each other not only chronologically in broader contexts, but also at times even literally – in single buildings. Such problems make for difficulties of classification. Exclusion of material from the Balkans in most general histories may have various explanations; the difficulty stemming from the application of the period-styles classification system has undoubtedly been one of the more critical issues.

The historiographies that have developed in the Balkans are all national historiographies, concerned with architectural developments contained within the frontiers of each of the modern Balkan states.[10] Despite these limitations, achievements in the study of individual monuments, or groups of monuments, have been considerable, and even impressive. It is in the category of larger syntheses that the results, generally speaking, have been disappointing. Efforts to transcend narrow national constraints, even in the realm of political history, have been rare, and even then, almost invariably, have been focused on very specific issues.

An exceptional attempt was that published immediately after the First World War, before a new wave of nationalism swept across the Balkans.[11] It is interesting that not one of the several institutes for Balkan studies founded around that time and operating under the auspices of various academies in different Balkan states over the next six decades or so ever succeeded in producing a general history of the Balkans. Ultimately, the task of writing a history of the medieval Balkans was accomplished by an American scholar.[12]

Perhaps not surprisingly, an important and revealing phenomenon regarding the historiography of medieval architecture in the Balkans is that non-native scholars were actually responsible for laying its foundations. At a critical stage of the development of historiography on the subject, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a number of books appeared, all written by non-native scholars. Behind the scholarly objectives of some of these works lurked also the intentions of appealing to the current political sentiments in the different Balkan states in the hope of securing their sympathies and collaboration on the eve of and during the First World War. Scholarly intentions, therefore, not uncommonly, became blurred with the "glorification" of one or another national group, thus pandering to nascent nationalist sentiments. Notorious, though not alone, in this regard was the input of the distinguished French scholar Gabriel Millet (1867–1953).[13] Traveling, photographing, and gathering information in Greece already from the 1880s and in other parts of the Balkans from around 1900, Millet wrote a number of seminal books for the development of scholarship in these areas. In 1916 he published his doctoral dissertation entitled *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, introducing the concept of schools into the study of Byzantine architecture. Within it, Millet recognized two major independent "schools" – "the school of Constantinople" and "the Greek school."[14] This was followed in 1919 by *L'ancien art serbe: les églises*, a book devoted to the study of medieval architecture in Serbia, which Millet subdivided into three "schools" – "the Raška school," "the school of "Byzantinized Serbia," and "the Morava school."[15] Both of Millet's books found a fertile soil in the subsequent historiography on architecture within Greece, and within Serbia. In both cases Millet, perceived as an "impartial" foreign scholar, became an idealized champion of national causes in architectural studies. In Greece, his idea of the "Greek school" has been the cornerstone of scholarship ever since. Over the years it has undergone some fine-tuning, though without any substantive changes; the term "Greek school" was first modified into "the Hellenic school," and more recently the concept of the "Helladic school" (the name based on the Byzantine theme of Hellas, but also used in modern Greek as the name of the state) has been introduced with a curious justification.[16] In essence, Millet's central idea of a "national school" has been allowed to stand without adequate critical reevaluation. A similar situation and for precisely the same reasons evolved in Serbia, where Millet's notion of "schools" became the unchallenged foundation of native scholarship.[17] Nor did other parts of the Balkans follow significantly different scholarly models. In Croatia, for example, it was a book published in 1911 by Millet's contemporary, the controversial Austrian scholar Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), that gave the national manner of thinking its "international" vindication.[18] In Bulgaria, on the other hand, it was the Russian input that provided "international" stimulus for the rise of a national vision of historical architecture. The critical input there was that of Feodor I. Uspensky (1845–1928), whose extensive archaeological excavations, begun in 1899–1900 at the village of Aboba in collaboration with the Czech archaeologist Karl Škorpil, laid the groundwork not only for the interpretation of this site as that of the first Bulgarian capital – Pliska – but also for the Bulgarian national line of scholarship in general. A particularly vexing dimension of a national vision of architectural heritage is that of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The name "Macedonia," currently hotly contested between the new state, spun out of the disintegrated former Yugoslavia, and Greece, has a long history in connection with regional art and architecture. It was again Gabriel Millet who invented the concept of the "Macedonian school" of painting as early as 1916.[19] Subsequently, the term acquired currency also in other contexts, historical architecture being one of those in which the notion of a "Macedonian school" gained particular currency.[20]

Once developed and myopically embraced in individual countries, national historiographies could be related to broader historiographical frameworks only with the greatest of difficulties. Few foreign scholars found reasons to venture into the specific problems of any of the narrowly defined "national architectural traditions." Those that did acted in conjunction with specific narrow interests of their own, and in the process invariably remained satisfied with not disturbing the status quo of local scholarship. Those native Balkan scholars who, on occasion, did rise above the strictly local interests and myopic vision of their colleagues most commonly turned to subjects that transcended the Balkan frontiers. Such individuals apparently found it expedient to deal with architecture of places and contexts completely removed from the world to which they belonged. Paradoxes, therefore, abound, leaving the subject of our concern essentially forsaken and adrift. In the final analysis, its unfortunate status must be ascribed to complacency and the false sense of security that many native scholars seem to derive from dealing exclusively with the material on "their own territory." It was primarily the mindset thus formed and nurtured by inertia that has charted the course of development of modern historiographies

of architecture in the Balkans. "International discourse" became substantially defined in terms of disputes over claims regarding the origins of individual buildings, commonly informed by nationalist agendas related to territorial claims and aspirations. Matters were not helped by the appearance of general books published outside the Balkans, where the claims of one or other national group regarding the origins of "their" architecture were supported by outside "authorities."[21]

This is not the place to explore further the general problems of national historiographies of architecture as they have developed in the modern Balkan states. We must, however, bear in mind the detrimental dimensions of the phenomenon as a whole.[22] A corollary of this general trend is the equally regrettable demonstrated lack of understanding, knowledge, and even interest in related architectural developments in neighboring countries. As a result, two buildings that today may find themselves on the opposite sides of a border dividing two states, despite their physical proximity, may not even both be known to specialists working in the two respective countries. Consequently, the interpretation of these two buildings, which may originally have been part of a common development at a time when the border did not exist, may be totally misleading. This paradigmatic illustration of a relatively small problem should be a clear signal that related problems can occur, potentially also on a massive scale, if all of the factors bearing on the issues are not taken into consideration. This problem was one of the central issues in formulating the objectives that this book has aimed to address. The method of investigation was consciously chosen so as to steer away from methods entrenched in the various national historiographies.

Opting to take this general direction is potentially likely to provoke negative reactions. Because of its fundamentally different approach, this book deals not only with material that it tries to present in a different context, but also introduces ideas that are, at times, significantly at variance with the established patterns of thought. I am fully conscious of the risks that I may thus be taking. My conviction is that the benefits of this approach far outweigh the risks, and that the essential contribution of this book will eventually be justified.

Choice of Monuments, Mapping, Organization, and Presentation of Material

Throughout the process of collecting the material for this book and writing it, it has been quite clear that any attempt at a comprehensive coverage would not only be impossible, but would actually undermine the book's main purpose. The reader will nonetheless be impressed by the wealth and quantity of material still preserved across the Balkans. Notwithstanding the destructive forces of nature and man, the preserved architectural heritage of the Balkans is still extensive. Individual buildings, complexes, and sites that comprise this heritage are essentially unknown in the scholarly world at large. More alarmingly, even scholars working within the Balkans may be ignorant of them. Native scholars engaged in the study of the material related to the time frame of this book often tend to be experts on the subject exclusively defined by the borders of the state in which they live. Beyond these borders, for most, stretches a *terra incognita*. Given all the historical and historiographical factors, the Balkan architectural heritage has not fared well in general books on medieval architecture. The same applies, with the exception of Constantinople-Istanbul, to books on Islamic architecture. Only a very limited number of token monuments fill in the perceived need in world histories of architecture. Predictably, these monuments are: the "Palace of Diocletian" in Split, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople-Istanbul, the monastery of Daphni, possibly one of the churches from Mistra, the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, and very few other buildings. The total list of monuments that have acquired such a "universal status" does not exceed fifteen. Their inclusion in general books highlights the immense void of what remains unknown even more dramatically. One of the aims of this book, then, is to make a large number of monuments and historical phenomena better known and intellectually more readily accessible. In the process, it will become apparent that developments in the Balkans were not mere provincial reflections of more important achievements elsewhere. There were moments in the history of the Balkans, in fact, when the most important architectural developments, by universal standards, were actually generated on its territory. That was certainly the case with the architecture in the age of Justinian I and also in that of Süleyman the Magnificent. At other times, the Balkans served as an important conduit of ideas, generally emanating from the East and moving westward, but also going in the opposite direction.

Choosing individual monuments was an intellectual challenge, but also a gratifying task. Many of them, for the first time, found a natural "home," giving them a chance "to speak" to us freely and eloquently. Individual buildings, groups of buildings, complexes, urban conglomerations, etc., were chosen not because of their size or perceived splendor, but for the information they would yield. Miniscule buildings, as will be seen at times, may "speak" more eloquently than veritable "giants." A particularly important aspect of the process of selection has to do with the fact that all aspects of the man-built environment were being considered. A pronounced tendency in older studies of medieval architecture, not only in the Balkans, but also more generally, was to focus on church architecture. Better built and

better preserved, this category of buildings became an almost exclusive gauge for the study of architectural developments, especially in the realm of styles. In the context of this study, ecclesiastical architecture was but one of several categories of buildings to be investigated.

Another artificial division that has characterized aspects of scholarship in the past has likewise been avoided. This concerns the division of architecture into two main categories: "secular" and "sacred." Such divisions are ultimately more detrimental than helpful in efforts to understand general developmental trends. Thus, wherever possible, an attempt has been made to broaden the scope of investigation. Future studies may find new ways of classifying the material, but the material itself must remain the first priority of all organizational efforts.

This book compromises ten chapters, nine of which are historical entities, ranging from Chapter 1 – "Diocletian and the Tetrarchy" to Chapter 9 – "The New Order (1450–1550)," while Epilogue takes the place of a conventional "Conclusion." Each of the main nine chapters contains the discussion of factors that have, historically speaking, shaped the nature of architectural heritage in the Balkans following certain organizational principles that have, as much as possible, been maintained throughout the book. Although the aim of the book was not to focus on any single architectural tradition per se, the predominance of the Byzantine tradition is self-evident. The first two chapters are concerned with late developments in Roman architecture and the emergence of Christianity as a major new factor increasingly affecting these developments. Chapters 3 and 4 reveal the supremacy of the Byzantine tradition, but also the manner of its evolution over two crucial centuries. Chapter 5 takes us through the period also known, erroneously, as the "Dark Ages," in our context marked by the temporary Byzantine "withdrawal" from the Balkan scene. Chapter 6 examines the phenomenon of the "renaissance," from an angle that gives the term a new meaning in the context of Byzantine architecture. It shows that by the tenth century, for example, strong local factors emerged that signaled new directions in the development of architecture in the Balkans. Chapter 7 presents yet another general picture, as Byzantine supremacy underwent a slow process of irreversible decline, opening the door for other factors to emerge on the Balkan scene. This chapter is subdivided into three sections – "Byzantine Sphere," "Western Sphere," and "The Lands Between" – reflecting the process of political fragmentation that began in the twelfth century. Similarly, Chapter 8 is also divided into three "sub-chapters." The first is labeled "The Eastern Sphere: Byzantine and Early Ottoman," accounting for the fact that by the end of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, the Ottomans emerged as important new contributors in matters of architecture. At the same time, their newly emerging architectural tradition in the Balkans revealed important links with the waning Byzantine one. The second part of this chapter investigates the "The Lands Between," with a focus on the grown importance of Serbia and, to a lesser degree, Bulgaria. The final part of Chapter 8 considers the "Western Sphere," dominated by the rise of towns along the eastern Adriatic littoral. Chapter 9 is subdivided into two – "Ottoman Sphere" and "Western Sphere." The first includes, as a subdivision of "Architectural developments," a discussion of "Christian church architecture under the Ottomans," which illuminates forms of survival of the late Byzantine tradition that effectively never died out. All of the "sub-chapters" in Chapters 7 to 9 are also subdivided in accordance with the principles outlined for Chapters 1 to 6. Where relevant, they begin with the consideration of urban developments, followed by fortifications, and end with general considerations of architectural developments. Finally, the last chapter deviates from the historical framework of the preceeding nine. Labeled "Epilogue", instead of the usual summation, it provides a reflection on certain aspects of the architectural heritage in the Balkans by giving attention to the problem of deliberate destruction as a weapon of choice in certain conflicts and its recurrence as a historical phenomenon. Furthermore, the "Epilogue" explores the impact of certain forms of destruction on historiography, demonstrating its significance in shaping our understanding of history.

Commensurate with the mentioned historiographical inadequacies, the geographical location of archaeological sites and buildings has proven to be another serious shortcoming of modern scholarship throughout the Balkans. Although maps with reasonably accurate positions of the main historical monuments exist, the same could not be said for the majority of other monuments included in this book. Thus, it became necessary to also undertake the task of pinpointing over 500 sites with geographic precision and to produce maps that would contain this information. This material is presented here on nine maps, one in each of the nine book chapters. In each case, a map occurs on the obverse of the first text page. Individual sites are identified by black dots and by individual numbers. The numbering sequence reflects the order of occurrence of the particular site or building within the text. Below each map, a map key provides an alphabetical listing of all sites or monuments discussed within the chapter in question. The Introduction is accompanied by a general map of the Balkan Peninsula with delineated state lines of the presently existing states in the region as recognized by the United Nations. The map also identifies the state capital of each of the states as an orange square. For purposes of spatial orientation all modern capital cities recur on all of the other maps as well. Among the useful aspects of these maps, one of the more revealing is the demonstration of the fluctuation of the quantity and density of building construction throughout the long span of time that the book covers.

By definition, all of the dates in this book fall within the Christian era. Therefore, with rare exceptions, all of the dates are given without the suffix of "CE" or "AD." Only in several cases, where references are made to monuments or events before the Christian era, are the dates given followed by the conventional "BC." As has already been emphasized, the coverage of monuments in this book is not comprehensive, nor was it ever intended to be. The exclusion of certain monuments, it is my hope, will be perceived as a reflection of a conscious process of selection, rather than as a result of ignorance. The breadth of coverage of the material has been a major challenge in the process of making this book. Extensive travels in all parts of the Balkans over the years have provided the foundation for my familiarization with the subject matter. Furthermore, the exploration of an enormous body of literature in a variety of languages has given me not only the opportunity to become familiar with hundreds of individual buildings; it has also given me a sound understanding of the factors that have shaped the historiography of architecture in the region and has enabled me to develop necessary critical judgments on various relevant issues.

One of the functions of the book is to alert the reader to the existence of a massive bibliography on the subject of architecture in the Balkans, and to provide pointers as to how any given topic may be explored further. Practicalities, needless to say, again had to be weighed as to how this bibliographical information might be presented most effectively. The idea of a comprehensive bibliography was abandoned virtually from the outset of the project.[23] Instead, it was decided that presenting the most relevant literature on individual buildings or relevant topics in endnotes would be the most effective way of dealing with the overwhelming amount of information, while a selected bibliography of works considered of particular general significance for each of the book chapters is included before the Notes. In terms of the process of determining what constituted a "relevant" contribution, the following criteria were employed: generally, a recent date; availability of a work in one of the Western languages; the general importance of a work, regardless of its date of publication. On occasion, more than one work on a given building or a general topic has been cited because of their perceived individual relevance.

The Function and Selection of Illustrations

The selection and procurement of illustrations for this book has been a particularly challenging task. Owing to the fact that the vast majority of the buildings discussed in the book are essentially "unknown," it was decided that the illustrations should have a role of particular importance. Most of the photographic illustrations, both black-and-white and color, are the author's. Others come from a variety of sources, all individually identified in the List of Illustrations. Drawings constitute a particularly important aspect of this book. An attempt was made to produce as many new drawings as possible relying on reasonably uniform standards. A limited number of drawings from other sources, whose standards matched the ones made for this book, or that, for other reasons, suited our needs, were also employed. Generally, new drawings were made from older, published ones, whose accuracy could not always be individually checked. None of the drawings in the book has the accuracy of a detailed architectural survey. Their function is very different in nature, and they have been treated accordingly. In addition to conventional plans, a number of axonometric drawings were produced with hopes of better conveying the particular spatial characteristics of individual buildings. One of the most important aspects in discussing architecture is ensuring a correct sense of scale of a given building, and drawings can be especially helpful for this. Inclusion of accurate scale bars, therefore, was considered one of the critical objectives for all of the drawings in the book. Furthermore, wherever possible, approximate dimensions of buildings in meters were also provided within the body of the text.

The numbers given in these measurements are rounded-off to the nearest half-meter figure, as obtained from the exact figures when given in archaeological and architectural surveys. A reader searching for the *exact* measurements of any given building, is advised to consult the original archaeological or architectural publications pertaining to the monument in question.

Names and Conventions

Citing of names has presented yet another challenge. No single system seemed "ideal", hence various compromises were deemed necessary and were implemented accordingly. Both current and historical names have been employed. In the earlier chapters (1–5), the historical name of a site (if known) is always cited first, followed by the current name, that of the province or region (where applicable), and finally, by the name of the state in which the site is located. Exclusively modern names appear only in cases where the historical name of the site is unknown. In later chapters (6–9), the current name is given preference, followed by the province or region, and finally the name of the modern state. It should be understood that the inclusion of the name of the modern state or province does not carry with it any particular interpretative relevance beyond enabling the reader to locate a given site more readily on the modern map of the Balkans. The name 'Constantinople' (instead of modern Istanbul) is used throughout the book for the sake of uniformity, but also because

Constantinople (Konstantiniyye in Turkish) was officially used by the Ottomans until the nineteenth century. Church dedications are cited in English transliterations from modern Greek (thus: Hagia Sophia), if the original dedication was in Greek. Church dedications in languages other than Greek are given in their equivalent English forms (thus: St. Sophia). The reasons for the adoption of such a system are several, but above all because of multiple name variations even within the same linguistic group (thus: St. John; instead of Sv. Jovan, in Serbian and Macedonian, or Sv. Ivan, in Bulgarian and Croatian).

* * *

While the book before the reader has been made with the aim of filling a major lacuna in the knowledge about architecture in this part of Europe, it cannot possibly answer all of the questions that may be raised. The book should be perceived merely as the beginning of a long-overdue process. Putting the history of architecture in the Balkans on the map, in the opinion of the author, is a worthy cause; in fact, it is a necessity. By doing this, not only will the regional architectural heritage of this part of Europe finally become known, but also many historiographical concepts will emerge in a clearer light, having been "de-mystified" by being presented in a broader cultural context than any of the national historiographical traditions would allow. Last, but not least, many entrenched notions about the origins of certain ideas and trends in the development of Western architecture from late antiquity to the sixteenth century may themselves emerge in new light and may warrant reexamination.

I

Diocletian and the Tetrarchy

circa 280–312

During the third century AD, the Roman Empire was thrust into major turmoil and was saved from total collapse only by the far-reaching reforms of Emperor Diocletian (282–305). Diocletian's reforms included a complete restructuring of the system of governance and succession, which resulted in the establishment of a new, albeit short-lived system that became known as the "Tetrarchy" ("the rule of four").[1] The new system left its unmistakable stamp on all aspects of Roman society and culture. Tetrarchic architecture has long been seen as one of the clearest gauges of the social changes that took place at the time.[2] The influence of the military, and an emphasis placed on fortifications and related architectural schemes, have long dominated the general perception of this era.[3] Despite the important observations that have entered the mainstream of scholarship, certain very significant aspects of change have escaped notice, especially as these pertain to the generally understudied areas of the empire. This is particularly true of the Balkan peninsula.

URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

While Diocletian and his co-rulers continued to patronize architectural activity in the city of Rome and elsewhere in the empire, an unmistakable geographical shift in architectural patronage occurred, which resulted in a new focus on the Balkan peninsula. Historians, who have noted this shift of political intent, have not dealt with its effect on contemporary architectural production. Perhaps the most obvious dimension of change is to be noted in urban developments of the period. These fall into several categories. In the first place, owing to the increased external threats against the empire, a growing need for better security was made manifest in the construction of walls around existing cities. Second, owing to the changes in the system of government, there arose a need for new imperial palaces, indeed for new capital cities.[4] Third, and most important, during this period the Balkans witnessed a sharp increase in the construction of new urban settlements. Some of these were relatively small, but others were of considerable size, and all were invariably fortified. Equally important, unlike the large number of earlier Roman settlements, which tended to be in coastal regions, most of these new fortified towns were landlocked, predicated and connected by a network of Roman roads. No other part of the Roman Empire, in fact, witnessed comparable urban growth and construction as did the Balkans during the last two decades of the third century and the first decades of the fourth. Subsequent history showed little sympathy for this tetrarchic initiative.

1 (*facing page*) Split, Fortified city; Mausoleum of Diocletian (detail of fig. 29)

Map 1

Key to Map 1

Abritus	9	Romuliana	5
Athens	1	Šarkamen	6
Dinogetia	8	Sirmium	2
Diocletianopolis	10	Split	7
Mogorjelo	13	Stobi	12
Oescus	11	Thessaloniki	3
Pautalia	4		

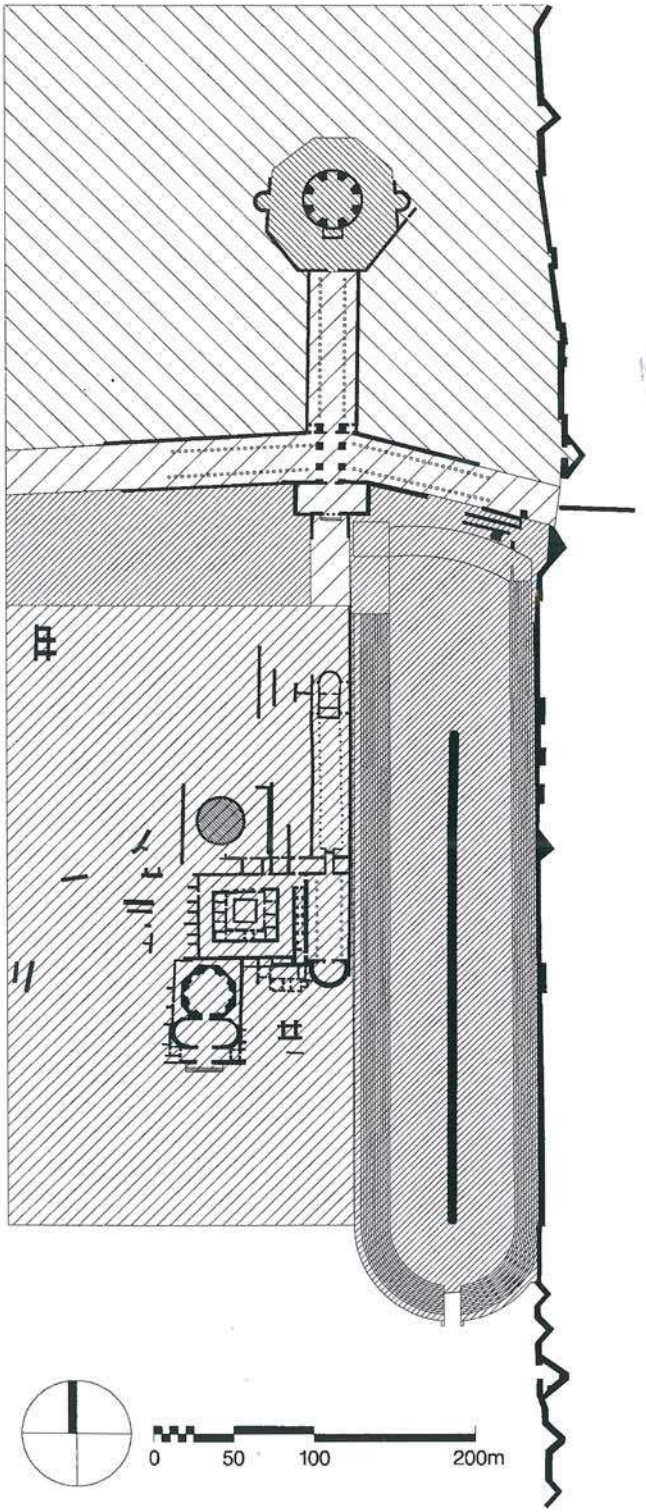
Despite its military dimension, this belated urban building program was practically wiped out within two centuries. So pervasive was this process of eventual destruction that even the names of some of these settlements have been lost. The ambitious extent and physical characteristics of the tetrarchic building program have painstakingly begun to emerge only through the archaeological endeavors conducted in all Balkan countries since the mid-twentieth century. Unfortunately, little has been done toward comprehending this material on a larger, regional scale. This chapter will aim at reconstructing the outlines of this significant development, which, by the time of Constantine's founding of Constantinople as *the* new capital of the Roman Empire, must have seen the Balkans emerge as the new heartland of the Roman Empire. Simultaneously, imperial architectural activity in the Balkans set a new high standard, in quantity and quality alike.

City Walls

One of the most conspicuous building developments through much of the Roman Empire in the later third century was the construction of walls around many cities. Existing walls underwent extensive repairs and additions, while cities that had none were afforded entirely new fortified enclosures. It has long been understood that this phenomenon reflected the collapse of the traditional Roman *limes* defenses, putting individual cities at risk and placing the burden of defense on individual communities. Of all the examples, the construction of the new walls of Rome by Emperor Aurelian in 270–71 is the best known and the most telling case. Yet the construction of the new walls around the empire's capital was not the first such enterprise. The process of protecting larger settlements appears to have begun in the Balkans, possibly some decades earlier. Thus, owing to the increasing threat of invasions by the Goths, by the middle of the third century the city of Athens was fortified by an extensive wall. That ambitious undertaking, however, proved futile during the Goth and Herulian incursion of 267, which left the city sacked and devastated. The subsequent construction of the so-called Post-Herulian walls signaled a whole host of new developments. In contrast to the mid-third-century efforts, the new city walls were much shorter in length, leaving out large and important sections of the ancient city, including the Agora with the main public buildings. The reasons behind this decision are not readily apparent, and different explanations have been proposed, among them that the length of the mid-third-century walls was too great for the Athenians to man. Thus the blame for the disaster 267 of was laid on the impractical length of the city walls themselves.[5] We need not be detained by considering whether or not this explanation is satisfactory. We must, however, make some additional observations on the "Post-Herulian" walls. The manner in which they were traced suggests that wherever possible, advantage was taken of the topography by incorporating ruined buildings into the new fortification system. Thus, for example, the back wall of the damaged Hellenistic Stoa of Attalos II became part of the new city wall. Such practicalities suggest that the builders and their patrons operated under duress. This notion is underscored by the fact that the rest of the wall appears to have been largely built of spoils, pilfered from fallen buildings in the vicinity. The result shows nothing of the kind of building skills and care of execution for which Athens had rightly been renowned through most of its history. It unmistakably suggests that other, very pressing criteria had imposed themselves on Athenian patrons and builders alike.

Whereas in the case of Athens during the second half of the third century, the extent of the city walls was drastically reduced and their execution carried out hastily in a careless manner, the same cannot be said of other Balkan cities during this period. A good example of a related, albeit different pattern may be seen in the case of Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia). Sirmium began as a small Roman settlement, or possibly a military camp, probably in the first century AD, at a strategically important junction of the north–south and east–west Roman roads. The town was raised to the status of a colony under the Flavians, and experienced a process of growth, especially in the third century.[6] Apparently in the second half of the third century the city acquired new, permanent walls, which replaced the older wooden and earthen ramparts. The need for such walls must be linked directly to the Goth invasion. Within a few decades, the solidly built walls were apparently suppressed in part when the city underwent a major expansion toward the southeast under Diocletian, and acquired a new line of well-built walls that enclosed the new imperial palace and related buildings.

A comparable situation may also have occurred in Thessaloniki. Here, archaeological evidence indicates that a line of mid-third-century city walls was in part superseded under Diocletian's co-ruler Galerius by a much more massive system of fortification involving giant triangular towers. It is generally thought that this took place in the fifth century, when such towers became commonplace.[7] An alternative interpretation would attribute the section of walls with triangular towers to Galerius' building program. This would mean that the great hippodrome built alongside the new imperial palace was enclosed by new city walls outfitted with unusually large triangular towers, all built at the same time. A similarly "wasteful" practice of replacing a slightly older existing line of walls – in this case, built for the same patron – by a new line equipped with oversized towers may be seen at Romuliana, about which more below. While this debate may not be resolved easily, one



2 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; plan showing excavated parts

should note the appearance of triangular towers on fortifications believed to belong to the late third or the early fourth century, now on the territory of present-day Bulgaria. The hilltop fort of Pautalia (Hissarlik; modern Kiustendil) was dated by Ivanov on archaeological evidence to the fourth century, but because of a later discovery of a pair of triangular towers flanking the south-eastern gate Ivanov's dating was questioned for typological reasons, and a later date, in the fifth or sixth century, has been called for.[8] Foremost among the Bulgarian examples of cities fortified with walls featuring triangular towers is Serdica (modern Sofia), rebuilt probably under Constantine I, following an intrusion by the Goths around the middle of the third century (see Chapter 2). Thus, it would seem that the building of triangular towers may have begun as a tetrarchic experiment. Be that as it may, what is beyond any doubt is that massive city fortification programs were under way in the Balkans from around the middle of the third century, indicating an early response to the first ominous waves of barbarian incursions into the territory of the Roman Empire.

New Capitals

One of the most conspicuous urban developments of the tetrarchic age was the establishment of new capital cities. This was observed long ago, and has been commented on repeatedly by historians of different specialties. The tetrarchic system, with its four co-ruling emperors and its inherent method of geographic partition of governance, produced a substantially increased bureaucracy and a consequent need for its accommodation. The various functional needs of this new bureaucracy – ranging from the purely perfunctory to the ceremonial – required special facilities focused on the imperial palace. In fact, for the first time in the long history of the Roman Empire, the Palatine complex in Rome was physically emulated, reflecting the essential political message that henceforth the empire would be ruled from multiple locations, and no longer solely from its traditional capital. Significantly for our discussion, two of the new capitals of the empire were to be in the Balkans – Sirmium and Thessaloniki. The two cities, by virtue of their distinctive locations – Sirmium on the River Sava in the north and Thessaloniki on the Aegean in the south – also established important poles on the main north–south communication axis that ran through the heart of the Balkan peninsula.

A major expansion and refortification of Sirmium occurred probably under Diocletian, when the city became a seat of imperial authority.[9] Archaeological investigations carried out over the past six decades have brought to light many aspects of the ancient city. Most notably, the location of the imperial palace

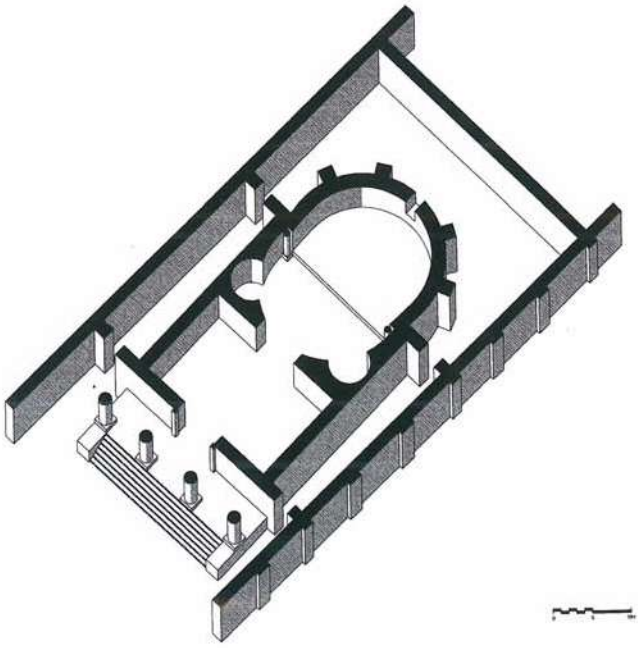
and the flanking hippodrome has now been determined with some precision.[10] Unfortunately, the destruction of the ancient city, which began on a large scale after the city fell to the Avars in 582, has been so extensive that not even a portion of any of the ancient buildings survives above foundation level. Despite the fact that later settlements, including the modern one, coincide with the ancient city, archeology has recorded a complete break in urban life over a period lasting approximately four centuries, after the sack of 582. Thus, despite important archaeological finds, it is not possible to say much about the architecture of this late imperial center beyond its layout, which, in its general characteristics, followed the Palatine paradigm of Rome.

Our knowledge about Thessaloniki at the end of the third century, though meager, is comparatively speaking far more complete.[11] Thessaloniki, whose early urban history goes back to Hellenistic times, was chosen as the capital by Diocletian's co-emperor Galerius (282–311). Substantial physical remains of his building program still stand in the heart of modern Thessaloniki, the second largest city in modern Greece. These include the impressive ruins of the palace complex and a considerable section of a huge tetrapylon (better known as the Arch of Galerius), to which a great rotunda – the best-preserved late antique monument in the city – was added somewhat later (fig. 3).[12] Later still, the rotunda was converted into a church, now known as Hagios Georgios. The significance of these remains is considerable and we shall afford them some individual attention. At this point, however, it is imperative to analyze the urban context of Galerius' building program as a whole.

Situated in the southeast section of the ancient city, Galerius' palace was built on a relatively narrow site, but one that apparently extended from the Via Egnatia (the city's main east–west thoroughfare) to the sea (figs. 2 and 3).[13] Systematic archaeological excavations in the area were begun only after the Great Fire of 1917, which left large sections of the city destroyed. Pioneering efforts were the work of the renowned French architect and archaeologist Ernst Hebrard, who was also intimately linked with the urban plan of the new city.[14] Continued in subsequent years, but never fully completed, the excavations have nonetheless yielded results of considerable importance, revealing linkage with the Arch of Galerius and the rotunda beyond, though the latter may have been the work of Constantine I. On account of the excavation results, we now know that the palace was bordered along its east flank by the hippodrome. The hippodrome itself has completely disappeared, but its outline is preserved in the layout of the modern apartment buildings surrounding a public space appropriately named "Plateia Hippodromiou." Traces of the hippodrome foundation walls were detected in a number of strategic places, including its *sphendone* (semicircular end), enabling a general reconstruction of its plan. Because the

3 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; present state, aerial view from S.

sphendone has been pinpointed on the south side, the *carceres* (starting gates) must have been at the opposite, north side, just off the Via Egnatia. The stone seats of the hippodrome were apparently reused en masse in the construction of a later phase of the west city walls, suggesting that the Christian civic authorities saw no purpose in preserving this remnant of the pagan past, authorizing its destruction by the fifth (?) century. The main axis of the hippodrome ran – unusually – in a north–south direction, paralleling the main axis of the palace. The exact architectural characteristics of this axis, beyond the obvious alignment of major buildings, are still very much a subject of debate. What is clear is that – within the palace proper – the axis terminated in a vast basilican hall whose apse with a mosaic floor faced north. The function of this partially excavated hall is unclear. Its northward orientation, as we shall see later, would seem to preclude the possibility that it was the main audience hall of the



4 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; oval hall, axonometric

complex. The possibility that this basilica may have been linked to the imperial box in the hippodrome remains a plausible explanation, though a definitive answer may never be possible because of the high-rise construction that has taken place in this area, thus precluding further investigation.

Further north, and still on the same axis, at a distance of approximately 150 meters from the basilica, have been found the remains of another puzzling structure, whose entrance faces in the opposite, southern direction. Set within a rectangular enclosure, this curious building featured an extraordinary plan shape of oval (fig. 4). It was preceded on the south side by a free-standing portico on piers raised on a series of steps, resembling a temple portico. Its interior space, though unified, comprised two very different halves that made up the main, presumably domed, room. That to the north resembled a semicircular apse, whose exterior wall was reinforced by massive, radially placed wall buttresses. The southern half of the same hall – by contrast – was one-half of a rotunda, whose circular interior was embedded within an externally rectilinear wall. The diagonal points of this half of the building were marked internally by a pair of semicircular niches framing a rectilinear niche that contained the entrance door. The two elements – the "apse" and the "half-rotunda" – are each slightly larger than half a circle, which gives this building its oval appearance in plan. The two forms are, furthermore, of unequal diameters, the "apse" being slightly smaller. Yet, it is clear that the entire structure was built in one campaign. Its unique plan has to be accepted as a design experiment, and the manner of its vaulting and its function are best left in the realm of conjecture. Its interior was once sumptuously decorated, as the remnants of a geometric *opus sectile* floor clearly indicate. Unfortunately, archaeological explorations have never been conducted in the area between this building and the basilican hall to the south of it. Thus, the architectural character of the "axial, processional space" at this crucial point remains unknown.

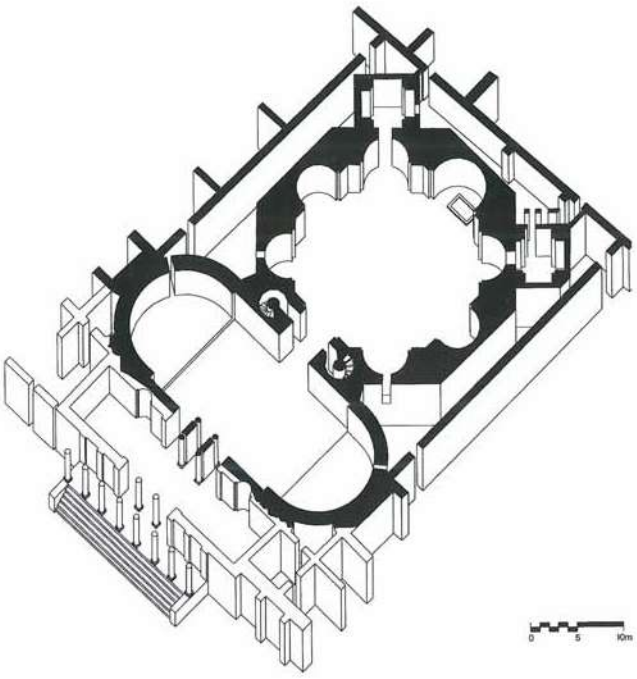
5 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; Arch of Galerius, present state from E.

The same sense of ambiguity prevails to the north of the "oval hall." Here, a massive east–west wall encloses the "apsed" part of the "oval hall," and may have been related to a transversal "street" within the palace. Here, too, archaeology has yet to provide some definitive answers. The northward extension of this theoretical axis brought one to a vast transversal hall with a columnar portico approached by a flight of steps facing south. The foundations of this hall, archaeologically explored and discussed by Ejnar Dyggve, remain buried under the modern Odos Egnatia motorway.[15] Dyggve's interpretation of this hall as a timber-roofed vestibule to the palace remains largely accepted. Although its relative placement and its (at least theoretically) axial relationship to the rest of the palace seem to support its identification as the palace vestibule, its architectural characteristics deviate from what appear to have been the norm at the time. As we shall see below, palace vestibules in this period tended to be centralized domed buildings, bi-axially traversed by passageways. Such solutions were evidently ideally suited functionally, as well as symbolically. While a major public function for this building cannot be in doubt, its role as the palace vestibule must continue to be viewed with some skepticism.

The large timber-roofed hall, furthermore, was axially related and physically attached to the Arch of Galerius (fig. 5). This par-

tially preserved triumphal monument is, in fact, the only positively identified component of Galerius' palace complex. Built after his victory over the Persians in 297, the arch and its preserved sculptural decoration have been the subject of many studies. It is clear that its core consisted of a massive tetrapylon carrying a blind dome. This core was evidently connected by a lower pair of arches to the timber-roofed hall from the outset. In a subsequent intervention the tetrapylon was connected by a similar pair of arches to whatever lay to the north. Lack of archaeological evidence in this area has facilitated speculations about the possible layout of what ostensibly was the northward continuation of the main palace axis. Equally problematic is the question of the relationship of the Arch of Galerius to the ancient Via Egnatia itself. The lack of solid archaeological evidence has resulted in the wide acceptance of a hypothesis that the road made an unnatural bend at this point, in order to pass under the arch, as if the arch antedated the road itself. This, along with many other speculations regarding the Palace of Galerius – given our present level of knowledge – are best left as open questions.

In its western part the palace complex contains the remains of two other monumental centralized structures. Their presence within the palace confines points to the growing significance of centralized domed buildings in late antique palatine architecture. Beyond this, they offer us little in terms of furthering our understanding of the palace, its functional components and their symbolic roles. The northern of these two structures is known only from a partially excavated immense circular foundation platform, upon which presumably a centralized building once stood. The southern of the two structures is much better preserved and offers many invaluable insights into the character of the palace, if not also the desired clues as to its function. The structure in question is the so-called Octagon, comparable in size (25 m inner diameter) and orientation to the Rotunda (fig. 6). It should be noted, if only in passing, that the Octagon itself has a huge circular foundation, exposed in part by the excavations on its west side. The rising mass of the building, octagonal both externally and internally, had seven semicircular niches on the interior, the eighth side serving as the main entrance. The northern niche, opposite the entrance, is larger than the rest (7.05 m diameter), and is preserved to a greater height.[16] The building was evidently begun by Galerius as part of the palace complex, but was left unfinished at the time of his death in 311. The construction appears to have continued after a short break, most likely under Constantine I, whose activities in Thessaloniki in 322–23 will be discussed in Chapter 2. The Octagon was completed substantially as planned, though with some important modifications. These involved the mentioned enlargement of the northern apse, thus giving it clear emphasis. Equally important



6 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; Octagon, axonometric

is the appearance of a cross in a roundel, framed by palm branches, all executed in brick, as an integral part of the rising interior wall of the same apse, some 3.5 meters above the original floor level. Though the roundel would have been covered up by marble revetment, the likelihood of it being executed in an imperial residence before Constantine I officially endorsed Christianity is unthinkable. Thus completed, the Octagon was a brick domed building with a sumptuously dec-

7 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; Octagon, pilaster capital

orated interior that involved marble revetment, including pilasters with exquisitely carved populated capitals on its walls (fig. 7) and an elaborate geometric *opus sectile* floor. The carved capitals, four of which are preserved, feature pagan divinities. Their coexistence in the same building as a Christian cross can also be understood in the context of Constantine's presumed patronage of the second building campaign. The Octagon was preceded on its south side by a double-apsed vestibule, suggesting a point of contact with another building or court, whose remains unfortunately rest below the high-rise apartment buildings hastily erected after the Second World War. While the exact original function of the Octagon remains a mystery, it clearly played a central role in court ceremonial and may have been linked to the imperial cult. In the immediate vicinity of the Octagon was discovered the so-called Small Arch of Galerius, on whose front are depicted *tondi* with busts of the *Emperor Galerius* and the *Tyche of Thessaloniki*. Their paired presence suggests a link to the emperor as the "city founder," which may refer to his massive expansion of the city by the addition of the imperial palace and the hippodrome.[17]

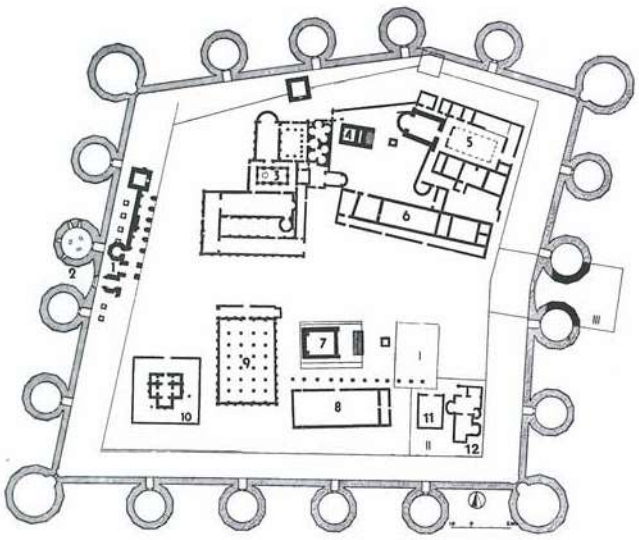
Before we leave the Palace of Galerius and its urban setting, a few comments about its parameters are in order. The incomplete results of archaeological investigations and the lack of written records leave us with a picture that, at best, is incomplete. It is quite clear that the southern parameter of the palace must have been considerably farther south than the tangible archaeological finds suggest. Whether in its original appearance it would have reached as far as the sea front, and whether it might have featured an open gallery comparable to that at Diocletian's Palace at Split, are matters of pure conjecture. On its east side, as we have seen, the palace was bound by the hippodrome, whose outer wall ran parallel and in immediate proximity to the city wall, as was also the case at Sirmium and Milan. On its west side, the real parameter of the palace remains in doubt, though some scholars are inclined to view the enclosure wall on the west side of the Octagon court as the palace enclosure wall. This, however, seems unconvincing for several reasons, not the least of which is the fact that late third-century imperial palaces, following the Palatine prototype, maintained the same degree of openness toward the city as was the case in Rome. The recent discovery of the curved end of a large "theater-stadium" in the proximity of the western part of the palace may not be used as a confirmation of the fact that such a public building must have been situated *outside* the palace proper. In fact, the presence of a huge building with a vast apsed end in the immediate vicinity of the hippodrome in Sirmium and the somewhat later written evidence concerning the Great Palace of Constantinople would suggest that such structures may well have been common features of palace complexes.

Finally, we should note that the palace complex in Thessaloniki also included the celebrated Rotunda. This part of the building has long been considered the work of Emperor Galerius and, therefore, an integral part of his palace. My views differ on this matter. In my opinion the building was begun by Constantine I. As such, it will be presented in Chapter 2.

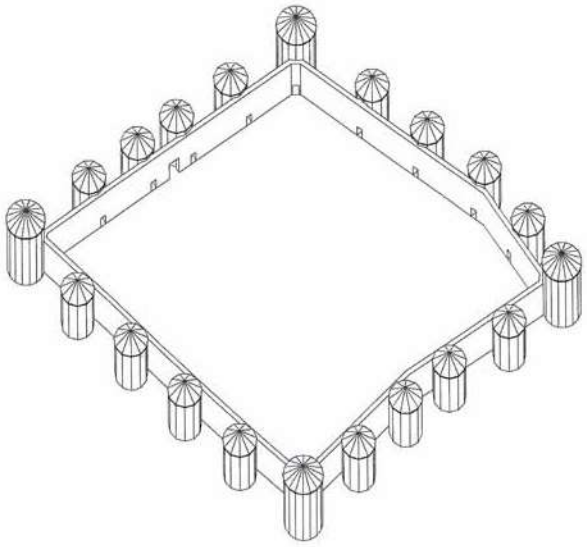
From the foregoing discussion one is left with the taste of the kinds of frustrations that exist in attempting to grasp the appearance and the functions of the Palace of Galerius. At the same time, one should bear in mind that the palace in Thessaloniki, despite its sad state of preservation, is the best preserved of all tetrarchic palace complexes. Those at Milan, Sirmium, Nicomedia, and Antioch are known only from written sources, or from randomly excavated bits of foundations. The Aula Palatina in Trier, the only piece of palatine architecture of this period still standing, was but a component of a much larger complex of buildings about which we know very little. Thus, individual powers of imagination must be relied on extensively in dealing with the architectural problems of this period. This, as we shall see, will be imperative in comprehending much of the late antique architectural heritage in the Balkans, to which a combination of natural disasters and unsympathetic attitudes toward the past have proven particularly lethal.

New Cities

The construction of new capitals was but one of the manifestations of an increased interest in the Balkans on the part of the Tetrarchs. No less important, and clearly consistent, was their general policy aimed at founding new cities and upgrading old ones. A number of older settlements were revitalized, repaired, and, above all, fortified, while new towns were built. The latter, as we shall see, were invariably fortified from the outset. While the older coastal establishments such as Salona on the Adriatic, Buthrintos and Dyrrachion on the Ionian Sea, Thessaloniki on the Aegean, and Odessos on the Black Sea continued to play important roles, new imperial attention appears to have been lavished on the interior of the peninsula. Diocletian's presence at Sirmium and his subsequent movement through the Balkans en route to Nicomedia may have been directly responsible for the upgrading of the *limes* on the Danube. Whether the same may have been true of the new fortifications of Abritus, and particularly of Diocletianopolis (Hissar), is to some extent a matter of conjecture. Hard historical evidence for such interventions is lacking, and even the identity of Diocletianopolis is uncertain. It should be noted that a number of other sites in the Balkans have been identified as potential candidates for the city bearing the name of this emperor. The mentioned sites are presented



8 Romuliana, Fortified city; plan



9 Romuliana, Fortified city; city walls, axonometric reconstruction

here, however, on the understanding that only their origins in the late antique period are beyond doubt; the specific dates of their construction will have to await some future archaeological or other type of clue.

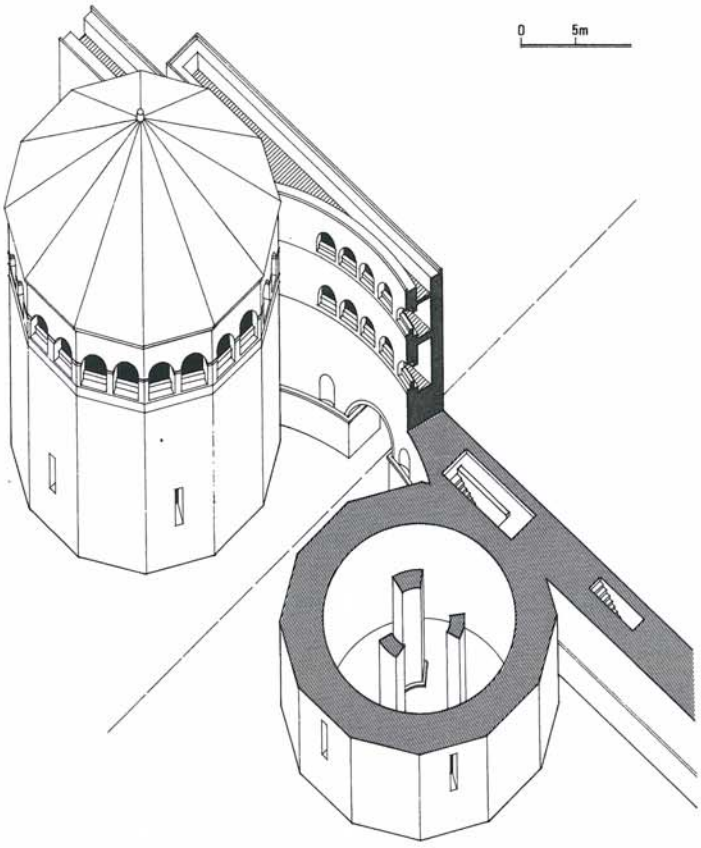
Considering the dating uncertainties, and in some cases even problematic identifications, we shall deal with these sites along with a much larger group definitely belonging to the period of Constantine I. Instead, our attention will turn to fortified miniature towns of particular significance for the period under consideration. The first of these, at a location known by the modern name of Gamzigrad, in eastern Serbia, has been positively identified as the ancient Romuliana, a foundation of Emperor Galerius. Another, in the vicinity of ancient Salona, now in the heart of the modern city of Split, Croatia, is known in the scholarly literature simply as the "Palace of Diocletian," although its actual ancient name remains obscure.[18] The building of miniscule cities (Romuliana occupies 4.8 hectares, whereas the "Palace of Diocletian" is only 3.2 hectares in area) appears to have become common in late antiquity, these tetrarchic examples possibly initiating the trend. It should be noted, however, that even as small as it appears, the floor area of the "Palace of Diocletian" is three times that of another Diocletianic foundation – Dinogetia – in the far eastern section of the Danube *limes* in modern Romania.[19] The phenomenon of building "mini-cities" was noted by the fourth-century author Libanius. Writing about the imperial palace at Antioch, he made the following interesting comment:

> I believe that, if this palace stood by itself in some insignificant city, such as are numerous in Thrace, where a few huts form the cities, it would give the one that possessed it good reason to claim a proud position in the catalogue of cities.[20]

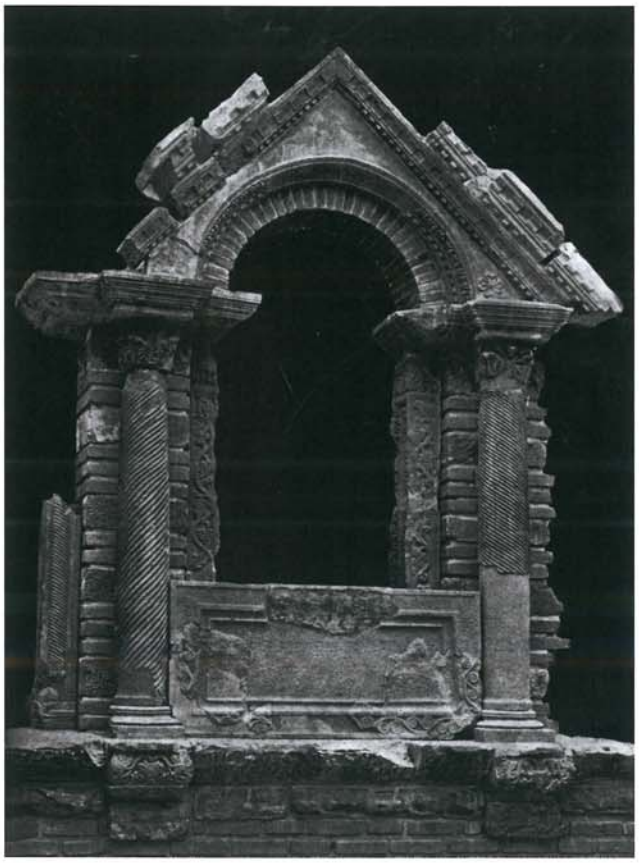
Libanius' snobbish quip calls attention to the fact that during the fourth century and possibly even earlier the practice of building miniature cities had become widespread; in any case, in the Balkan province of Thrace it stood out sufficiently to attract the attention of a writer living and working in distant Syria.

Romuliana (Gamzigrad, in eastern Serbia), as known from the sources, was the foundation of Emperor Galerius, and was dedicated to the memory of his mother Romula. An inscription found during recent extensive archaeological excavations has unequivocally confirmed that the site is Galerius' Romuliana. Unquestionably, this was one of the most spectacular and important late antique finds of the second half of twentieth century.[21] The most recent unearthing of the actual cremation and burial sites of Romula and Galerius, on a low hill overlooking Romuliana, is but the latest of a series of important discoveries.[22]

The miniature "city" enclosed two distinctive palatine complexes, two temples, an imperial cult building, storage buildings, baths, etc. (fig. 8). Sharing its many planning characteristics with a number of other late third- and early fourth-century civic and military establishments, Romuliana featured a highly irregular though basically rhomboidal form, and was accessible through two gates (east and west) apparently linked by a single central thoroughfare. Obviously, in this system of planning, axiality and symmetry had a minimal role. The approach to the imperial residence was decidedly non-axial. The only apparent planning



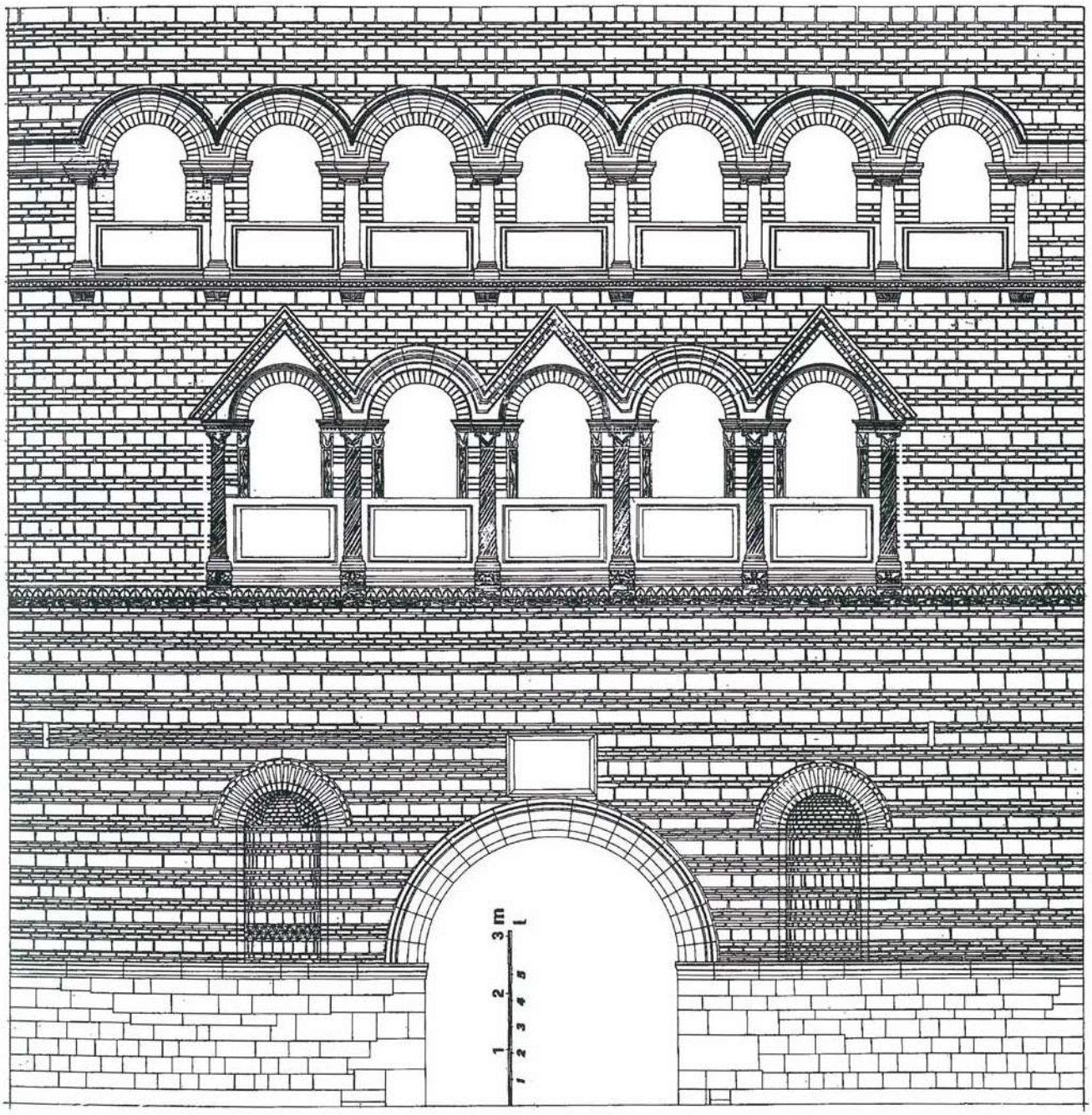
10 Romuliana, Fortified city; west city gate, axonometric reconstruction



11 Romuliana, Fortified city; west city gate façade, detail (reconstruction)

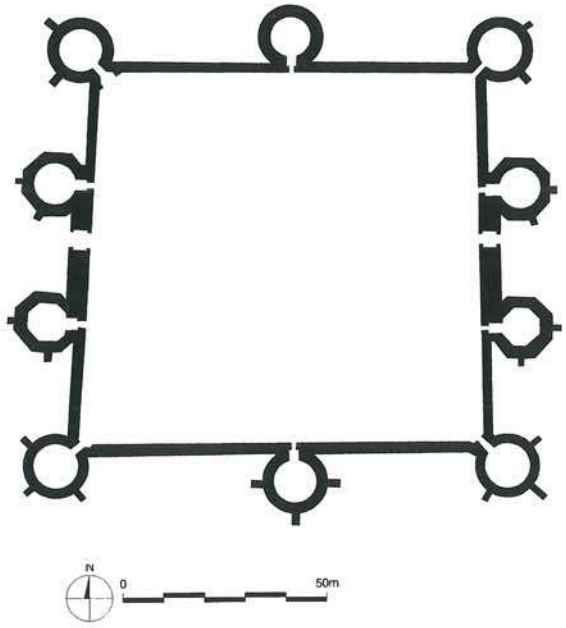
concern, in what otherwise appears as a jumble of unrelated building forms, seems to have been the general division of the city into a basically public (southern) and an essentially private (northern) sector. In its first construction phase Romuliana was fortified by a system of walls with projecting square and octagonal towers of the standard dimensions associated with contemporary fortification architecture. Within a very short period of time, the original system of fortifications was superseded by a much larger system of fortification walls whose dimensions and character find no parallels in military architecture of the period. Although the exact reasons for this seemingly bizarre undertaking are unclear, it may be thought of as a symbolic statement within the conceptual framework of an era in which visual hierarchies began to play a considerable role. Thus, the twenty greatly oversized towers (six on each side), measuring between 25 and 30 meters in overall diameter, may have been viewed as a symbolically appropriate statement for an imperial "city" with an imperial residence in it, in contrast to the many other fortified establishments that were being built at the time (fig. 9). We may speculate that Libanius – had he seen Romuliana – would certainly not have confused it with "some insignificant city, such as are numerous in Thrace."

It is noteworthy that the four corner towers of Romuliana's second system of fortification are approximately 5 meters wider than the rest. Though none of the towers is preserved more than a few meters in height, it stands to reason that the original height of the corner towers was also greater than the rest. Thus the four corner points would have been visually accentuated in the general prospect. With the second phase of fortifications at Romuliana, then, we see the emergence of a trend in late antique architecture in which compactness of design and boldness of form begin to "allude to" rather than simply to "represent." The outstanding manifestation of this new "language" of architecture could be seen in the design of the city's two main gates (figs. 10–12). Treated as multistoried elaborately decorated façades framed by mighty towers, these gates allude both to military forts and imperial palaces. Here we see a new symbolic language of architecture in the making. The late antique Balkan peninsula appears to have provided a fertile soil for its propagation.



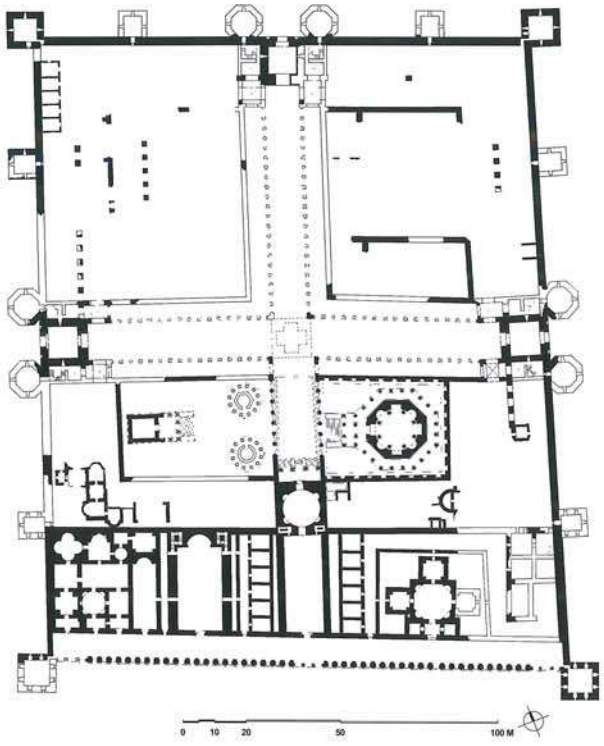
12 Romuliana, Fortified city; west city gate façade, reconstruction

In the same general area of eastern Serbia the remains of yet another strongly fortified imperial complex came to light in the 1990s at a location known as Šarkamen (fig. 13).[23] The ancient identity of this location has not been determined, but the discovery nearby of an opulent burial has led the excavators to assert that the tomb was in all likelihood that of the mother of Maximinus Daia (305–13), a less well-known Tetrarch. By extension, the entire complex has been seen as a smaller-scale and slightly



13 Šarkamen, Fortified imperial complex, plan

14 Split, Fortified city; plan



later version of Romuliana. Virtually square in plan, the enclosure is marked by a fortification wall with six circular and four octagonal projecting towers. The east and west sides were marked by pairs of widely spaced towers flanking central gates, suggesting that, like Gamzigrad, Šarkamen would have had a single thoroughfare linking the two principal gates. No definitive archaeological information is available regarding the interior of this heavily fortified enclosure. If it were a miniature "city," on the order of Romuliana, it would have been one of the smallest known, with merely 0.87 hectares of enclosed area.

A roughly contemporary and related, albeit a very different solution, may be seen in the much better preserved complex generally referred to as the "Palace of Diocletian," which I have analyzed elsewhere, and which I will refer to as a small city of unknown name.[24] It forms the nucleus of the modern city of Split, but in antiquity it was an independent entity (figs. 14 and 15). While in size and overall fortified appearance it is closely related to Romuliana, its planning characteristics are fundamentally different. It is apparent from the outset that the scheme employed here – a bisecting system of symmetrically disposed colonnaded avenues – is related to the traditional scheme of Roman military planning. It was this particular aspect of planning, among its other characteristics, that was viewed by L'Orange as evidence of Diocletian's inclination toward the restructuring of Roman society along military lines. As appealing as this analogy may seem, the actual origins of the scheme appear to be somewhat different. The type of rigid planning that we see here, and which forms such a striking contrast to what we saw at Romuliana, finds its closest parallels in Syria. The so-called new city that Diocletian built at Antioch, according to Libanius' written account, appears to have shared the same planning characteristics. The late Diocletianic military camp at el-Lejjun in Jordan provides another useful comparison, and reinforces the postulated eastern links of the complex at Split.[25] Numerous masons' marks discovered in the "Palace of Diocletian" confirm the participation of Syrian stonemasons in the construction of the complex. Syrian origins for the masons, and possibly also for the architect of this complex, must thus be considered entirely plausible. The unprecedented, intensive building activity in the Balkans under the Tetrarchy would have required importing additional architects and builders from elsewhere. Such practice was neither unknown nor uncommon in earlier Roman history in other parts of the empire. Clearly, Diocletian and Galerius, as the principal patrons of architecture in the region around the year 300, would have had different workshops from different parts of the empire at their disposal.

The enclosure wall of Diocletian's small city was reinforced by sixteen towers – six of them octagonal, flanking the three gates

15 Split, Fortified city; aerial view, present state

16 Split, Fortified city, aerial reconstruction (E. Hebrard, 1912)

in pairs, and the rest square. Only the southern flank of the complex was without towers. Highly elevated upon a massive substructure and overlooking the sea, this was the actual location of the emperor's palace. With its long, reasonably preserved arcade featuring engaged columns and bays, specially emphasized by virtue of their size and the "Syrian arches" that they incorporate (see p. 29), this façade provides us with a sense of imperial palatial splendor. This splendid gallery, as recorded on the eighteenth-century engraving by Robert Adam, matches closely the comparable feature in Diocletian's Palace at Antioch, as described by Libanius (fig. 18).[26]

The north city gate, commonly known as the "Golden Gate," was flanked by a pair of closely spaced octagonal towers, as were the other two gates in the east and the west walls. The tall façade between the towers was subdivided into a series of arcaded tiers, each arch framed by a pair of colonnettes supported on corbels and containing a window or a niche for a sculpture (fig. 17). The general aspect of this gate façade resembles the much larger solution at Romuliana. Despite their much smaller scale, in their architectural splendor both recall the *scenae frons* of Roman theaters. Internally, the "welcoming" gate was protected by a square, courtyard-like space known as a *propugnaculum*, as tall as the

outer wall itself. Three stories high, the inner space of the *propugnaculum* provided a formidable defense system, protected by two massive gates and open upper galleries, to be manned by archers. Despite its apparent military virtues, the *propugnaculum* system appears to have been as short-lived as the Tetrarchy itself.

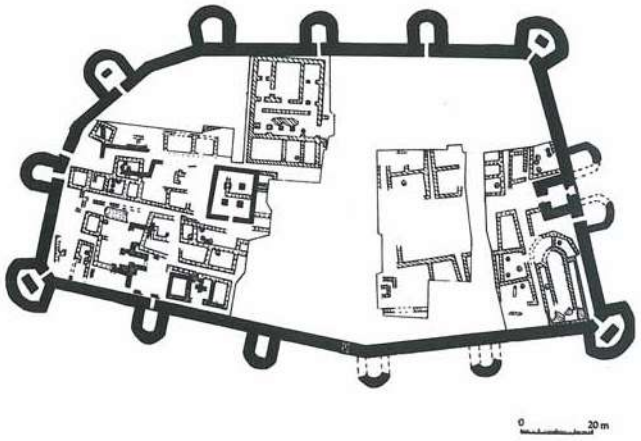
Returning to the planning scheme of Diocletian's town, we should note that here too the enclosed complex was divided into a basically public (northern) and a basically private (southern) sector (fig. 18). The actual palace of Diocletian occupies, in fact, only about one-half of the southern sector. A particularly noteworthy "urban" aspect of Diocletian's miniature city was a large tetrapylon at the crossroads of the two principal avenues. Its remains were discovered in archaeological excavations carried out below the present pavement level. Such tetrapylons became commonplace in late antique imperial architecture. A number of them (Antioch, Constantinople, and to an extent also Thessaloniki) were located in front of the entrances to imperial palaces, physically linking the public notion of imperial triumph with the emperor's residence. This very feature argues strongly in favor of our thinking of Diocletian's complex as a miniature city.

The person to whom this city was dedicated remains a mystery. It is reasonable to postulate that it may have been Diocletian's mother, in a manner recalling the dedication of Romuliana, named after Galerius' mother. In the context of the tetrarchic reforms, the emperor's wife and children lost, at least in theory, their dynastic significance, in contrast to earlier times. At the same time the ancestral, particularly maternal origins appear to have played a new role. It is well known that both Galerius and Diocletian, as well as subsequently Constantine, paid particular attention to the areas of their origins – all three were born in different parts of the Balkan peninsula.

Romuliana and the small, unnamed city founded by Diocletian constitute a particular category of imperial foundations. Among other, non-imperial urban foundations we should take a closer look at Dinogetia, a Diocletianic military establishment in the northwest corner of the present-day Romanian province of Dobruja.[27] Strategically situated on a plateau over-

17 Split, Fortified city; sea façade, engraving (R. Adam, 1764)

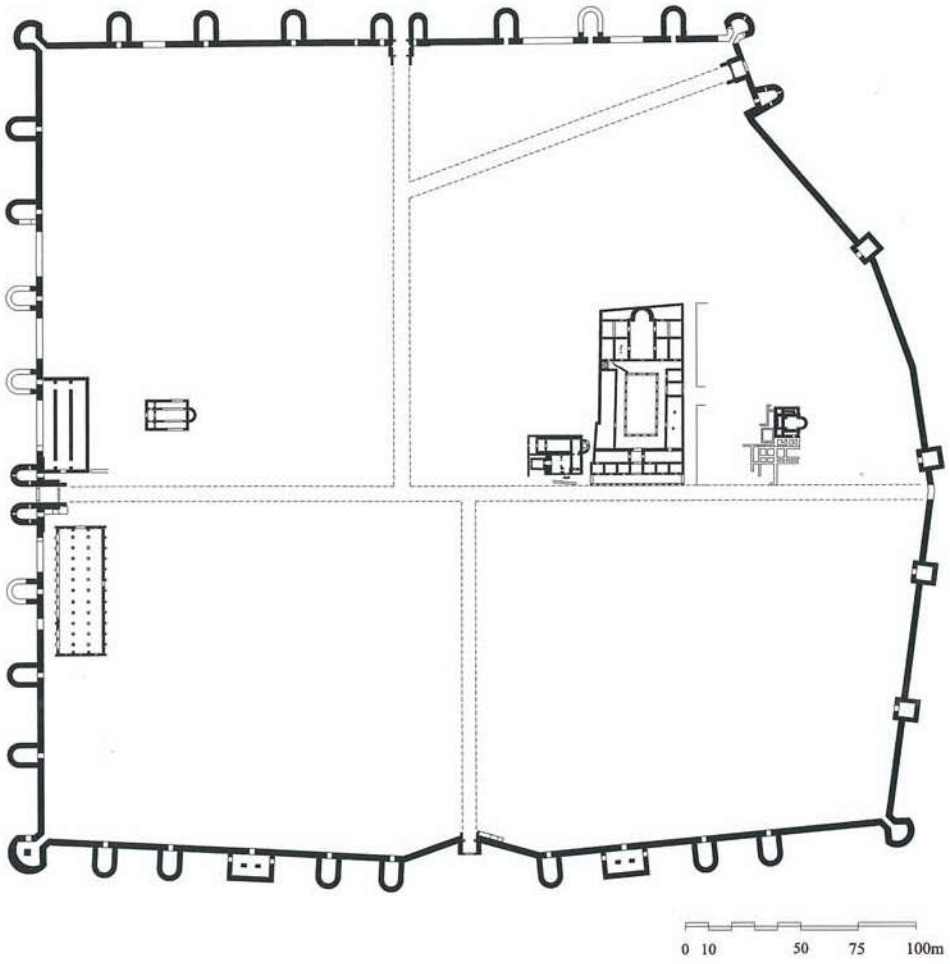
18 Split, Fortified city; "Golden Gate"



19 Dinogetia, Fortified city; plan

looking a tributary of the Danube, Dinogetia covers an area of little over 1 hectare. Irregularly shaped, it was heavily fortified with fourteen densely spaced, horseshoe-shaped and fan-shaped corner towers (fig. 19). The enclosure had only one major gate, on the east side. Guarded by a symmetrical pair of towers, it led, as in the "Palace of Diocletian," into a square *propugnaculum*. Inside the enclosure, roughly along its main axis, we find a square building with four massive internal piers. According to the excavators, this was the military headquarters. Its distinctive architectural character will be discussed further in conjunction with a series of related Constantinian buildings. The overwhelming military flavor of Dinogetia, strongly reinforced by archaeological finds, must not conceal its partially civilian character. In the immediate proximity of the "military headquarters" is a large residential building, designated an "aristocratic house" by the excavators. Whatever its precise ownership and function may have been, this was certainly a building that shared its chief architectural characteristics with the best residential architecture of this period. Rectangular and measuring 20 × 50 meters in plan, it had an inner courtyard that extended the full width of the building, entered from the east and containing a *lararium* (pagan household gods' shrine) against the opposite, west wall. Dinogetia was, in all likelihood, sacked by the Huns in 375. Its construction, during the period of the Tetrarchy, is symptomatic of Roman intentions to maintain both a military and a civilian presence along the threatened Danube *limes*. This intention, for all its ultimate futility, would be the backbone of imperial policy and the perpetual building programs championed by various pagan and Christian emperors over the following two centuries.

Considerably larger, though still in the category of "small cities," Abritus, near modern Razgrad in Bulgaria, exemplifies another late Roman establishment with combined military and civilian functions (fig. 20).[28] Measuring 10 hectares in plan, the city had a roughly trapezoidal form enclosed by a wall with U-shaped and fan-shaped towers, comparable to those seen at Dinogetia. Apparently on account of its larger size, Abritus featured four irregularly spaced city gates related to an internal system of major intersecting avenues. Two of the gates – the north and the west – were planned in a manner comparable to the single gate of Dinogetia and the three gates of "Diocletian's Palace" at Split. They were flanked by a narrowly spaced pair of towers, behind which lay a square *propugnaculum*. The partially excavated interior of this city has revealed a large residential structure, referred to as a "town house" and believed to have been the residence of a "leading citizen," about which more below.



20 Abritus, Fortified city; plan

One of the largest urban-scale interventions of the tetrarchic period in the area of the central Balkans was the late third- or early fourth-century rebuilding of a major city tentatively identified as Diocletianopolis (modern Hissar, Bulgaria).[29] This important urban center was established by the Romans during the second century AD in the vicinity of mineral water springs utilized for their health properties. In the aftermath of the first major barbarian invasions, around the middle of the third century, the city was fortified by a ring of defensive walls. A particularly violent attack by the Goths, toward the end of the same century, resulted in a major reconstruction of the city, including the complete rebuilding of its walls on a massive scale. The city, as rebuilt at the time, with its floor area of approximately 30 hectares, was apparently the third largest city in Northern Thrace, following in size only Philippopolis (Plovdiv, Bulgaria) and Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora, Bulgaria).

The reinforcement and enlargement of existing cities also characterized the tetrarchic building program in the Balkans. In the area of the Danube *limes*, for example, we find the strategically important cities of Novae (5 km east of Svishtov, Bulgaria) and Oescus (present village of Gigen, Bulgaria), which were greatly enlarged during the last third of the third century.[30] At Oescus, the addition took the form of a rectangular fortified eastward extension of the original city, which had also been fortified. The extension added approximately 10 hectares to the existing city with an area of some 18 hectares. This constituted a major building enterprise, considering that the area of relatively few new urban establishments exceeded 10 hectares, while Dinogetia, as we have seen, had an area of merely 1 hectare. The peculiarity of Oescus lay not in its fortification system, which was standard for the period, but in the unusual, oblique layout

of its streets. This suggests that a preexisting expansion of the city beyond its original limits must have ignored the original orthogonal geometry of streets – as in the case of Timgad in Algeria. The layout of the city walls appears to have simply embraced the new conditions beyond the original city limits, thus creating an unusual, oblique pattern of streets enclosed within the regular frame of the city walls.

A very different problem – this time reflecting city contraction rather than expansion – marked the rebuilding and refortification of the ancient city of Stobi, near Gradsko, FYROM, following its destruction in the late third century. Here we find that the rebuilding of the city involved the shrinking of its area from the original 20 hectares to only 14 hectares.[31] This phenomenon, which has been archaeologically observed in other urban settlements of the late antique Balkans and elsewhere, does not reflect a general pattern of urban decline – as was previously thought – but simply represents local conditions related to a particular city at a given moment.[32] Urban growth and urban decline, as seen from the foregoing discussion, coexisted in the Balkans around the year 300, and did not reflect any general trends.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

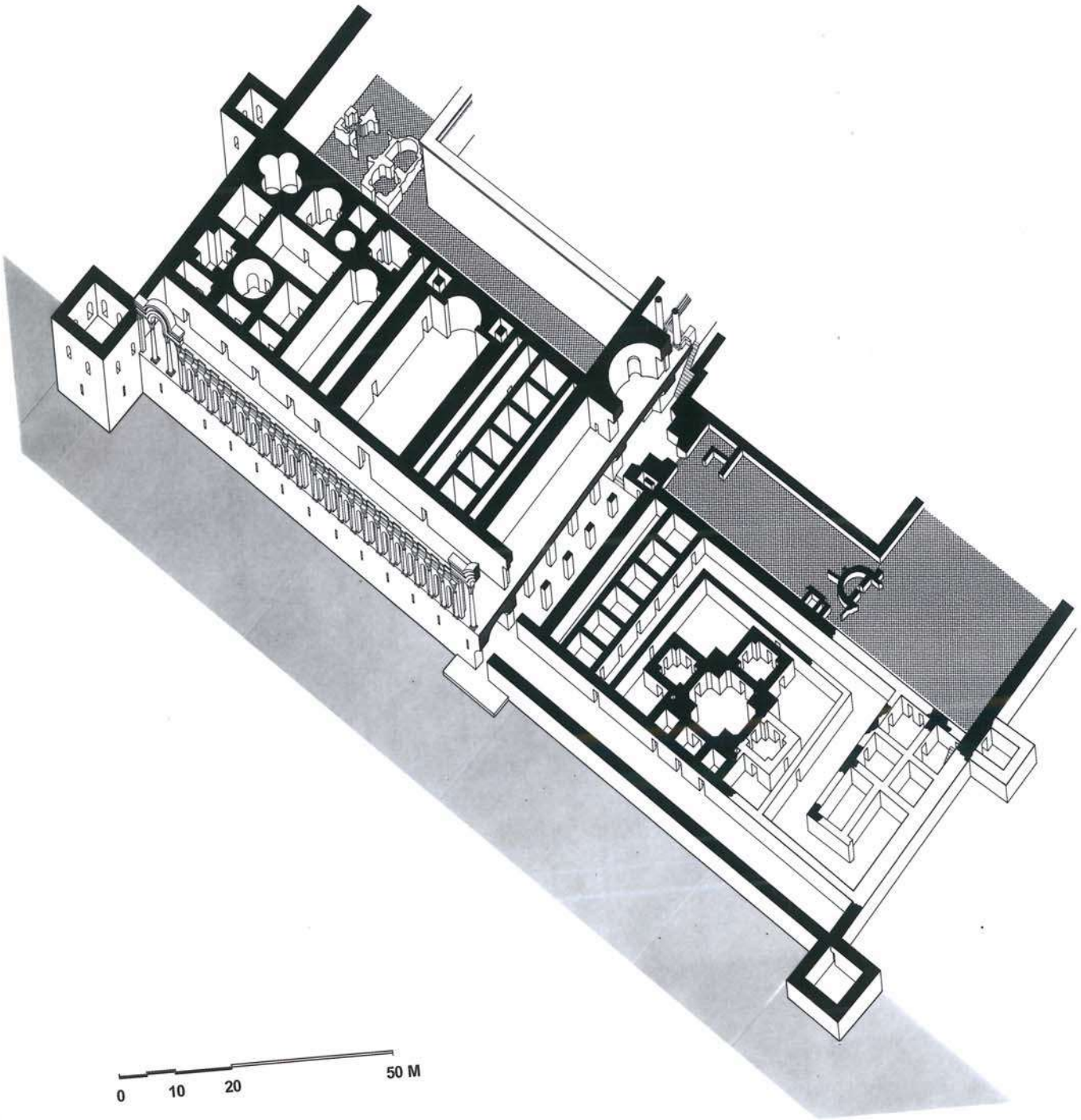
Major urban developments in the Balkans during the Tetrarchy were paralleled by equally impressive achievements in the realm of individual buildings. Creative design schemes and carefully executed structures testify to the influx of many highly skilled artisans into the Balkan area following the establishment of new and favorable conditions during the Tetrarchy. It would be unnecessary and probably impossible to try to account for all of the building activity in the Balkans during this period. We will simply focus our attention on a number of distinctive topics and a select number of buildings through which the particular characteristics and qualities of regional architecture may be perceived.

Palaces and Villas

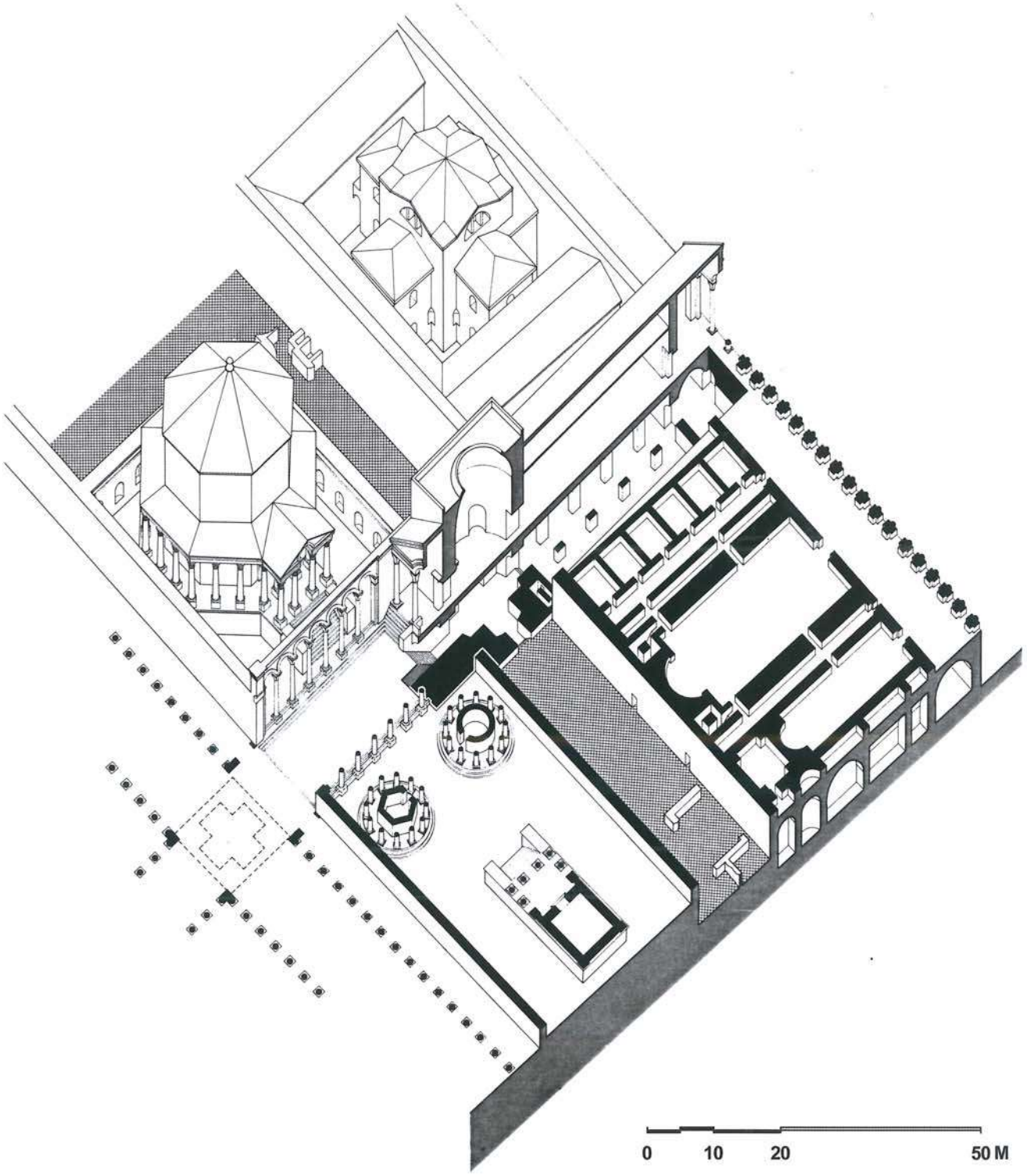
Tetrarchic palaces and villas have long been recognized as a category of major architectural achievement.[33] More recently, the preeminence of the Balkan contribution to this development has begun to be fully recognized.[34] It is equally important to note that in this period of change and creative search for new solutions, not only did the design of buildings change, but so also did their function and meaning.[35]

Without a doubt, by virtue of its preservation, the single most important palatine complex of this period is the one built by Diocletian at Split.[36] Already recognized and immortalized as a great Roman achievement around the middle of the eighteenth century by Robert Adam, the palace has maintained its place in histories of Roman architecture ever since, most often distorting, rather than helping to clarify, our basic perceptions about Roman architecture.[37] As we have already noted, the palace was accommodated within the fortified walls of a miniature city of unknown name. The palace proper, in fact, occupied slightly less than one-fourth of the total floor area of this miniature city. It was contained within a neatly defined, elongated two-storied block (figs. 14 and 21). Its south façade, facing the bay, displayed its essential formal characteristics most eloquently. Here one could see the massive, stone-faced podium with very few openings supporting a lofty arcaded gallery that extended the full length of the façade flanked by a single square tower, which also belonged to the regular fortification system that enveloped the mini-city on the other three sides. Internally, the palace block was separated from the rest of the complex by a moat-like space defined by the northern basement wall of the palace and by the solid enclosure walls of the two *temenoi* (fig. 22). That on the west side enclosed three small temples, while the one on the east provided the setting for the octagonal mausoleum of Diocletian. The only architectural element protruding north from the palace block is the prismatic form of the vestibule, which, in fact, constitutes a bridge-like link with the rest of the complex. On its north face it is fronted by the renowned protyron, itself part of the so-called peristyle, a sunken court fronting the palace proper (fig. 23). The peristyle was originally entered through a tetrapylon, a lost structure that stood at the intersection of the principal colonnaded avenues. Our knowledge about the tetrapylon, the sunken peristyle, and above all about the basement level of the palace block, is based on extensive excavations carried out after the Second World War. Though all of these features have been duly noted, they have not been adequately understood from the functional and symbolic points of view. For that reason, we will devote some attention to them here.

Our analysis will begin with the approaches to the palace. It is well known that the Palatine complex in Rome was relatively open to the city. This traditional notion of the emperor's accessibility clearly had to be modified over time, though the Palatine itself was never physically "walled in." Diocletian's palace offers some interesting insights into the nature of these problems. While appearing to maintain a sense of openness and accessibility, in fact it was a carefully guarded, virtually inaccessible place. The ceremonial entry route clearly came through the tetrapylon, down into the sunken peristyle court, which was surrounded on all sides by three steps (fig. 24). These steps were not only meant to provide access into the surrounding structures, but they also provided a suitable resting place for those waiting to be admitted into the palace. It is well known from

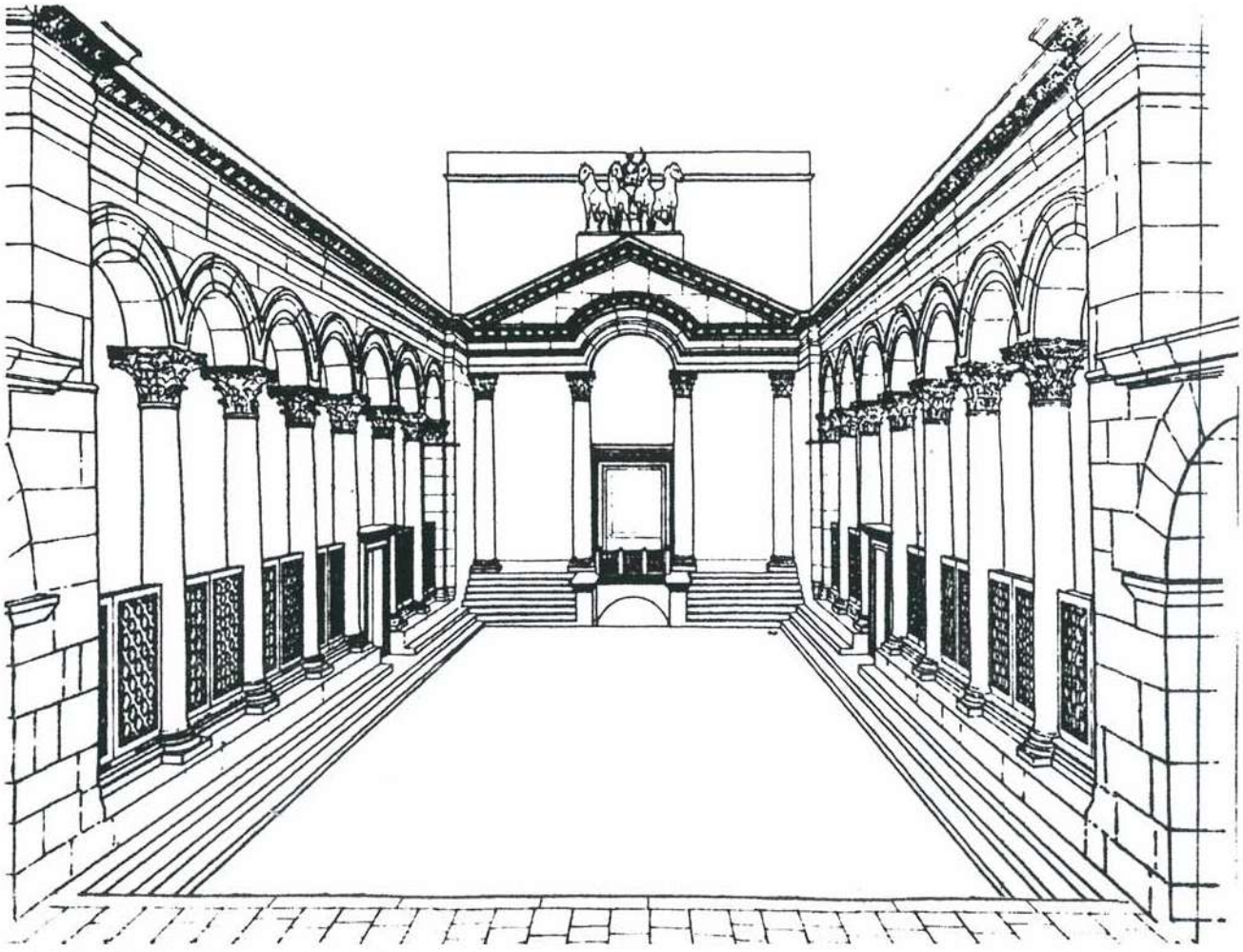


21 Split, Forified city; imperial palace, axonometric



22 (*above*) Split, Forified city; peristyle court and surrounding structures, axonometric

23 (*facing page*) Split, Fortified city; peristyle court and surrounding structures, present state; aerial view



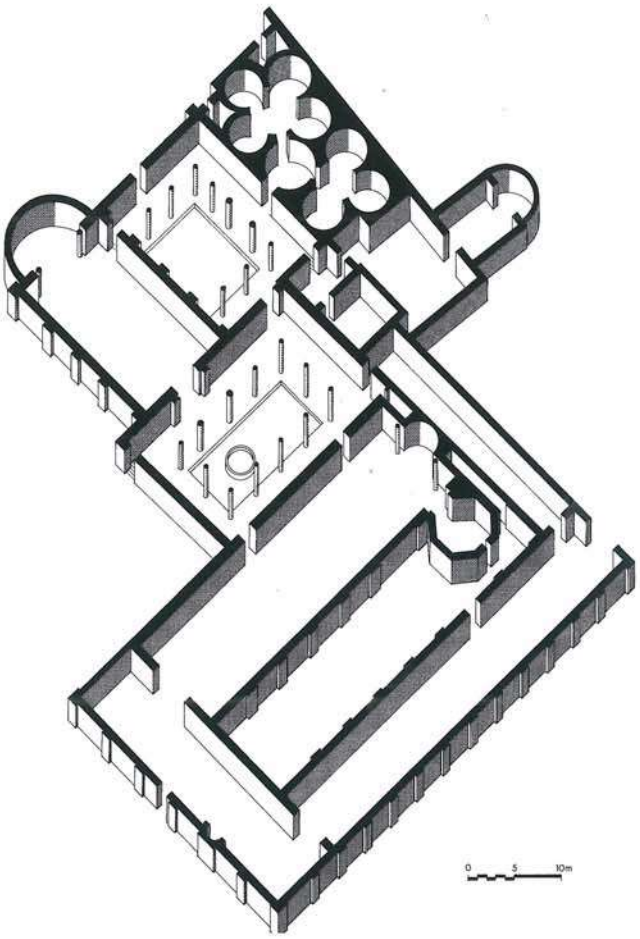
24 Split, Forified city; peristyle court, reconstruction perspective

written sources that areas in front of important residences, including the Palatine, were fronted by open-air "vestibules" intended for use during the process of formal admission.[38] The peristyle court, as was the case with other similar "open-air" vestibules, was not merely a "waiting room." It also served important functions related to the emperor's arrivals and departures. The familiar architectural feature of the *protyron* – an arcuated pediment carried by four freestanding columns – undoubtedly provided a symbolic frame for the appearances of the emperor. In a state system that considered the emperor divine, the son of Jupiter himself, the gate of his palace was nothing short of a Heavenly Gate. Consequently, the choice of a temple-front motif as the centerpiece of the palace façade was hardly accidental. The motif involving an arcuated pediment, otherwise also known as the "Syrian arch," was in all likelihood imported from the East, where such architectural motifs abounded from the second century.[39] The main space of the peristyle, whose principal axis coincides with that of the protyron, was bisected by a lesser, transversal axis that related the Temple of Jupiter in the western *temenos* to the Mausoleum of Diocletian in its eastern counterpart. This juxtaposition was likewise deliberate – it placed Diocletian's eternal house (mausoleum) within the divine scheme of things by juxtaposing it with his "father's" (i.e., Jupiter's) abode (the temple). The octagonal domed mausoleum, elevated on a tall platform, surrounded by a columnar porch and approached through a temple front,

reflected the new type of individual imperial mausoleum that became fashionable during the last decades of the third century.[40] The appearance of such Pantheon-like structures as places for imperial burials, replacing the traditional dynastic tumulus-tombs of Augustus and Hadrian in Rome, is another witness to the extent of changes within the Roman imperial system. With the rise of the tetrarchic system, dynastic succession with the implied significance of family ties gave way to a system of "divine" succession, in which the "son of Jupiter" handpicked his own successor. The cross-axial relationship thus established in the peristyle court was as potent an ideological symbol as the comparable earlier juxtaposition of cross-axes in the Forum of Augustus in Rome.[41]

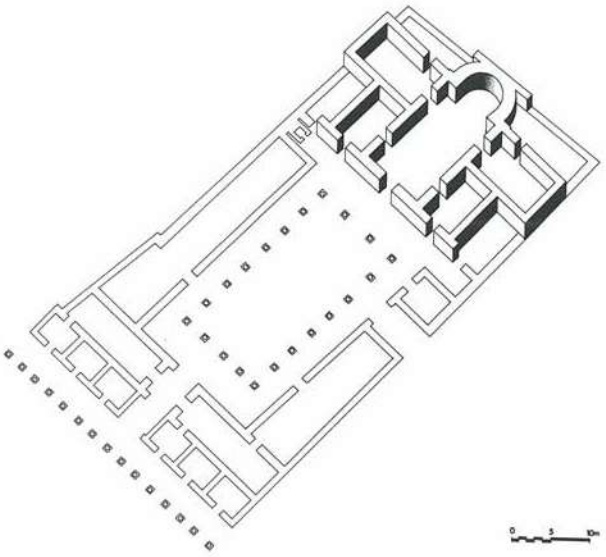
The final iconographic aspect of this late antique imperial palace par excellence is its sea front, which features an elevated open arcade (fig. 19). Framed by a pair of towers, this façade has been likened to a number of other late antique examples and may be considered prototypical of a newly emerging paradigm in palace design.[42] In its formal and functional appearance the arrangement must have closely echoed that in Diocletian's lost palace at Antioch, as described by Libanius.[43] Equally noteworthy is the fact that at both Split and Antioch the functional level of the palace was elevated, and that there was a utilitarian floor – a full "basement" in the case of Split – below it. Such elevation could not merely have been a compensation for the sloping terrain, nor should it be explained away by other practical uses, as has most often been done in scholarly literature.[44] Instead, we must see in it an attempt to create a hierarchic separation of the emperor's plane of existence from that of his subjects. This point will be taken up again in other sections of this book.

The great arcaded sea façade of Diocletian's palace brings us finally to some aspects of its internal layout. Though the principal floor of the palace has almost entirely disappeared, the layout of its fully preserved basement makes possible some general observations and conclusions. The only fully standing component of the palace on the upper level is the domed vestibule, directly behind the protyron. This internally circular, niched space, covered by a hemispherical dome, much like the mausoleum, was also conceptually based on the Pantheon type. It must have formed a functional and symbolic unit with the peristyle in front of it. The exact uses of this space, occasionally referred to as the "Salutatorium," are not known, but that it must have placed some sort of focus on the "divine" emperor's cult cannot be in doubt.[45] Its major architectural distinction was that it had openings on the main axis, a feature that it shared with a number of essentially contemporary domed vestibules, such as the Tempio delle Tosse in Tivoli, and the so-called Temple of Romulus in the Forum Romanum in Rome. Not without significance is the fact that the interior surface of the vestibule dome was originally covered with golden tesserae, constituting one of the earliest examples of the use of mosaic on vaults, a manner of building decoration that would become standard in Byzantine practice.[46]



25 Romuliana, Fortified city; palace, axonometric

From the domed vestibule one entered the palace proper, through what must have been a vast hall that led axially to a transversal open gallery, directly behind the open arcade visible on the sea façade (figs. 19 and 20). This gallery provided a type of corridor from which the individual components of the palace were entered. Notable among these are a basilican hall in the western wing and an octagonal hall with three projecting square rooms in the eastern half of the palace. The octagonal hall may have been the *triclinium*, a formal dining hall. It is virtually certain that the single-aisled basilican hall, with its southern dis-



26 Abritus, Fortified city; official residence, axonometric

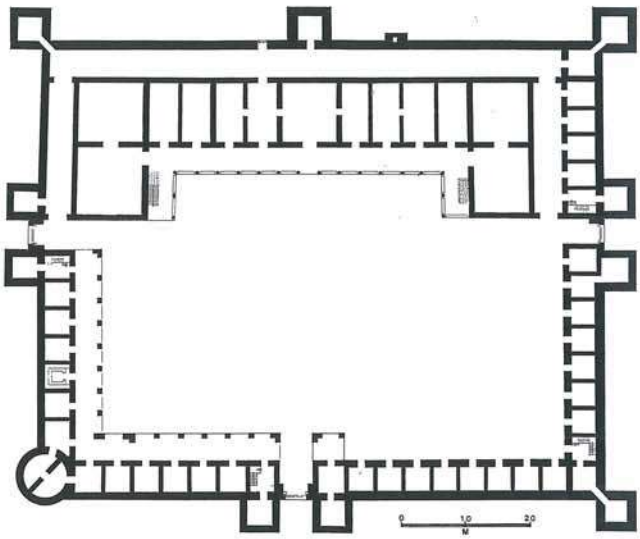
position, was the audience hall of the palace. The general proportions of its plan correspond to other comparable spaces in late antique palaces, while its actual dimensions (approximately 15 × 30 m) place it within a more modest range of such halls. Since his was a semi-private palace, audience demands would surely have differed from those in the official imperial residences.

The essentially linear layout of the palace, with a long corridor-like gallery situated at the opposite end from the main entrance and providing access to the various parts, was probably related, as we have already noted, to the layout of Diocletian's other major palace, in Antioch. Since our knowledge of the Antioch palace depends exclusively on the limited description by Libanius, we must turn to another Syrian palace complex – that of the Dux Ripae at Dura Europos – to find a more tangible parallel. Built around the middle of the third century, the palace of this Roman official was situated on the edge of a fortified garrison town, overlooking a steep bluff, in a manner not too dissimilar to the way in which the palace at Split overlooks a bay. Here, too, a long corridor-like gallery ran the full width of the building, opposite the main entrance, yielding access to different parts of the palace. The planning scheme thus appears to have been at home in the Syrian realm. This is of particular significance, because the palace at Split appears as a somewhat idiosyncratic creation in the western Roman context of the period. Along with the appearance of such architectural motifs as the "Syrian arch," and the participation of Syrian masons in its construction, one should not hesitate to consider Diocletian's palace at Split an essentially Eastern concept transplanted onto Balkan soil under the particular circumstances of the tetrarchic era.

Functionally related, but from the design point of view entirely different, is the layout of Galerius' residential complex at Romuliana (Gamzigrad). Preserved only in the lowest levels of its walls, the complex comprises two independent residential clusters, of which the western one appears to have been the ceremonial wing (fig. 24). Although some of the essential architectural components are comparable to those seen at Split, their arrangement is quite different, following a fundamentally different design approach to what must have been a set of similar functional requirements.[47] The complex was entered through a gate in the southeast corner that led axially into a very long and narrow hall, measuring 7.5 × 41.5 meters. The mosaic floor of basically geometric design is substantially preserved in this room. How this space was intended to function is difficult to determine, although on the basis of its location, and its relationship to an elongated interior courtyard, it may be thought of as the building's vestibule. Indeed, it may have been here that visitors admitted for an audience with the emperor were first received, and where they may have actually waited for their turn. The centerpiece of the enormous mosaic floor of this room, and its only representational feature, is a panel depicting a labyrinth within a hexagonal castellated structure. The presence of the labyrinth in the middle of this large room implies its prophylactic function in relation to the building as whole, but it may also have been symbolically related to the actual pattern of movement through the building itself.[48] Indeed, from this "vestibule" one entered a transversally located room at the western edge of the complex, where one would have moved north, only to turn east at the opposite end. From there one would have entered another elongated apsidal room with a mosaic floor. From there, turning north once more one would have entered a peristyle court with a circular stone fountain as its centerpiece. Walking around the courtyard, one would finally have reached the basilican audience hall on the opposite side of the court. The basilican hall had a floor consisting of an *opus sectile* central carpet with mosaic around its periphery. Directly related to the entrance, and on the main axis of the hall, was discovered a mosaic depicting the god Dionysos riding on a panther, a subject with clear imperial connotations. Another noteworthy feature of the audience hall was the presence of another courtyard along its eastern flank. The characteristic disposition of this courtyard with a door in its northwest corner leading into the area in the immediate proximity of the apse recalls the arrangement discovered next to the Aula Palatina at Trier.[49] Similarities with the Trier structure lay in yet another aspect of the Romuliana audience hall: its exterior walls were articulated by an evenly spaced system of shallow pilasters that undoubtedly supported blind arcades. Of no struc-

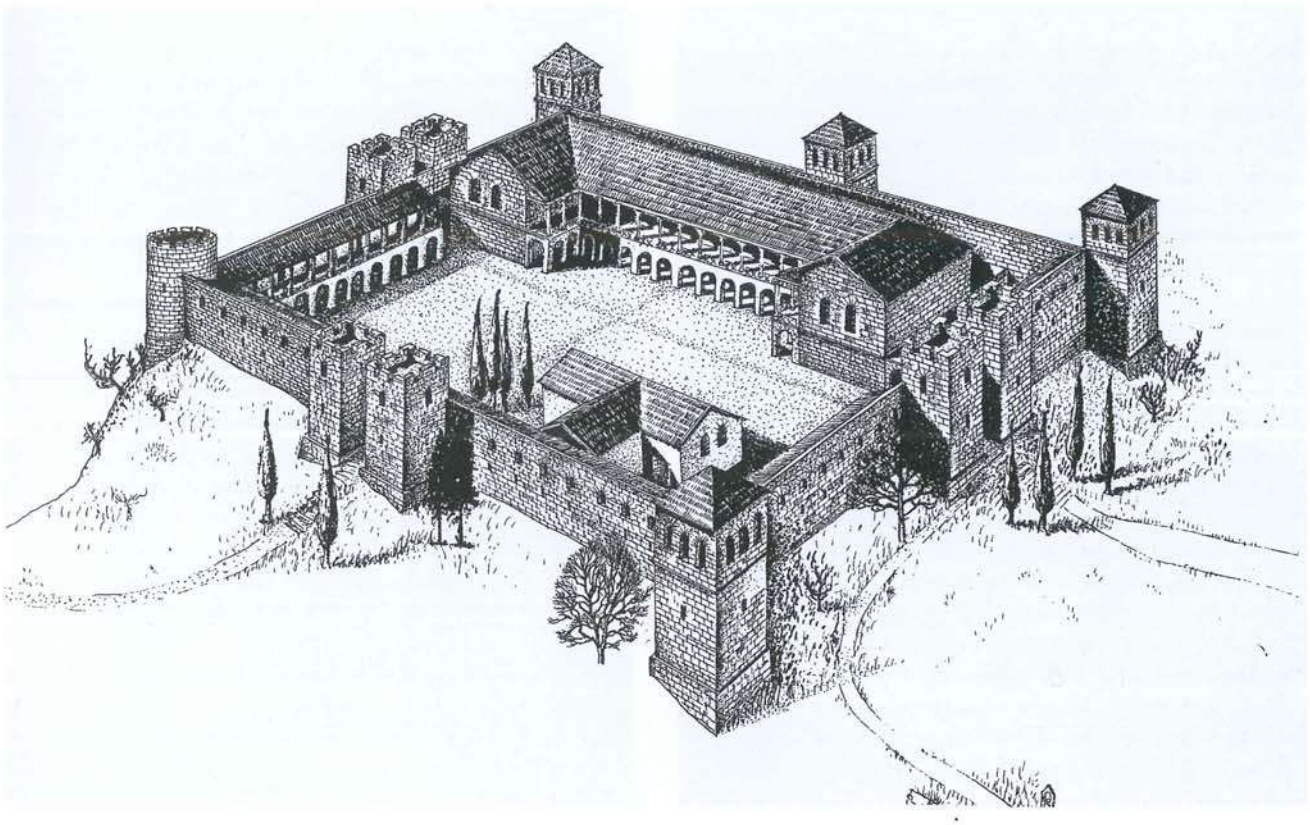
tural significance, this system of blind arcades – which also appears in other components of the Romuliana palace – reveals a formal preference with clear stylistic overtones. On the other side of the peristyle court flanking the audience hall was a small bath of a most curious design. Entered through a small circular room, the bath consisted of two rooms – the north one four-lobed, and the south three-lobed. Such a highly irregular plan reveals the beginning of a process of experimentation in the design of private baths whose principle aim must have been ostentatious display. The multi-lobed bath at Romuliana was probably covered by ten domes, which must have given its exterior a particularly rich silhouette.[50]

More modest than the two imperial palatial complexes that have just been discussed must have been the official residence whose remains came to light in the excavations at Abritus (modern Razgrad, Bulgaria).[51] Measuring 40 × 80 meters, the building must have occupied a full city block, approximating in size, if not in character, the Romuliana complex (fig. 28). Essentially symmetrical in plan, the building has all of the prin-



27 Mogorjelo, Fortified villa; plan

28 Mogorjelo, Fortified villa; reconstruction drawing



cipal features of what was becoming a new standard of luxury residential architecture at this time. A major part of the building was occupied by a large peristyle court, measuring roughly 18 × 28 meters. The courtyard had two entrances: on the south and on the east sides. The main entrance, apparently, was the one on the south side, through a corridor-like passageway framed by a series of shops and fronted by the colonnaded portico of the main city avenue. The east entrance appears to have been more modest and was related to a side street. The peristyle court was enveloped on the south, west, and east sides by long rooms of presumably utilitarian nature. The ceremonial wing of the house was situated on the north side, its rooms opening directly onto the northern portico of the main peristyle court. In other words, it had a southern aspect, as was customary in residential architecture of this period. The northern portico of the peristyle court featured two wing-like extensions – the customary *alae*, of which the northern one contained the *lararium*. The centerpiece of the ceremonial wing was a large single-aisled apsed basilican hall, measuring approximately 8 × 18 meters, and positioned on the main axis of the entire complex. The constellation of rooms flanking the hall is noteworthy: a symmetrical pair of rooms, directly accessible from the hall, was situated on both the west and the east sides. The northern pair was longer and extended to the exterior walls of the complex. The southern pair was narrower, and was flanked by a pair of similar rooms, functionally unrelated to the main hall. Such a constellation of four rooms directly related to a basilican chamber appears to have become a norm in the planning of official residential complexes around AD 300. Its formal characteristics have not been sufficiently studied in terms of the functions they were presumably intended to accommodate. Without going into too much detail, it should be noted that the main room was clearly a type of audience hall. The lateral rooms must have been intended to accommodate personnel and visitors for the purposes of conducting carefully programmed ceremonial appearances in the presence of a dignitary. We know pitifully little about such events on the level of lesser officials, but the imperial court ceremonial does offer some insights, and we shall consequently return to this important point again.

The last example of representative residential architecture that we will consider in this section is the fortified villa at Mogorjelo, near Čapljina, once in the Roman province of Dalmatia (now in Bosnia and Herzegovina).[52] Featuring a regular, symmetrical plan, this villa displays many characteristics typical of the period (figs. 26 and 27). Measuring approximately 80 × 100 meters, this fortified residence roughly corresponds in area to the contemporary miniature city of Dinogetia, which we have considered. Its rectangular plan, marked by projecting square towers (and a single circular one), three monumental gates flanked by pairs of towers, and a system of uniform cells lining three of its outer walls, follows the pattern typical of contemporary military outposts, known as *castella*. Unlike *castella*, however, the interior of this complex contained a U-shaped symmetrical residential block, presumably occupied by some state official. The block with its two wings was two-storied, and had corresponding open porches on both levels, which provided direct access into individual rooms. Despite the evidence of mosaic and fresco decoration, as well as *opus sectile* panels, this residence displays a considerably lower level of opulence than the "town house" at Abritus. The villa at Mogorjelo represents a distinctive form that blends civilian and military needs, generally characteristic of the tetrarchic age. Built over the remains of a destroyed first-century *villa rustica*, the late third-century fortified villa also signals the passing of the original private property of a magnate into the hands of the state.

Domes and Building Technology

The experimentation that we have already noted in the discussion of urban and architectural developments during the period of the Tetrarchy had other, more specific manifestations as well. Among these was an increased incidence of domes in the design of buildings. Domes as such were commonplace elements in Roman architecture from early times. Their use, however, was not so widespread, being generally restricted to individual monumental buildings. Only in exceptional cases did Roman architects resort to the use of domes in ways that departed from these very narrow parameters. While this may have been predicated on the symbolic perception of domical forms, it may also have had to do with technological factors. In earlier Roman architecture, domes were constructed from two basic materials – stone and concrete. The use of wood in the construction of domes has been postulated, but hard evidence for their existence is essentially lacking.[53] During the later third century AD domes began to appear in far greater numbers in Roman architecture. Likewise, their application seems to have spread into a far greater range of building types. In large measure this would seem to correspond to the introduction of brick as a major building material. Brick was not only lighter than stone and concrete, but also had other significant technical advantages over these materials in the construction of domes. Most important, domes constructed of brick required little if any centering, making their construction economically far more attractive. Despite the objective problem of the poor rate of survival of buildings from this period in general, we must turn to some important preserved examples, which provide sufficient evidence to facilitate broader conclusions.

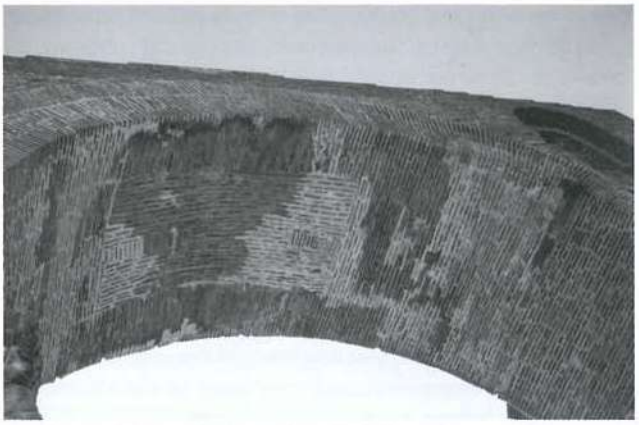
The only dome fully preserved in its original form from the tetrarchic era in the Balkans is that of the Mausoleum of

Diocletian in Split (fig. 28). Built entirely of brick, it is hemispherical in form, has no apertures and rests directly on the massive walls externally and internally faced with finely worked stone. Its shell was constructed in a very characteristic fashion, consisting of a series of concentric superimposed and intersecting brick arches (fig. 29). As far as we know, the pattern, also familiar in Roman pavement designs, has no precedents in dome construction. Although some brick arches were embedded within the concrete dome shells of buildings such as the Pantheon and the "Nympheum" in the Licinian Gardens in Rome, the exclusive use of brick for the construction of domes was a new practice, and was apparently brought from the East. Measuring only 13.5 meters in diameter, the dome of the Mausoleum of Diocletian belongs to the category of medium-sized Roman domes, and hardly constitutes a noteworthy achievement from that point of view. Most important is the fact that, despite its functional significance, it was not unique in the context of Diocletian's palace. The dome of the circular vestibule was also constructed of brick, at least in its lower portions. It is unclear whether its large oculus was actually a deliberately planned feature, or whether it came about as a result of a partial dome collapse. Two other blind domes constructed exclusively of brick may be seen in the basement of the palace. One of these belongs to a small cylindrical room with a diameter just under 5 meters, another also to a cylindrical room, 7.5 meters in diameter, with diagonally placed round niches. In these two domes the bricks were laid in concentric circles to form the hemispherical shells. Whether the corresponding rooms in the palace on the upper level would also have had domes, and whether these would have been made of brick, are matters of pure conjecture. It is important, however, that the basements of Diocletian's palace display the strict use of well-worked stone ashlars for rising walls and piers, and the exclusive use of brick for all types of vaulting (barrel vaults, cross vaults, semi-domes). Such specialized uses of materials appear to have originated in the East. The practice seems to have been without precedents in western Roman architecture, but significantly it would play a major role in Early Byzantine buildings.

29 Split, Fortified city; Mausoleum of Diocletian, interior engraving, ca 1782 (L.F. Cassas, 1782)

30 Split, Fortified city; Mausoleum of Diocletian, dome construction, detail

31 Romuliana, Fortified city; SW corner tower, entrance vaulting, interior



32 Thessaloniki, Imperial palace; Arch of Galerius, vault construction

The dome that originally rose over the central, square space of the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki no longer survives. It was destroyed along with the eastern half of the great tetrapylon. Traces of its pendentives have been preserved at the base of the remaining western arch. From this, it is clear that the dome, as was the case with all of the arches in this building, was built exclusively of brick. The use of brick for vaulting, in contrast to the stone piers in the Arch of Galerius, follows the same principle of specialized uses of materials found in Diocletian's palace. Fragments of yet another dome at Galerius' Palace in Thessaloniki point to similarities with the new construction methods observed in the palace at Split. An excavated section of the dome shell belonging to the palace octagon reveals that it too was made solely of brick, and that this was laid in a pattern of concentric superimposed intersecting arches, in a manner comparable to the dome of the Mausoleum of Diocletian. Our notions about the origins of brick vaulting in Asia Minor are reinforced by the consistent use of the so-called pitched brick construction technique in arches and vaults at the Palace of Galerius.[54] An identical vaulting technique, commonly associated with construction methods in eastern Roman provinces, has also been preserved in one of the corner towers of Romuliana as well as on the underside of the great brick arch of the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (figs. 30 and 31).

From the above it is clear that, along with new architectural design schemes, new building methods also found their way into the Balkans during this crucial period. The use of carefully worked stone ashlars, as in the case of Diocletian's palace, has been unmistakably linked with Syria, thanks to the numerous masons' marks preserved in that complex. The use of brick in vaulting was likewise an imported practice, most probably developed in the coastal areas of Asia Minor, from where it could have been brought into the Balkans. Antioch, one of the main cities of this era, about which we know pitifully little, owing to its geo-cultural location, was the most likely source of masons and possibly whole workshops engaged by Diocletian for the construction of his retirement palace near Salona. While Galerius' building crews at Thessaloniki and Romuliana were clearly different, they, too, must have been brought from the East. The influx of Eastern artisans must be perceived, on the one hand, as a continuation of Roman imperial practice, but on the other hand also as evidence of increased mobility, even instability, characteristic of the period in question. The central place given to the Balkans during the Tetrarchy reflects many different, yet inseparable factors – political, military, social, economic, etc. – all in a general state of flux. Rapid and at times unforeseeable change characterizes developments even in contexts as immune to abrupt shifts of direction as the building trade. Such a state of affairs is generally seen by modern historians as evidence of "vitality" in contrast to "decline," a perception embraced by the previous generation of students of this period.[55] The creative energy evidenced in the realm of urban developments, architectural creativity, and technological sharing has no parallels in earlier Roman history. Lactantius' characterization of Diocletian as a man of "infinite desire to build," seems hardly to have been a figure of speech.[56] Seen in this context, Diocletian's reforms spelled far more than major political and social change: they effectively inaugurated a major new cultural play, set upon a new stage and for an entirely new audience. The architecture of the Balkans at the turn of the fourth century was the clearest manifestation of the spirit of this new era.

2

Constantine I and his Successors

312–*circa* 400

The "cultural play" set upon the Balkan stage by Diocletian and his collaborators had its second – and perhaps most critical act – during the reign of Constantine I (305–37) and his successors. Constantine, as one of the disenfranchised sons of a ruling tetrarch, rebelled against the new system of succession.[1] The ultimate result of this rebellion was the end of the short-lived Tetrarchy, and essentially the return to the old system of rule by a single emperor. Far more significant were Constantine's many other accomplishments that, in spirit at least, continued the "vibrancy" of change initiated by Diocletian. Confronted by many of the same problems – barbarian threats, the challenging Christian presence, and the general sense of collapsing external and internal security – Constantine made several bold moves of far-reaching historical consequence. He is perhaps best remembered for accepting Christianity as the official religion of the Roman state, diametrically reversing the policy of his immediate predecessors, who had attempted to solve the Christian problem by direct, often violent confrontation. Facing the continued barbarian threat and invasions, Constantine chose to follow the policy of his predecessors by reinforcing the Danube *limes*, while at the same time actively building and fortifying cities within the Balkan heartland. The most spectacular of Constantine's urban enterprises was the establishment of the new capital that bore his name – Constantinople. Motivated by a wide range of factors – the antagonism of the powerful pagan aristocracy of Rome among them – Constantine made his new capital on the Balkan peninsula, thus recognizing and reaffirming some of the significant trends begun ostensibly by Diocletian and Galerius. Though the Christian Church became his principal beneficiary, Constantine did not make a clean break with the pagan past. The character of his new capital illustrates this point in no uncertain terms. As a builder Constantine exceeded the Tetrarchs in ambition and in the volume of achievement. So extensive were his projects that the demand for builders exceeded the number available. In his ordinance of 334, Constantine addressed the praetorian prefect posted at Carthage thus: "There is need of as many architects as possible, but since there are none of them, your sublimity shall encourage to this study those men in the African provinces who are about eighteen years old and have had a taste for liberal arts," while at the same time granting the profession privileges greater than those enjoyed by most citizens at the time.[2] The great irony of history is that for all the emphasis placed on construction, virtually nothing associated with Constantine's patronage has been preserved in the Balkans. Even the name of *his* city was changed to Istanbul, thus further relegating the memory of Constantine's accomplishments to the realm

Map 2

Key to Map 2

Aquileia	22	Drobeta	1	Philippi	20	Sucidava	12
Bargala	15	Iatrus	10	Remesiana	14	Thessaloniki	17
Castra Martis	7	Mediana	21	Salona	19	Tropaeum Traiani	8
Castra Nicea	5	Naissus	13	Scampis	3	Ulmetum	9
Constantinople	18	Nova Lederata	2	Serdica	16	Vig	4
Donje Butorke	6	Oescus	11	Stobi	23		

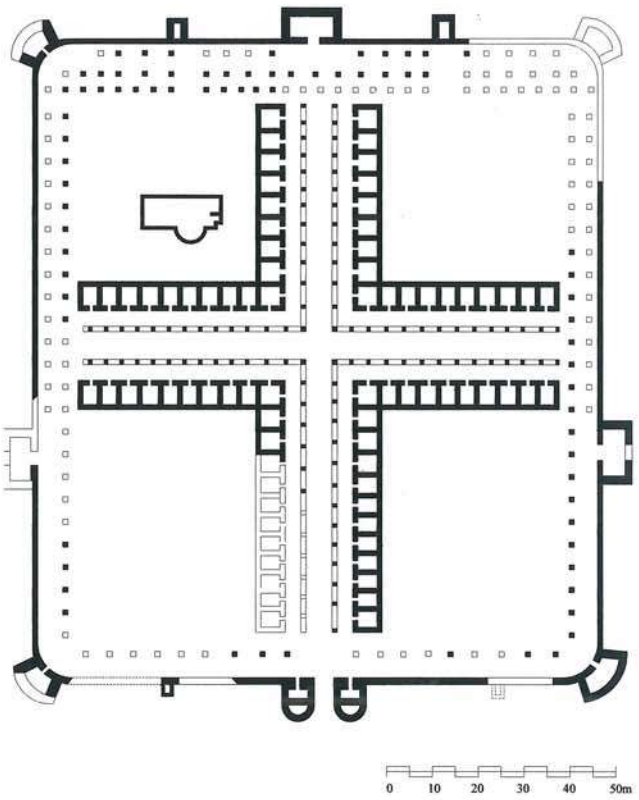
of total abstraction. Considering these realities, this chapter addresses the main issues substantially on a conceptual plane. Such an approach is made possible by archaeological discoveries of foundation remains and by the surviving written evidence. Even in the realm of abstraction, the architectural achievements of Constantine I and his followers in the Balkans constitute a major legacy that profoundly affected the course of subsequent architectural developments in the area. As in the first chapter, our discussion will begin with military and urban planning developments and end with individual architectural achievements. A substantial component of this chapter will be devoted to the new capital city – Constantinople – and another to the discussion of the Christian impact on the architectural activity of this period.

MILITARY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

The vulnerability of the Roman frontiers, and of the Danube *limes* in particular, became a major issue, as we have seen, during the second half of the third century AD. Inasmuch as the protection of the frontiers was one of the main military goals of the tetrarchic emperors, its futility appears to have been recognized, if not openly admitted, at the same time. The final withdrawal from the province of Dacia in 271 signaled a more urgent need to fortify the southern banks of the Danube, which marked a long and still tenuous frontier line. Thus, as we have seen, the ambitious building program set into motion involved rebuilding and refortifying old frontier towns and fortification outposts, as well as building new ones. At the same time, it also fostered construction of fortifications within the Balkan hinterlands physically far away from the *limes*. In other words, while attempting to maintain an impregnable *limes* in place, the tetrarchic emperors took no chances with regard to the individual urban settlements, wherever they were located. The lessons of the first barbarian incursions of the mid-third century (Athens, Corinth, etc.) were too vivid and too painful. Constantine's problems vis-à-vis the unpredictable barbarian presence along the Danube and his responses suggest that he essentially pursued the same line of thinking as his predecessors, albeit perhaps with even greater vigor.

Military Outposts

All military construction in the Balkans, already starting during the tetrarchic era and continuing under Constantine, involved masonry fortification walls. Wooden palisades, earthen embankments, and other defensive devices became things of the past; thick masonry walls equipped with crenelations and projecting towers became essential defensive components of all military establishments no matter how large or small, or where they were situated, either geographically or topographically speaking. The Danube *limes* provides a wealth of information regarding the changing needs and Roman military responses to them.[3]



33 Drobeta, Fortified camp; plan

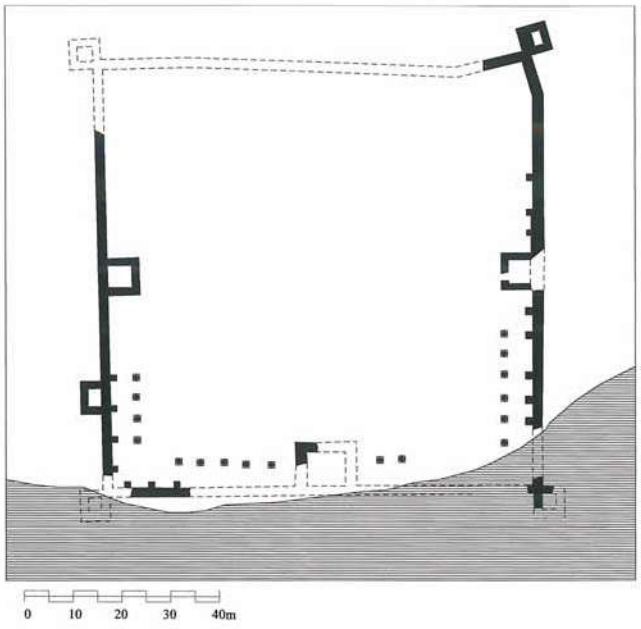
One of the most instructive examples of the types of change that took place at the time is the fortified camp at Drobeta (modern Turnu Severin, Romania).[4] Initially built as a fortified camp by Trajan (AD 98–117), it featured a regular, symmetrical plan with four gates, one on each of the four straight walls of the enclosure. Measuring 1.75 hectares in area, its main function had been to guard the north end of the newly built bridge over the Danube, the work of the celebrated engineer Apollodorus of Damascus. Although the bridge itself had been already dismantled by Hadrian (117–38), the strategic importance of Drobeta continued. Constantine undertook to rebuild the camp (fig. 33). Its rigidly regular layout was not only maintained, but was in fact reinforced, though not without significant modifications. The most important of these was the reduction of the number

of gates to only one, surely reflecting security concerns. The layout of the interior of the camp, with a bilaterally symmetrical layout of intersecting colonnaded avenues, if anything would seem to call for four gates, but only one, facing the Danube on the south side, was actually built.

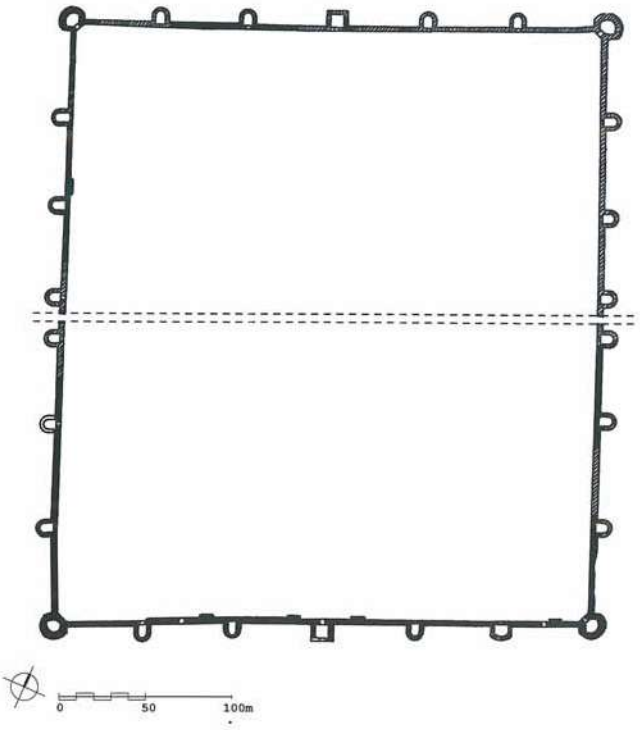
Another strategic point on the Danube, before it enters into the so-called Iron Gate gorge, was identified and studied on the island of Sapaja (near Stara Palanka, Serbia). Shortly after its discovery it was lost forever below the waters of an artificial lake created by the damming of the river in the late 1960s.[5] Strategically linked with a fort identified as Lederata, on a plateau above the opposite, south bank of the river, a *castellum* on the island of Sapaja, in antiquity known as Nova Lederata, was built to control this important crossing point. Though Roman military presence on the island began much earlier, it was under Constantine I that the new *castellum* came into being. Measuring 105 × 105 meters in plan, therefore slightly smaller than Drobeta, this fort was marked by four projecting square corner towers, an internal fortified gate facing the river and piered porticoes along the enclosure walls (fig. 34).

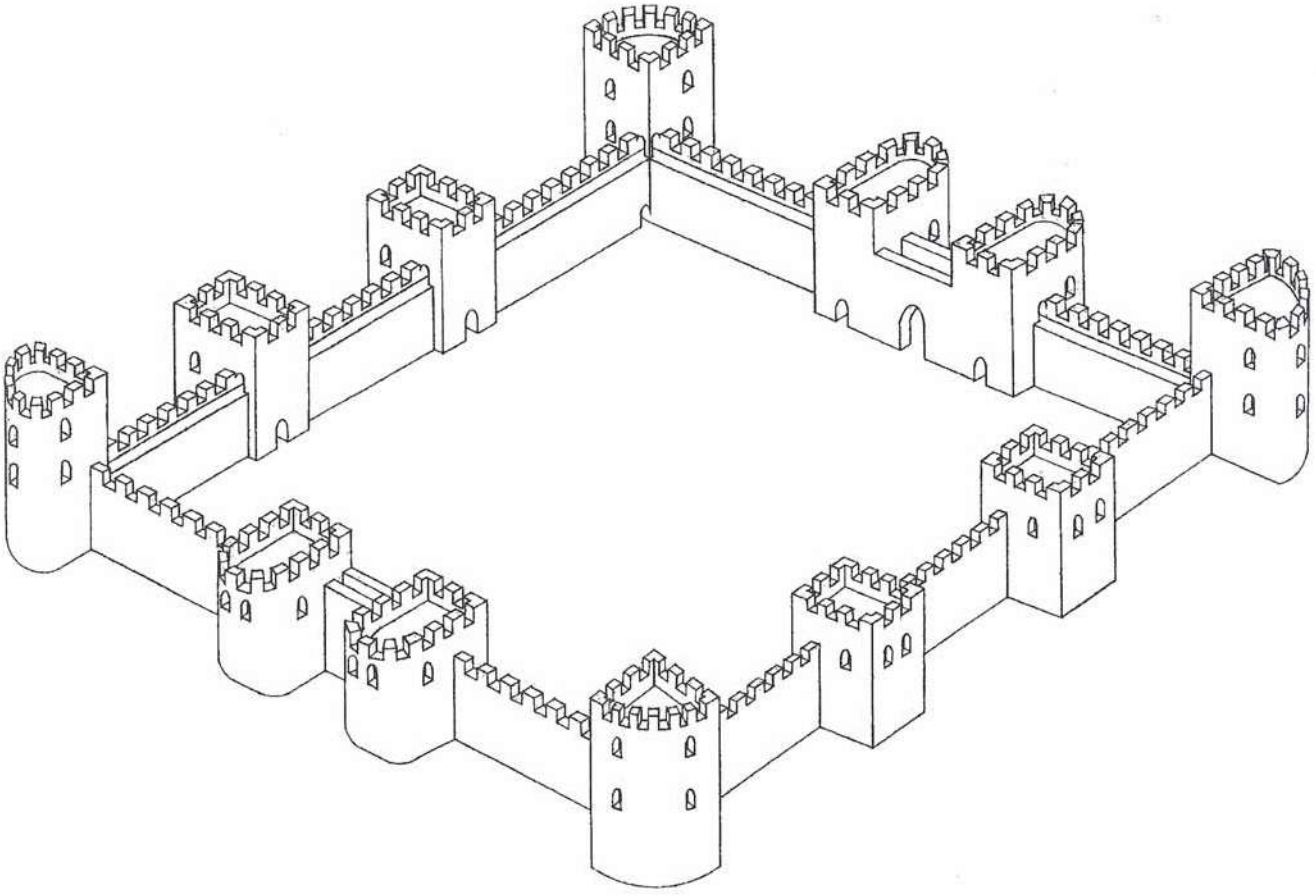
Such rigidly symmetrical planning of a military outpost may also be seen in another early fourth-century foundation – the *castrum* of Scampis, or Scampa (modern Elbasan, Albania).[6] Built possibly as early as AD 320, Scampis came into being with the express purpose of controlling traffic on the Via Egnatia, the main east–west Roman road crossing the Balkans, roughly at mid-distance between Dyrrachion (modern Durres, Albania), its starting point on the Ionian Sea, and Lychnidos (modern Ohrid, Macedonia) on the lake of the same name. Measuring 308 × 348 meters, and with an area of roughly 10 hectares, Scampis belongs to the category of larger military establishments (fig. 35). It corresponds in size, it will be noted, to such contemporary cities as Abritus and Tropaeum Traiani as rebuilt by Constantine (see below). The fortified enclosure, in fact, *did* become an urban settlement by the fifth century, when it is mentioned as the seat of a bishop. The enclosure wall of the original *castrum* featured twenty-six projecting towers (rectangular, U-shaped, and fan-shaped) and two symmetrically disposed gates – on the east and the west sides – flanked by twin towers and equipped with *propugnacula*. The gates were directly related to the Via Egnatia, which ran through the *castrum* enclosure. The popularity of this type of rigidly symmetrical planning scheme is best attested by the proliferation of *castella*, small military outposts, built throughout the Balkans during the same period. The *castellum*

34 Nova Lederata, Castellum; plan



35 Scampis, Castrum; plan



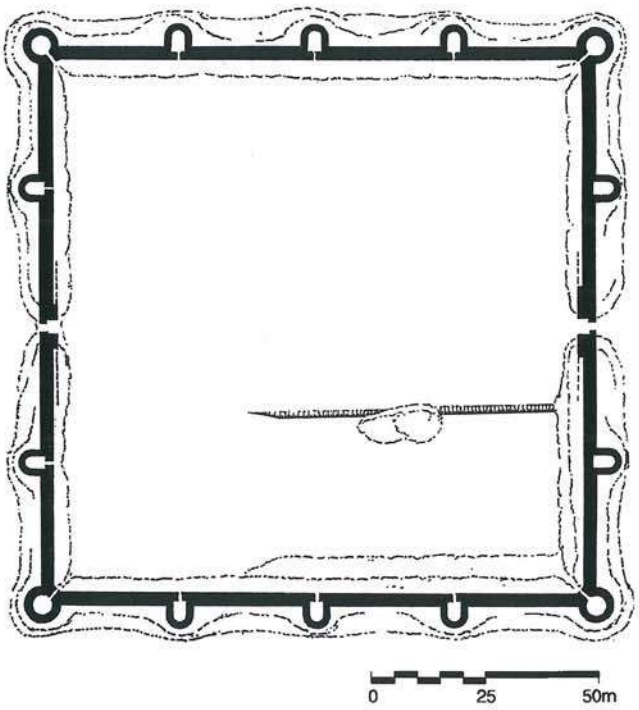


36 Vig, Castellum; axonometric

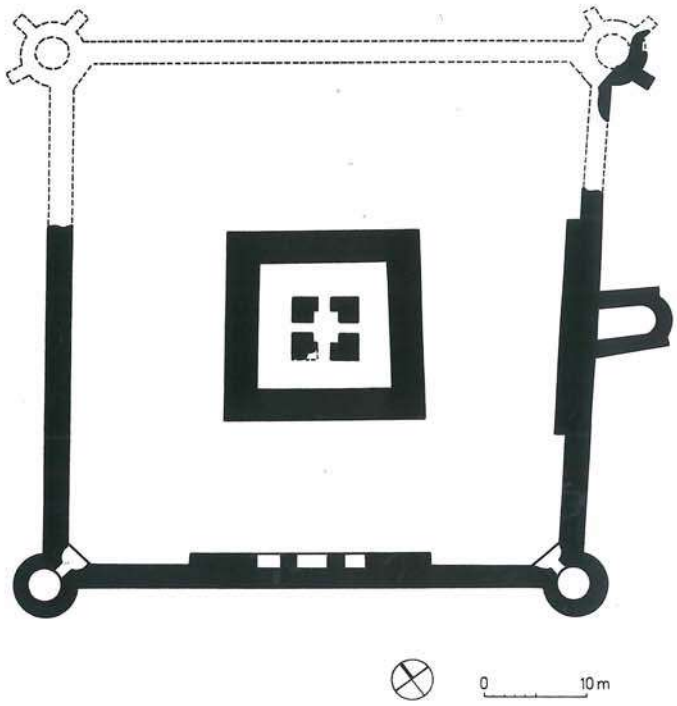
of Vig (possibly ancient Ad Picaria, now in Albania), despite its small size (roughly 75 × 90 m), has all the essential planning and architectural characteristics of Scampis (fig. 36).[7] Almost rectangular in plan, it has twelve projecting towers (rectangular, U-shaped, and fan-shaped) and two gates on the opposite, east and west, sides. The gates, flanked by pairs of towers, guarded a road that traversed the interior of the *castellum*. The outpost, in this case, is dated by an inscription to 311–13, and is attributed to Licinius, Constantine's brother-in-law and eventual adversary.

Farther west, but also similarly related to the Via Egnatia, was the Castra Nicea (present-day Kale near Dolenci, FYROM).[8] Situated between Lychnidos (modern Ohrid) and Heraclea Lyncestis (modern Bitola), Castra Nicea obviously had a major strategic role, controlling a stretch of the most important east–west trans-Balkan route. It was a rigidly regular fortified enclosure, measuring 122 × 125 meters in plan and featuring ten U-shaped and four circular corner towers (fig. 37). Considerably smaller than Scampis, Castra Nicea was larger than Vig, enclosing an area of 1.5 hectares. As in the case of Scampis, the enclosure eventually, in the fifth and sixth centuries, became the seat of a bishop. Both in form and function, the four military bases – Drobeta, Scampis, Vig, and Castra Nicea – are closely related to the distant Constantinian *castellum* of Deutz, straddling the road and guarding the entrance to the bridge across the Rhine leading into Colonia Agrippina (modern Cologne, Germany). Such military planning schemes were certainly not accidental and reflect the particular needs and thinking of a given historical moment.

Last in the category of Constantinian military outposts that we must consider is a group of miniature forts of a very distinctive type. Known by its Latin name *turris*, examples of this type have been identified and studied in an area beyond the Iron Gates on the Danube, in the valley of the River Timok, a tributary of the Danube, near the modern border between Serbia and Bulgaria.[9] The type involves a simple square tower, measur-



37 Dolenci, Castra Nicaea; plan



38 Donje Butorke, Turris; plan

ing from 18.5 to 19.5 meters on the side. It is characterized by an internal system of four massive piers, presumably supporting a taller central portion of the tower, the entire construction at times protected by an enclosure wall, as at Donje Butorke (fig. 38). All of these structures are preserved basically in their foundations only, so that their height cannot be determined with any precision. They appear to have been primarily watchtowers and may have been used for sending warning signals. Occasionally they were further protected by a lower mural enclosure, though in certain cases these may have been later additions. Most of the towers in question appear to date from *circa* 300 (Kladovo/Donje Butorke, Mora Vagei, and Bordjej) to *circa* 400 (Ljubičevac; Ušće Slatinske Reke, of the mid-fourth century; Rtkovo/Glamija 1, second half of the fourth century; Mihailovac, late fourth century), although the exact dating in most cases is contested. Towers of the same type appear elsewhere (e.g., at Dinogetia, as well as along the *limes* in Hungary, where as many as twenty-two have been dated to the fourth century). A unique miniature fort – Castra Martis (modern Kula, near Vidin, Bulgaria) – should be related to this group.[10] Datable to the early fourth century, it is still partially standing. Its plan is a nearly perfect square measuring 34 × 34 meters (figs. 39 and 40). Its tight interior court was almost fully taken up by a symmetrically laid-out building with a series of axially aligned doors leading to a square chamber at the back wall. The building most closely resembles a *praetorium*, with its square chamber, the mandatory shrine for military standards. If this functional identification is correct, then Castra Martis could have been a fortified *praetorium* of a military unit stationed, perhaps in several lesser forts, in the vicinity. Such a functional organization would have been as unusual as is the architecture of this building. With its four cylindrical corner towers, Castra Martis must have represented the quintessential *tetrapyrgion* type referred to by ancient authors. The type seems to have embodied more than the definition of its formal characteristics. It appears to have been a veritable paradigm, if not indeed a symbol of late antique fortification architecture, as may be gleaned from various late antique graphic representations of fortifications.

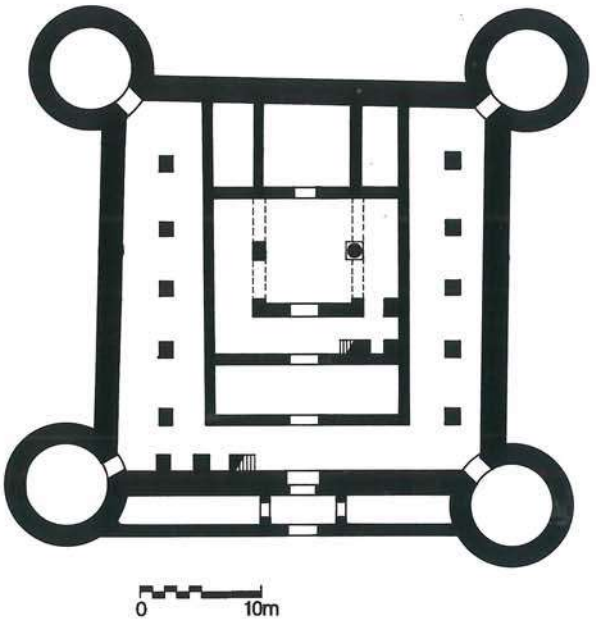
Rebuilt and Newly Fortified Cities

In many cases it is impossible to distinguish clearly between tetrarchic and Constantinian fortifications, because such build-

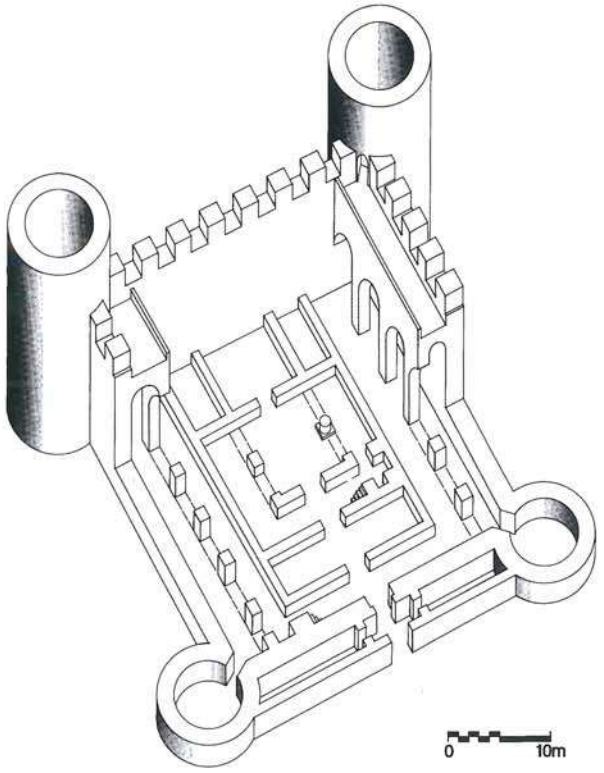
ing enterprises often either overlapped in time or were rebuilt in short succession. In this section we will concentrate on a number of precisely dated Constantinian works that plainly demonstrate the nature of his broader intentions.

We will begin with several cities situated on the lower Danube and related to the *limes* system. The *municipium* Tropaeum Traiani (present-day Adamclisi in the Romanian province of Dobruja), founded by Trajan, is best known for the famous "Tropaeum," a victory monument celebrating the Roman conquest of Dacia in AD 106.[11] The original Roman settlement was destroyed, probably in 295 by invading Goths. It was completely rebuilt and fortified – as recorded on a precisely dated inscription affirming the decision to protect the *limes* – by Constantine in 316 (fig. 41). Extensive archaeological excavations have revealed an irregular line of walls featuring three city gates and twenty-two horseshoe-shaped and fan-shaped towers, enclosing an area of 9.7 hectares. In size, and in character, Constantinian Tropaeum Traiani resembled the virtually contemporary Abritus, situated some 120 kilometers to the southwest. As at Abritus, both a civilian and a military presence were in evidence. The perpendicular intersection of the city's main avenues is highlighted by the presence of a large, three-aisled civic basilica with a distinctive north–south orientation. Measuring 24 × 56 meters, the basilica was subdivided into three aisles of comparable width by two rows of eighteen columns, of which only the stone bases elevated on pedestals have been preserved *in situ*. Tropaeum Traiani is notable also for the presence of four Christian basilicas within its walls. Some of these were built later, but at least one – the cathedral – must be Constantinian in its initial phase. Its location is particularly noteworthy. Despite its obvious importance, and the fact that it was built after 312, it was tucked away near the city walls, and was clearly kept away from the city center, dominated by the civic basilica. One is reminded of a comparable, albeit more telling situation that occurred in Rome at roughly the same time with the construction of the Lateran Basilica (Basilica Constantiniana) on the site of former military barracks adjacent to the city walls and far away from the Forum Romanum. Two other churches, built in the very center of the city, are of a later date. The *municipium*, estimated to have had a population of approximately 5,000, was supplied by fresh water through four aqueducts and was equipped by a large extramural open-air water reservoir, an obvious major risk for a town whose dependence on water supply would have been the greatest at the time of a siege.

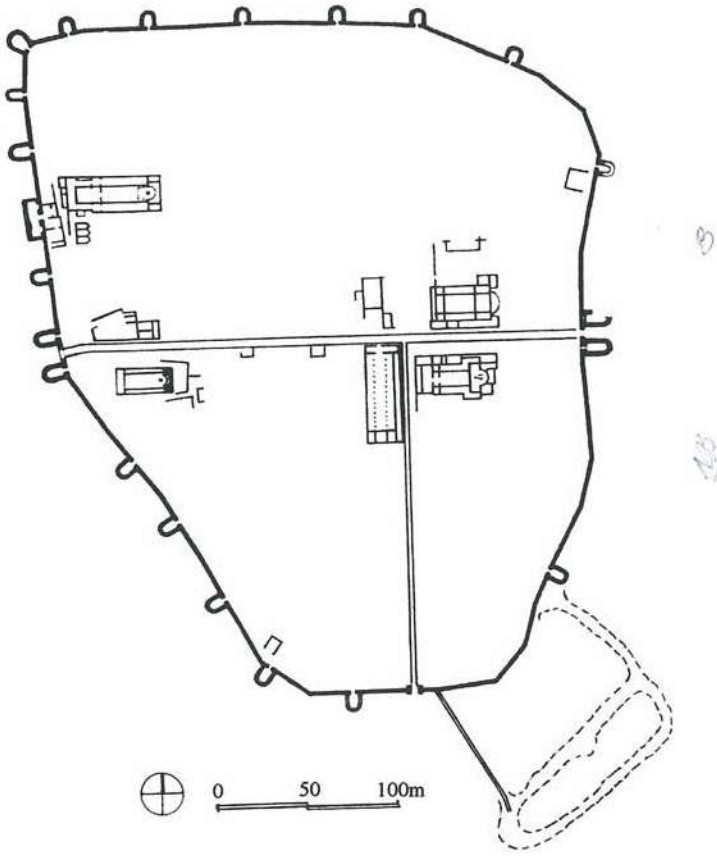
Ulmetum, another Trajanic foundation, in the heart of Dobruja, approximately 60 kilometres northeast of Tropaeum Traiani, underwent a Constantinian rebuilding under similar circumstances.[12] The town, in this case considerably smaller, has a fan-shaped plan whose straight sides measure only 150 meters in



39 Castra Martis, Fort; plan



40 Castra Martis, Fort; axonometric



41 Tropaeum Traiani, Fortified city; plan

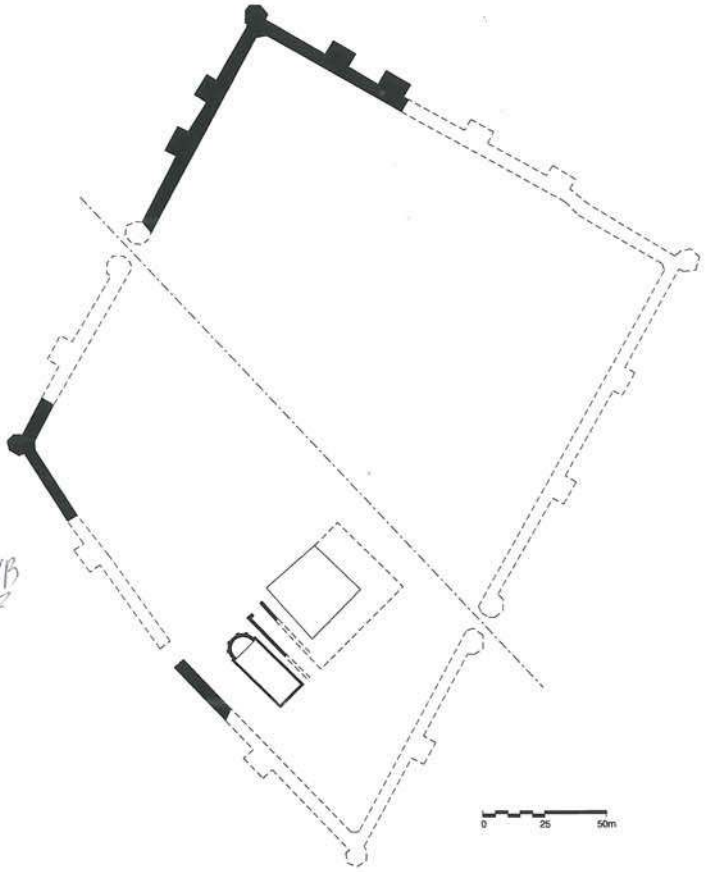
length. Its walls feature an assortment of square, rectangular, circular, and U-shaped towers. As rebuilt in Constantinian times it had two gates – on the west and south sides – flanked by pairs of U-shaped towers. Larger in size, but strictly military in character, was the *castellum* of Iatrus (modern Krivina, Bulgaria) on the River Yantra, near its junction with the Danube.[13] Its irregular plan, predicated by the topography of the site, featured a system of projecting horseshoe-shaped towers, of which only ten are known to have existed. Substantial portions of this fort were eroded by the Yantra and Danube rivers on its north and west sides. Thorough archaeological investigations of the site indicate that its original construction belongs to the period between 320 and 350. A substantial portion of its central elongated area was occupied by the *principia* building featuring a transversal hall with an apse (*sacellum*) and preceded by a peristyle court. The building, approached by a monumental, colonnaded processional avenue, was thus linked directly with the main, eastern gate. Along both flanks of the colonnaded avenue were series of square rooms, presumably constituting the army barracks. The strictly military character of Iatrus lacks any features that would distinguish it from comparable tetrarchic foundations.

A pair of fortifications on the opposite banks of the Danube – at Oescus, on the south, Bulgarian side, and Sucidava on the north, Romanian side – were strengthened under Constantine with the express purpose of defending a newly built bridge over the Danube. The bridge, inaugurated personally by Constantine on 5 July 328, with its length of 1,150 meters, was ostensibly the longest bridge built in antiquity.[14] Much like the famous Danube bridge between Pontes and Drobeta (1,135 m long), built by Apollodorus of Damascus for Hadrian, the Oescus bridge also had a superstructure made of wood. Its wooden arched trusses rested on massive stone piers, the bases of which measuring approximately 19 × 26 meters were discovered in the Danube. By all reckoning, this must have been a masterpiece of contemporary engineering, and a clear indication of Constantine's strategic intentions. Despite the fact that the north bank of the Danube had been abandoned in 271, the new bridge with the strengthened fort at Sucidava at its north end gave the Roman army at least a technical guarantee of quick access to the barbarian side. The bridge was short-lived. In the highly contested area of the Danubian *limes* it must have been a prime target of deliberate barbarian attacks. We know that it was no longer in operation by 367, when Emperor Valens had to resort to other means of crossing the Danube during one of his campaigns.

An area of Constantine's greatest urban building activity in the central Balkans lay between Naissus (modern Niš in Serbia) and Serdica (modern Sofia, capital of Bulgaria). Naissus, Constantine's birthplace and a town of major strategic importance at the junction of the main Balkan north–south road with an east–west road leading to Constantinople, would naturally have received the emperor's attention. An anonymous early fourth-century author writes: "Constantine the Great was born and raised in Naissus; subsequently he embellished the town magnificently," while Stephen of Byzantium refers to Naissus as "Constantine's creation [*ktisma*]."[15] Nothing of this "creation" has survived. Devastated by the Huns in 441, and again by the Avars in 614, the city was repeatedly rebuilt, only to be destroyed again. Recent archaeological excavations have brought to light substantial remains from the time of Justinian, but little of Constantine's city. Remains of yet another fortified settlement belonging to Constantine's era – Remesiana (modern Bela Palanka in Serbia) – some 40 kilometers east of Naisus, and on the same main road that led, via Serdica, to Constantinople, have recently undergone some archaeological exploration.[16] Roughly trapezoidal in plan, with its approximately 0.5 hectares of floor area, Remesiana must have belonged to the category of "miniature cities" that were becoming common in the Balkans *circa* 300

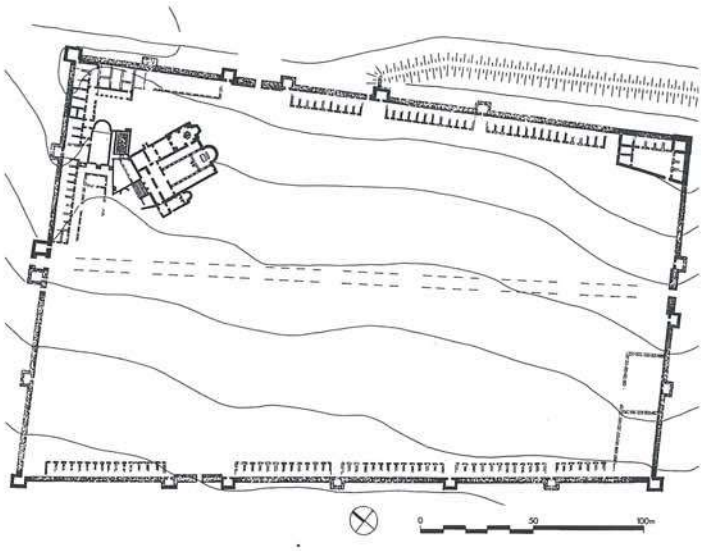
(fig. 42). Fortified by strong walls with projecting square and polygonal towers, Remesiana had two city gates, presumably connected by the principal thoroughfare, as yet unexplored. A comparable contemporary example was a settlement whose ancient name remains unknown, referred to by the modern name of Bargala-Kozjak (FYROM). This was an older settlement fortified at this time by a trapezoidal walled enclosure (fig. 43).[17] The protected area, measuring 4.68 hectares, was traversed by the main road framed by the city buildings, as must have been the case at Remesiana and a number of other fortified military camps discussed above. The enclosure wall was strengthened by projecting rectangular towers and was entered through two gates – in the east and the west stretches of the wall – in direct relationship to the road that ran parallel to the Kozjačka Reka, a tributary of the Bregalnica. As such, Bargala was related to a network of roads linking the central Axios (Vardar) and the Strymon (Struma) river basins.

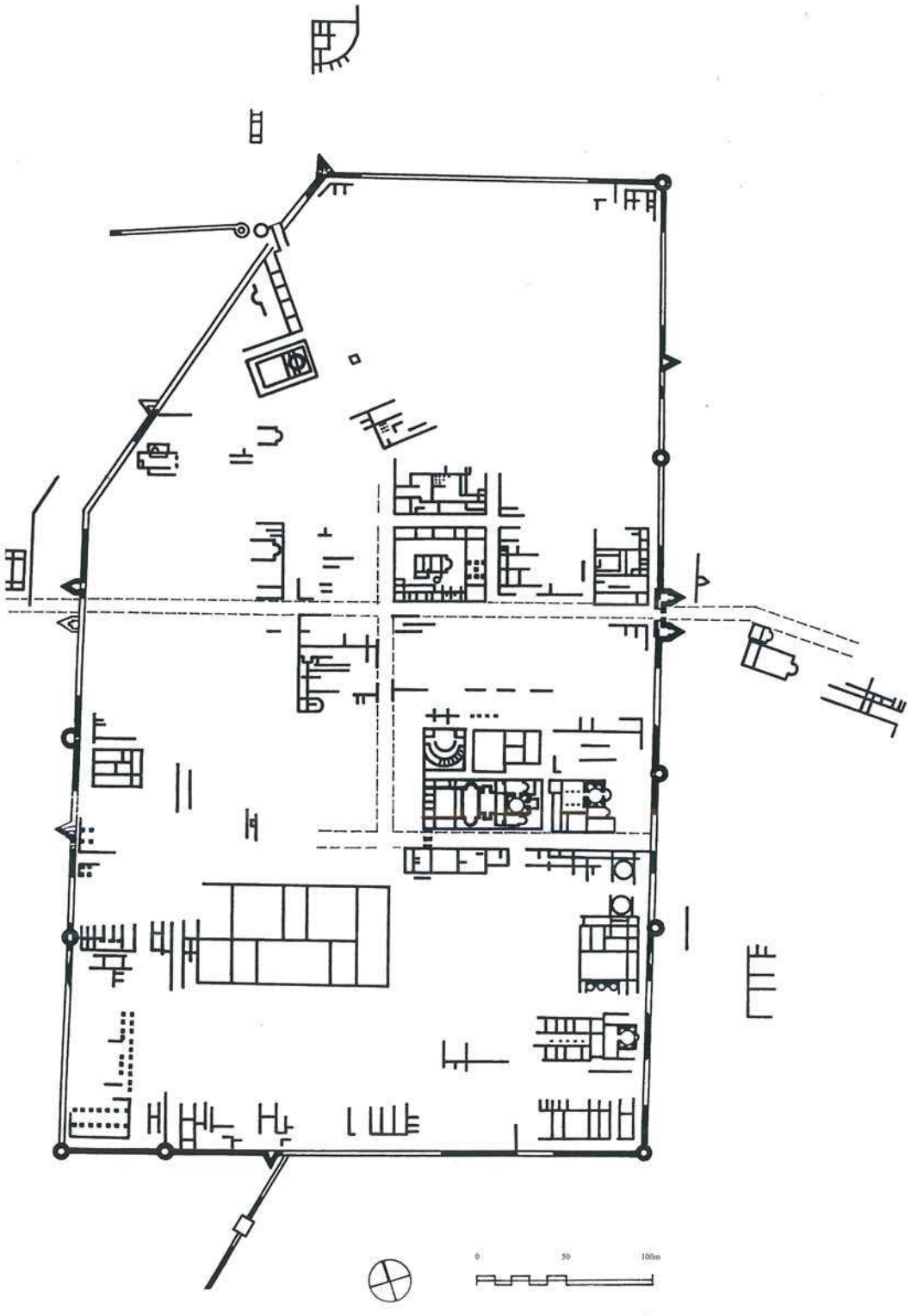
Far more significant in every respect must have been the Constantinian urban interventions in Serdica (Sofia, Bulgaria).[18] Originally a Thracian settlement, Serdica became a Roman administrative center in AD 46. Important strategically, but also attractive because of its mineral water springs, the city prospered under Trajan and Hadrian. Following a surprise attack, it had to be fortified after 170. The trapezoidal enclosure encompassed only 17.5 hectares of the much larger settled area. A refortification followed the mid-third-century invasion of the Goths, when the city became the administrative center of a new province, Dacia Mediterranea.[19] Recognizing the strategic importance of the city, Constantine I made Serdica his temporary headquarters (before his victory over Licinius in 324), and may have even toyed with the idea of making it his capital (fig. 44). The importance of Serdica continued even after Constantine's death, as may be gleaned from the fact that a special Church council met there in 343. A massive rebuilding of the southeastern quarter of second-century Serdica unequivocally demonstrates the scope of Constantine's intentions. Although the archaeological evidence gathered here is far from complete, it is clear that an imperial residence must have been located in this area.[20] The most conspicuous, as the only standing component of this complex, is the rotunda of St. George, a building that may have been a bath related to the palace complex (figs. 45 and 46). The partially excavated remains of the rest of the complex give us some idea of the architectural and artistic quality that, not surprisingly, distinguish this imperial commission. We will have more to say about the imperial palace complex later in this chapter. As meager as the surviving physical evidence is, it makes it abundantly clear that Constantine's patronage of Serdica had put it in the very forefront of architectural activity in the Balkans at the time.



42 Remesiana, Fortified city; plan

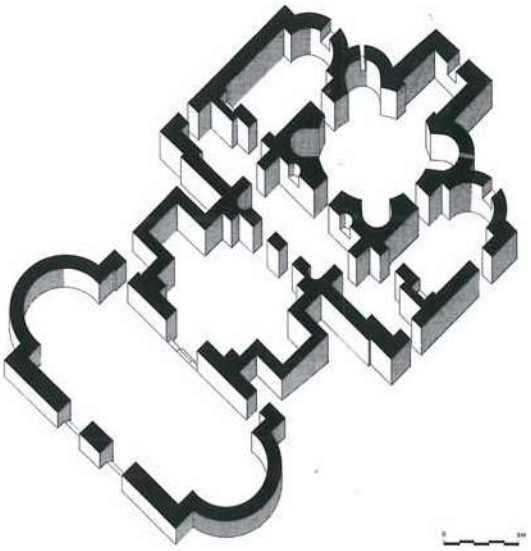
43 Bargala, Fortified city; plan





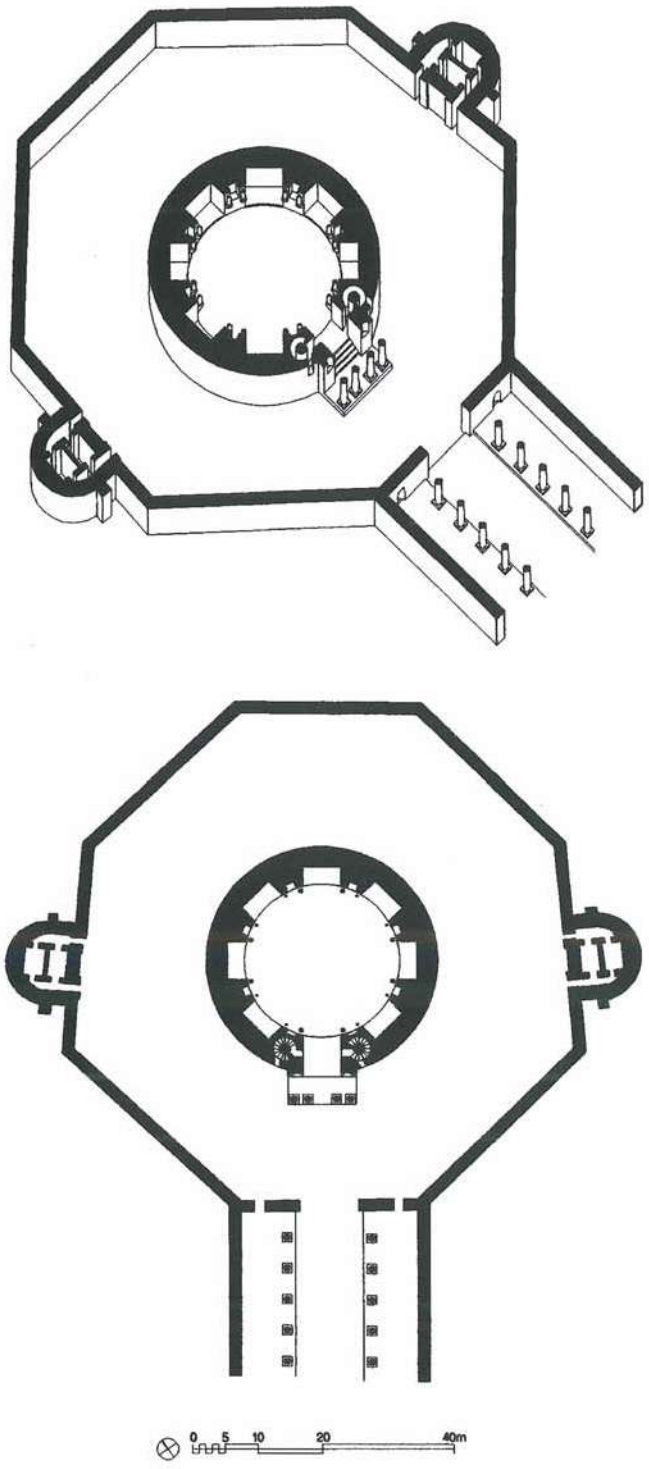
44 Serdica, Fortified city; plan

Constantine's desire to establish a new capital away from Rome, within the eastern half of the Roman Empire, resulted in a process of searching that lasted several decades.[21] In addition to his involvement in Serdica, there are strong indications that by 322–23 he may have turned his attention to Thessaloniki.[22] In contrast to landlocked Serdica, Thessaloniki was a port city that would have ensured Constantine control of the seas, a factor of considerable importance in his attempt to eliminate his last remaining adversary, Licinius. Recognizing its potential, Constantine is known to have built a new harbor in Thessaloniki in 322–23. Built by Goth prisoners of war, this had the capacity to accommodate 200 naval vessels and 2,000 transports. It served Thessaloniki well until the late Middle Ages, after which time it was gradually abandoned. Recent archaeological research suggests that the imperial palace, begun by Galerius as his principal residence, may have actually been completed by Constantine.[23] Observing some of the architectural characteristics of the Rotunda and its urban relationship to the Arch of Galerius, and correlating these with the particular historical cir-



45 Serdica, St. George complex; axonometric reconstruction

46 Serdica, St. George; from E



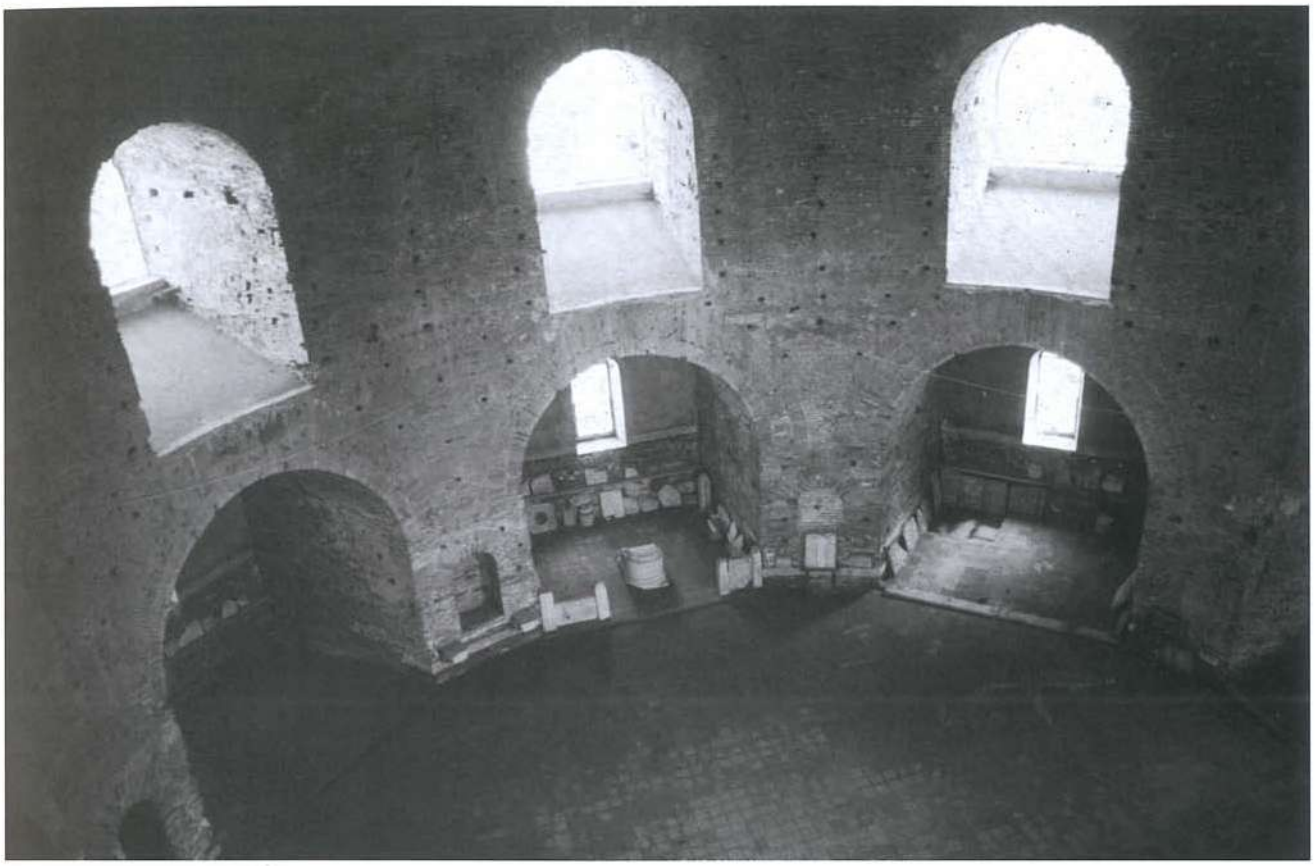
47 Thessaloniki, Rotunda, phase I; axonometric and plan

cumstances, it has been proposed that it may have been Constantine who started building the Rotunda as his mausoleum.[24] It was approached through a columnar portico on its south side and must have appeared as a scaled-down version of the Pantheon in Rome, which, by this time, had become the favorite paradigm for the new type of imperial mausolea.[25]

Unlike the Pantheon, the Rotunda was evidently a freestanding building within an open court of possibly octagonal shape (fig. 47). The concept of a freestanding centralized building within a sacred enclosure is yet another late antique aspect that the Rotunda shared with a number of roughly contemporary buildings.[26] The Rotunda has an inner diameter of 24 meters and an outer diameter of 37 meters. Its massive walls, 6.5 meters thick, are perforated on the ground level by eight rectangular barrel-vaulted niches, each 6 meters wide (fig. 48). An additional eight large barrel-vaulted niches (3.5 m wide and 5.7 m high), placed directly above the ground-level ones, contain windows. Another eight arched windows, 3 meters in diameter, were placed at the base of the dome, above spandrels between the larger windows on the lower level. Seven of the eight barrel vaults on the ground level were enclosed by a thin outer wall, thus forming deep interior niches. The eighth, southern niche contained a door that functioned as the main entrance. The entire outer cylinder of the Rotunda was thus extensively perforated in a manner that significantly departed from the Pantheon prototype and its direct progeny. This characteristic design quality may be seen as a strong indication that the building never had an oculus, but was rather left unfinished during the initial phase of its construction. The abandonment of this project must have occurred shortly after 324, when, having finally defeated Licinius, Constantine made his ultimate choice in his search for the ideal capital location, by initiating the construction of Constantinople. It was there that the last in a series of his potential mausoleum buildings was built. This, along with the related church of the Holy Apostles, will be discussed below. The Rotunda in Thessaloniki, as presented here, should be thought of as the closest surviving indication of what Constantine's lost mausoleum in Constantinople may have looked like.

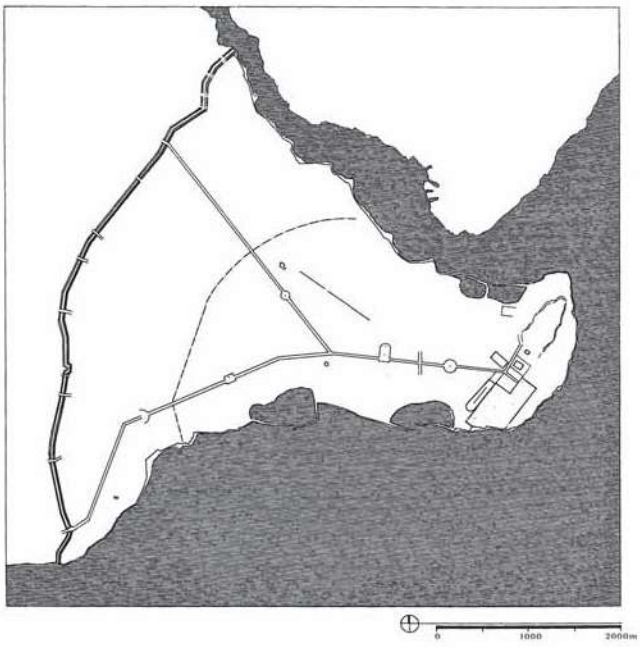
THE NEW CAPITAL

In 324, in what must have been the watershed event of the first half of the fourth century, the armies of Constantine I and Licinius faced each other on a battlefield near Adrianople. Constantine's victory over the last of his rivals, coming twelve years after his defeat of Maxentius in 312, effectively spelled the end of the tetrarchic system. The Roman Empire was once again



48 Thessaloniki, Rotunda, interior

under the rule of one emperor. The return to the "old" imperial traditions, however, was only superficial. Under Constantine, the empire was well under way to becoming Christianized. Despite his enormous building enterprises in the city of Rome, Constantine abandoned the traditional administrative center of the empire once and for all. His apparent hesitation in determining a suitable location for his own capital city, in keeping with other tetrarchic precedents, was quickly dispelled after Licinius' downfall. Already in November 324 work began on the construction of the new capital that would bear the emperor's name – Constantinople.[27] Though the idea of building a new capital probably surprised few contemporaries, nobody could have anticipated its eventual significance. Constantinople was not to be yet another capital of tetrarchic vintage. It was to become the "New Rome," in fact, bringing to the end, at least for a period of time, the mystique of the ancient capital on the Tiber. Its inauguration, on 11 May 330, barely five-and-a-half years after construction had begun, marked the beginning of the transfer of power to the new center. It would take another century before the new city would emerge in its full magnificence. The site that Constantine selected was neither a virgin piece of land nor a city of some historical repute. His choice was a small, ancient Greek colonial establishment – known as Byzantion – situated on a promontory overlooking the southern opening of the straits of the Bosphorus. Kept up as a Roman outpost, it had received some attention from Septimius Severus (193–211), but remained a relatively obscure place until Constantine's decision permanently altered the course of its destiny and made it into one of the great cities of the world. As profound as Constantine's decision was, the conventional perception of Constantinople as the "New Rome" would emerge only much later. Discussing Constantine's actual contribution to the shaping of the new capital is a difficult proposition, rendered all the more complicated by the virtually complete disappearance of physical evidence. Nonetheless, a general outline, largely based on the written sources, is possible (fig. 49).[28]



49 Constantinople, Imperial palace, hippodrome, and environs; schematic plan

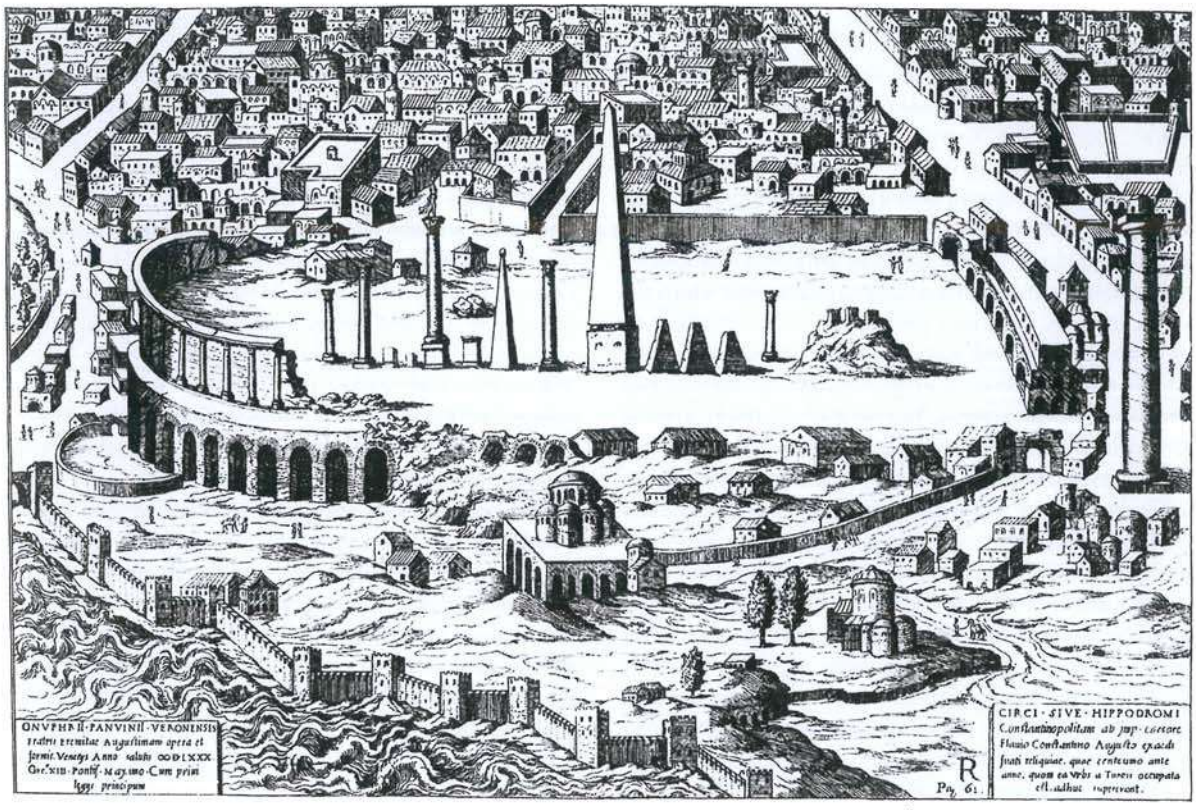
The new city was built beyond the fortified enclosure of Byzantion, taking greater advantage of the promontory contained by the waters of the Sea of Marmara and the Golden Horn. As with most Balkan cities built or reconstructed at this time, the first order of business was to protect the new city by a fortified enclosure. No traces of Constantine's city walls survive, but their general line is known. They stretched in a wide arc from the Sea of Marmara to the banks of the Golden Horn. They were equipped with several gates, of which the so-called "Golden Gate," situated near the extramural church and cemetery of Hagios Mokios, was the most famous. Effectively, the Golden Gate marked the end of the Via Egnatia, the main east–west Balkan road that ran from Dyrrachion on the Ionian coast, through Thessaloniki, to Constantinople. Within the city, it was the starting point of the western branch of the main ceremonial avenue, known as the Mese. The northern branch of this avenue reached the so-called Deuteron Gate, from which another major trans-Balkan road led via Adrianople to Serdica, Naissus, and Sirmium. The two branches of the Mese came together at a square, known as the Philadelphion ("Square of Brotherly Love"), because of porphyry monuments depicting the sons of Constantine embracing each other in a public statement of political harmony. Other monuments in the square included a square porphyry column supporting a monumental cross and a monument with a statue of Constantine's mother, Helena. While even the precise location of the Philadelphion is uncertain, the only shred of evidence related to this showcase of Constantine's propaganda is evidently the statues of his embracing sons. Generally referred to as the "Tetrarchs," they are now embedded along with many other stone spoils into the façade of the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, where they were brought as loot by the Venetians following the taking of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Adjacent to the Philadelphion with its imperial and overtly Christian display of monuments stood a building known as the Capitol, a pagan religious building, possibly a temple, offering clear demonstration of Constantine's initial efforts at appeasing pagans and Christians alike.

From the Philadelphion the Mese continued as a straight porticoed avenue, 25 meters wide, to the Forum of Constantine.[29] Circular in plan, the Forum of Constantine was another spectacular public showcase. Surrounded by two-storied porticoes of gleaming marble, the forum was made to abut the Severan walls of Byzantion, the original gate providing the east opening of the forum. A related marble arch was built as a counterpart on the opposite, west side. The transversal axis of the forum was marked on the north side by the Senate, preceded by a monumental porphyry portico of four columns, and on the south side by a large nymphaeum. In the middle of the forum, in keeping with the best Roman imperial tradition, stood its *raison d'etre* – Constantine's honorific column. Popularly referred to as the "Burnt Column," this is the only remaining feature of Constantine's forum and, in fact, the only structure in the city from the time of Constantine that is still standing. Its base, now obscured by an eighteenth-century Ottoman restoration, was originally surrounded by structures of public and religious significance.[30] At its top stood a bronze statue of the emperor depicted in the guise of the sun god, Helios, with a radiant crown on his head. This strange, almost bizarre juxtaposition of images and symbols related to different religious beliefs, all embraced by the same emperor, was certainly one of the curiosities – and the most eloquent testimony of the consciously exploited possibilities – of Constantine's era.

From the Forum of Constantine, the last stretch of the Mese reached another large public space known as the Tetrastoōn, probably through a tetrapylon, called the Milion, a marble segment of which still survives *in situ*. The Tetrastoōn, as its name implies, was surrounded by porticoes on all four sides, from which one entered various major buildings. On its west side, next to the Milion, stood the so-called Basilica (presumably on the site of the later Yerebatan Cistern). Opposite it stood the second Senate building. The lateral sides of the Tetrastoōn were related to the great Baths of Zeuxippos, on the southwest side, and to the so-called Megalē Ekklēsia ("The Great Church") – later better known as Hagia Sophia – on the northeast side.

Somewhere near the Baths of Zeuxippos must have been the entrance into the imperial palace, characteristically referred to as the "Sacred Palace." The proximity of the baths to the palace entrance was, as we have seen in conjunction with a number of tetrarchic imperial palaces, a norm, apparently related to functional, security-related needs.[31] The imperial palace itself must have been related to tetrarchic imperial palaces, such as those at Thessaloniki and Sirmium. Like them, it was flanked by the hippodrome, with which it formed an important ceremonial unit.[32] The hippodrome, apparently started by Septimius Severus, was finished and probably enlarged by Constantine. From this time are the substantial substructures of the great *sphendone*, which had to be constructed upon massive substructures in order to allow the building to stretch beyond the edge of the natural terrace upon which it was built. The hippodrome had a probable length of approximately 450 meters, corresponding in size to other contemporary circus structures. It was surrounded by a tiered arrangement of seats with a total capacity variously estimated at between 30,000 and 100,000 spectators. The top of the seating area was surrounded by an open gallery whose roof was supported by freestanding colonnades featuring a classical entablature. Portions of this arrangement survived as late as the sixteenth century, as depicted in a number of early woodcuts and engravings of Constantinople (fig. 50). The only other surviving aspects of the great hippodrome, besides the substructures of the *sphendone*, are the three monuments standing in the open space in front of the Blue Mosque: the Obelisk of Theodosius, the Tripod from Delphi, and the so-called Obelisk of Constantine Porphyrogenetos. These, along with a number of other, now lost monuments, originally decorated the top of the so-called *spina*, the central dividing wall of the hippodrome racecourse that lies buried several meters below the present level of the pavement.[33] The tripod was brought to Constantinople from the Sanctuary at Delphi, while the obelisk was obtained from the ancient Egyptian temple at Karnak at the orders of Constantine I. For some reason, the actual installation of the obelisk occurred only in 395 (?) under Emperor Theodosius I (see Chapter 3). These two monuments represent but a fraction of a large cache of artworks pilfered from other sites with the purpose of embellishing the new capital. The lack of a historical aura must have been keenly felt by

50 Constantinople, Hippodrome; engraving (after drawing by Panvinio)



51 Constantinople, Aqueduct of Valens; view as of ca. 1900

Constantine and his advisers in their efforts to lend credibility to their new creation. Other actions, such as imperial decrees promoting the education of young architects, attracting new settlers, etc., reflect singularly the relentless determination with which the work on the new city must have proceeded.

The existence of the new capital, needless to say, depended not only on the magnificence of its façades and the potency of its iconographic statements, but it also required carefully planned facilities and infrastructure – harbors, grain-storage rooms, water cisterns, and aqueducts, providing the city with a fresh water supply – all of which were incorporated into Constantine's building program, though they were not fully implemented until later. Of all the ancient aqueducts, the only visible remaining portion is the impressive stretch known as the "Aqueduct of Valens," whose pier bases now lie buried some six or more meters below the present street levels (fig. 51).[34]

As we have seen, the new capital – despite the active process of Christianization that was sweeping through the empire – was not given an exclusively Christian flavor. In it, not only were the ancient pagan monuments allowed to stand (as was apparently the case with the temples on its acropolis), but new pagan structures were actually built, alongside those that could be termed overtly "Christian." For a new capital of the Christian Roman Empire, the city had remarkably few churches, and an equally remarkably "ancient" appearance.[35] Of the churches attributable to Constantine I, one could perhaps refer to four: Hagia Eirene (the original cathedral of the city), the Holy Apostles, and the martyria of Hagios Mokios and Hagios Akakios. The "Megalē Ekklēsia" (the later Hagia Sophia) may have been started by Constantine, but it was not dedicated until 360, by Constantius II. None of these churches survives, not even their foundations. The only one about which it is possible to say anything regarding its architecture is the church of the Holy Apostles (or Apostoleion), although it, too, has left no visible trace. This church is important for two reasons – it was a martyrium of the Apostles (in fact, the first martyrium to which sacred relics were actually translated) and it was intended to be Constantine's mausoleum. A considerable amount of ink has been spilled discussing this building, its functions, and their implications. The problem was summarized, and reinterpreted in a most convincing man-

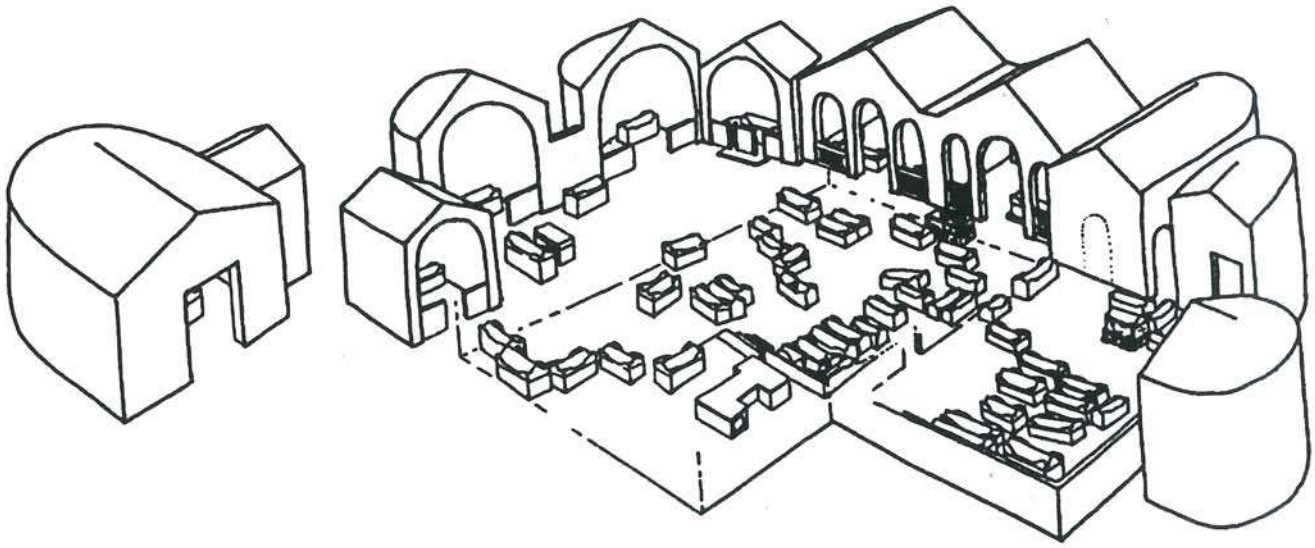
ner, by Mango, according to whom a circular mausoleum for Constantine was built first, and this was also dedicated as a church to the Apostles.[36] The original building, which stood within an enormous open court surrounded by stoas, acquired a major addition during the reign of Constantius II. This second building, cruciform in shape, became the new church dedicated to the Holy Apostles, leaving only the function of imperial mausoleum to the original circular structure. If we assume that the original mausoleum stood in the middle of an open courtyard, the added church was probably not of grandiose dimensions, and was probably accommodated within the same court as the mausoleum to which it was attached. The size of the original court, referred to by the historian Eusebius as "vast," may have occupied a substantial part of the area presently taken up by the Fatih Mosque and its subsidiary buildings. The latter complex will be discussed in Chapter 9.

While the relics of the Apostles Andrew, Timothy, and Luke were solemnly brought to Constantinople from elsewhere, the new capital could claim but two of its own Christian martyrs – Mokios and Akakios. The church dedicated to the former was built over his tomb just outside the Constantinian city walls, and was evidently a type of cemetery basilica, though no traces of it survive. Even less is known about the church of Hagios Akakios, built in 359, and known to have been somewhere on the Golden Horn between the Severan and the Constantinian city walls.[37] Neither their number nor their size nor the amount of space allotted to these martyria in the sources gives any indication that Constantine's city was intended to have an overtly Christian appearance. This initial ambiguity would deliberately be rectified in the following two centuries, during which Constantinople *did* become the Christian capital par excellence.

THE CHRISTIAN PRESENCE

Unlike many cities of the Holy Land, Asia Minor, and even of the Apennine peninsula, Balkan cities provide relatively sparse evidence of an early Christian presence. Despite the celebrated visits by the Apostle Paul to Philippi and Thessaloniki, none of Christ's other disciples, and few of the early martyrs of the Church, actually lived or died on the territory of the Balkans. Christianity, along with other religious cults, had its followers in major Roman coastal urban centers, but indigenous inhabitants of the interior of the peninsula – Illyrians, Thracians, etc. – were affected by its rise only gradually. It was by virtue of the increasing mobility of the Roman army and the changing urban social structures during the second half of the third century that Christianity and other cults began to attract followers in more significant numbers, even in the interior areas. Very few deaths of Christian martyrs occurred in the Balkans before the late third-century persecutions. One of the earliest recorded martyr cults is linked to the second-century saints Florus and Lavrus, two *lithoxooi tēn technēn* ("stone carvers") from the time of Hadrian. Instructed to erect a pagan temple, they did so, but placed a cross on top of the building and then participated in the destruction of statuary made for the building, an act for which they suffered martyrdom by being thrown into a well and buried alive.[38] Their cult is linked to the city of Ulpiana, whose remains have been partially excavated in the region of Kosovo. It is of some interest in the present context that another important martyr cult, associated with the tetrarchic capital of Sirmium (present-day Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia), is also linked to the building trade. This is the cult of the four stonemasons (SS. Claudius, Castorius, Simpronianus, and Nicostratus), better known as the *Quatuor Coronati*, executed in Sirmium during the reign of Diocletian for their unwavering Christian faith.[39] These and other cults rose in importance immediately after 313, spurring the appearance of the first martyria in the Balkans. Initially, these seem to have been generally rather modest buildings, in sharp contrast to the grand structures that rose over major Christian shrines in the Holy Land, in Rome, and elsewhere, erected under imperial auspices. The case of the churches in Constantinople dedicated to the two local martyr-saints – Mokios and Akakios – illustrates the relative insignificance of martyria even in the context of the new capital. The general character of early Christian shrine buildings in the Balkans, as we shall see by examining some specific examples, appears anachronistic in the sense that they seem to have resembled the early Christian shrines of pre-Constantinian times, rather than the contemporary undertakings in other parts of the Christian world. This, one should recall, must have been in sharp contrast with the imperial presence and the related, generally ostentatious building activity in the Balkans during the period.

The best-documented evidence for early Christian activities and shrine building in the Balkans comes from Salona (modern Solin, Croatia).[40] As a major Roman port city on the Adriatic, Salona, whose Roman history goes back to the late second or early first century BC, prospered during the third and fourth centuries AD, when it experienced a major urban expansion to the east, which more than doubled its original size. Promoted to the status of the capital of the province of Dalmatia in 34–33 BC, it retained this function until its final demise in 614. Among the numerous Christian churches of Salona, some of which we shall consider later, five were cemetery basilicas, which, in keeping with Roman tradition, were situated outside the city walls. Two of these were related to original shrines of the venerated martyrs St. Domnius and St. Anastasius. The shrine of St. Domnius (who suffered a martyr's death in 304) arose over his tomb



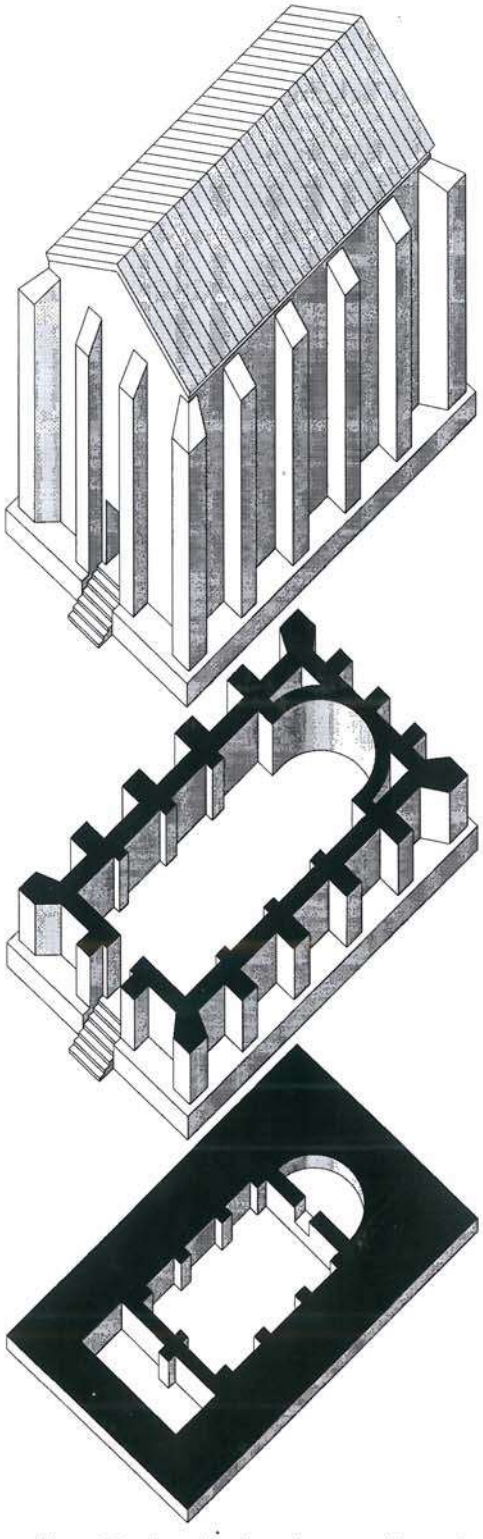
52 Salona, Manastirine, martyrium complex; reconstruction drawing

shortly after the Edict of Milan (313) at a location just north of the city walls, and known by the modern name of Manastirine. In the course of the fourth century it acquired a cluster of apsed chapels containing important tombs, the entire cemeterial arrangement focused on the tomb of the principal martyr, St. Domnius (fig. 52).[41] This complex was destroyed during an invasion by the Goths toward the end of the fourth century, and was replaced by a cemetery basilica in the reconstruction of the first quarter of the fifth century. The second memorial complex – that of Marusinac – was focused on the tomb of St. Anastasius (d. *circa* 300). He was buried in a family mausoleum, a small two-storied structure externally marked by prominently projecting spur buttresses (fig. 53). The upper story contained a space for memorial services, while the crypt below accommodated the tomb of the saint in the apse, and tombs of three family members in the chamber in front of it. The two spaces were separated by a small *fenestrella* (window) for purposes of spiritual communication with the saint. In the first quarter of the fifth century the mausoleum was incorporated into a much larger cemetery complex involving another martyr shrine and a large three-aisled basilica. The Anastasius mausoleum, despite its Christian function as a martyr shrine, was clearly dependent in its design and construction on late Roman mausolea in general. Closely related to it was the mausoleum at Turbe (near Travnik, Bosnia).[42] This small rectangular structure was marked by shallow external pilasters and contained a vaulted crypt accessible by a stair from the main space. The type had a wide circulation in the Christianized West, from the Iberian peninsula (e.g., Alberca, Spain) to the Pannonian Plain (e.g., Pecs, Hungary).

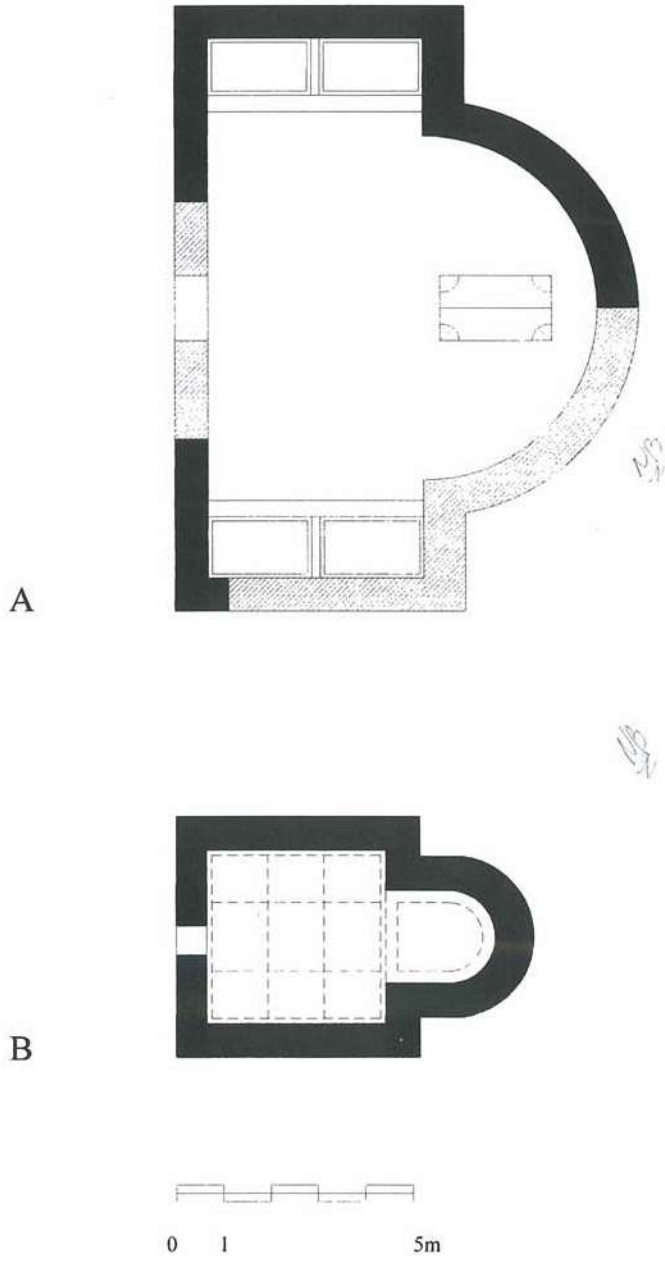
A number of other early Christian memorial shrines and martyria have come to light through archaeological excavations. Their remains are usually found below later churches; they are generally badly preserved and difficult to date. Despite the tenuous nature of this material it is in order to present some of it here. One of the most interesting examples is a martyrium excavated near the eastern gate of Serdica. Discovered during the extensive excavations carried out in this area between 1952 and 1956, and destroyed by subsequent construction on the site, this material has been meaningfully interpreted and published only recently (fig. 54A).[43] According to Boïadziev, the oldest Christian structure to be built on this site was a small martyrium with an apse, some 7 meters across, within which probably stood the martyr's tomb. A transversal rectangular hall resembling a type of transept preceded the apse. Within its shallow projecting wings were probably accommodated tombs – two on each side – of privileged individuals who were laid to rest in the proximity of the martyr's tomb, in a manner recalling the original martyrium at Marusinac in Salona. Notwithstanding the tenuous nature of the archaeological evidence, the relative chronology of this building is not in doubt. Enlarged into a church during the fourth century, it was subsequently replaced – probably in the fifth century – by a much larger, three-aisled basilica with a freestanding baptistery along its northern flank. The most important aspect of this Christian complex, starting

with the original martyrium, is that it was located in the immediate vicinity, or perhaps even within, a monumental public structure that Boiadziev tentatively interprets as a theater, built, according to him, between AD 180 and 190. According to this interpretation, the martyrium was in all probability built on the site of the actual martyrdom of a Christian, who must have fallen victim in one of the gladiatorial spectacles held in this building during one of the officially sponsored persecutions of Christians. That such spectacles were held in public entertainment buildings, such as arenas, circuses, stadia, and specially adapted theaters, is a well-known fact. Thus, the likelihood of such a course of events in this case is not beyond possibility. Unfortunately, owing to the small section of this building that was excavated and recorded, its precise nature cannot be determined with certainty. In all likelihood, it was not a conventional theater, but a stadium of some sort. Its location, just outside the fourth-century city walls, likewise suggests such an interpretation. The evidence with which this group of buildings, and their chronological sequence, presents us must be compared with a situation that has recently come to light in Thessaloniki.[44] Here, according to the excavator, the remains of a very large "theater-stadium" have been pinpointed adjacent to the Palace of Galerius. Though the exact identity of this building is still debated, it should be noted that within its interior, or close by, at some point already in the fourth century, a Christian church may have been built. In the fifth century this building was superseded by a giant basilica, in turn replaced in the seventh century by the present church of Hagia Sophia. Velenis, who studied the remains of the "theater-stadium," has postulated that the martyrdom of St. Demetrius may have occurred here rather than at a location closer to his basilica, as is commonly believed.[45] Without the need to enter this controversy, it is clear that radical changes in two public entertainment buildings – in Serdica and in Thessaloniki – signal the nature and degree of Christian intervention in the makeup of Balkan urban centers as early as the fourth century.

A particularly interesting example of an early Christian martyrium, in this case related to a much older pagan shrine, is that discovered within the episcopal church complex at Philippi.[46] Below the remains of a large octagonal church, built in two phases between *circa* 400 and 450 (see pp. 114–16), the excavators uncovered the remains of an older single-aisled church, closely affiliated with a Macedonian tomb that had been the focus of a hero cult beginning around 250 BC. The large stone barrel-vaulted tomb was evidently left intact by the early Christian builders when they constructed the first church on this site around 350. The importance of this building lies less in its architecture, which appears not to have been especially noteworthy, than in the fact that its floor mosaics may preserve clues as to



53 Salona, Marusinac, St. Anastasius memorial complex; axonometric reconstruction, first floor and crypt



54 Serdica, (A) Martyrium near eastern city gate; (B) Mausoleum under St. Sophia

its dedication and the date of its construction. An inscription in the eastern part of the floor refers to it as being dedicated to St. Paul, and as having been donated by a bishop named Porphyrios. Bishop Porphyrios is the first bishop of Philippi whose name is recorded as one of the participants in the Church Council of Serdica, held in 343–44. This provides an approximate date of *circa* 350 for the building of the church. The dedication of the church to St. Paul initially led the archaeologists to believe that this was a memorial church related to the celebrated visit of the Apostle Paul to Philippi. Subsequent investigations have yielded a new interpretation, linking the name Paul to a local martyr who may have been buried here in association with the pagan *heroon*.[47] One way or another, the remarkable thing about the martyrium of St. Paul at Philippi is that it linked – at such an early date – a Christian martyr's cult with a pagan one. Clearly this illustrates a particular form of adaptability on the part of Church authorities. Aware of the popularity of a local pagan hero, instead of attempting to counter it, they sought ways to integrate and eventually subsume his veneration into Christian practice. At the same time, this clearly points to the continuing strength of pagan customs and beliefs among the local population around the year 350.

A small square structure, measuring 4 × 4 meters in plan, with a small apse on its east side, was uncovered below the sanctuary of the sixth-century basilica of St. Sophia in Serdica (fig. 54B).[48] Situated outside the city walls, in the area of the east cemetery, the small structure, built apparently during the first half of the fourth century, has been referred to as a "mausoleum chapel." Its floor, decorated with figurative mosaics in the apse and in nine rectangular panels in the square chamber, leaves no doubt as to its Christian character, while the remains of a sarcophagus base in the central panel indicate that the chamber had a funerary function. Around the middle of the fourth century the mausoleum-shrine was enlarged by the addition of a rectangular hall to its west. This, according to the excavators, was in fact the first church to be built on the site (see fig. 59A). The church, indeed, may have been linked with the "martyr cult," that may have begun at the site at that time. The number of such shrines in all probability was much greater, but owing to the fact that they were usually superseded by subsequent churches of greater size, they were either utterly destroyed or have not yet been adequately explored.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Fourth-century architecture in the Balkans is a highly allusive subject. Any effort to discuss it comprehensively would quickly degenerate into vague hypotheses and broad generalizations.

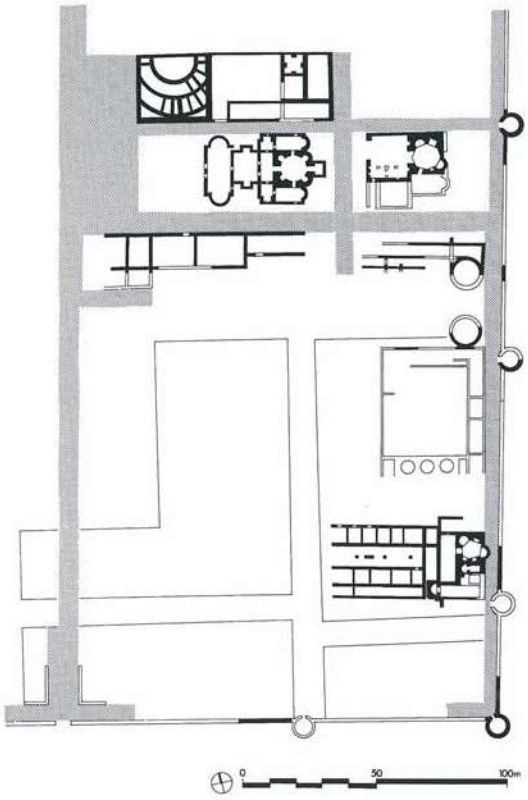
Thus, avoiding any temptations in that direction seems eminently prudent. The vast quantity of buildings known once to have existed has left remarkably few traces, as we have already noted in the discussion of Constantinople. To the list of reasons that are generally held accountable for the demise of ancient buildings in the Balkans – barbarian invasions, urban decline, earthquakes, etc. – we can safely add yet another culprit – the growth of Church power during the fifth century. As paradoxical as this may seem, the rise of the organized Church after 400 resulted in huge new building projects that, invariably, destroyed the more modest accomplishments of the preceding century. Time and again, new archaeological explorations of various early Christian sites have revealed such patterns of deliberate destruction – not by barbarians, but by contemporary official *fiat*. Our brief account of the architecture of this period will have to be structured in a distinctive manner, taking into account the limited surviving material, as well as the particular conditions that have yielded the information at hand.

Palaces and Villas

Inasmuch as the practice of building official imperial palaces in different capital cities had gone out of fashion with the demise of the tetrarchic system, palatine architecture, as a genre, became very much a vogue among the highest strata of Roman society. Thus, while the reasons for building palaces may have radically changed after 305–06, the actual building momentum continued unabated. In the course of the fourth century, in addition to the imperial court, members of the burgeoning administration and high-ranking clergy emerged as a new body of high lifestyle clients, who demanded and achieved ever-increasing standards of ostentation.[49] The emperor and his court continued to set the pace, emulated by a steadily growing number of followers. New standards of palatine architecture – indeed, new building types – came into being that would set a trend for the following two centuries.

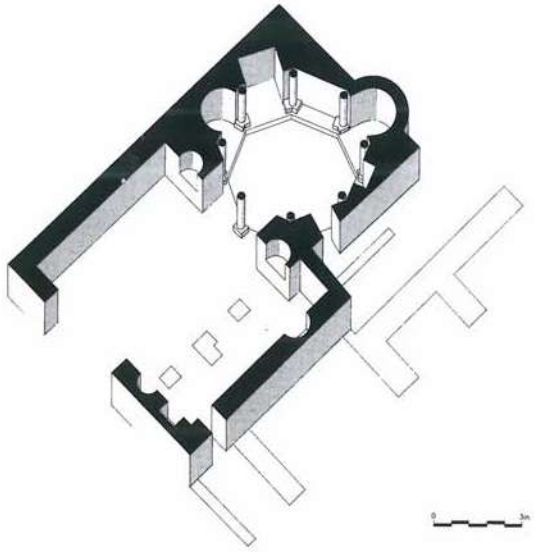
The best-known, and for our discussion the most relevant complex – the Great (or "Sacred") Palace, started under Constantine I in Constantinople – has vanished virtually without a trace. Written records provide us with some insights, but even these are sparse and confusing, giving us mere inklings of the spatial layout and the functions that were accommodated therein. Very few general things about the palace and its setting can be said with certainty. It was situated to the south of the ancient acropolis of Byzantion, on a large plateau overlooking the Sea of Marmara. To its west it was abutted by the hippodrome, with which it formed a functional entity, in the mode of the tetrarchic palaces, such as those at Thessaloniki and Sirmium, which have already been discussed. The hippodrome's approximate length, between 450 and 500 meters, gives us an idea of the approximate length of the area that eventually would be taken over by the Great Palace (fig. 190). Given its approximate width of 300 meters, its total area would have been around 15 hectares, an area corresponding to some of the medium-sized late antique towns such as Abritus, Tropaeum Traiani, and even Serdica. A comparison with such urban centers is not at all inappropriate, for the Great Palace was not a single building, but rather a complex of many buildings – courtyards, internal streets, gardens, and facilities – that, taken as a whole, must have resembled an urban conglomeration. The complex had its own population of guards, servants, entertainers, etc., numbering in the hundreds. In the tradition of the imperial *Palatium* in Rome, and the tetrarchic palaces that emulated it, the Great Palace was, in some sense, an extension of the city itself. Though guarded, it was not physically walled-in, and in no way did it give an impression of a fortified, military establishment. The sense of openness that the palace complex projected must have been especially enhanced by the number of public buildings that outlined its parameters against the actual urban fabric. The main public structure was the great hippodrome, in which the imperially sponsored games took place and in which the emperor appeared in person before his subjects. The place where the emperor made his appearances was, in fact, a multi-storied building – the Kathisma – embedded within the seating tiers of the hippodrome on its southeast side, and directly linked with the palace proper. The other substantial point of contact between the city and the palace was a bathing establishment known as the Baths of Zeuxippos. Again, in keeping with the tetrarchic tradition, these baths were partially public, while at the same time serving palace needs. The exact mechanisms of how such a double relationship may have worked are not known. The very location of the Baths of Zeuxippos, at the northwest corner of the palace complex – which is certain – is strongly suggestive of some such arrangement, as are other contemporary palatine complexes elsewhere.[50] Along its northeast side, the Baths of Zeuxippos evidently flanked the so-called Tetrastoon, the large public square that marked the terminal point of the city's main avenue, the Mese, in front of the Great Palace complex. Related to the baths, and the Tetrastoon, must have also been the vestibule of the palace, which symbolically would have separated the "sacred" realm of the palace from the profane realm of the city proper. It is at the vestibule that some of the many ceremonial spectacles of the imperial court were staged, and presumably to some extent witnessed by the populace as a form of public entertainment.

The interior of the palace complex consisted of many buildings with innumerable rooms, large halls, courtyards, and gar-



55 Serdica, Imperial palace; plan

56 Serdica, Imperial palace, octagonal room; axonometric



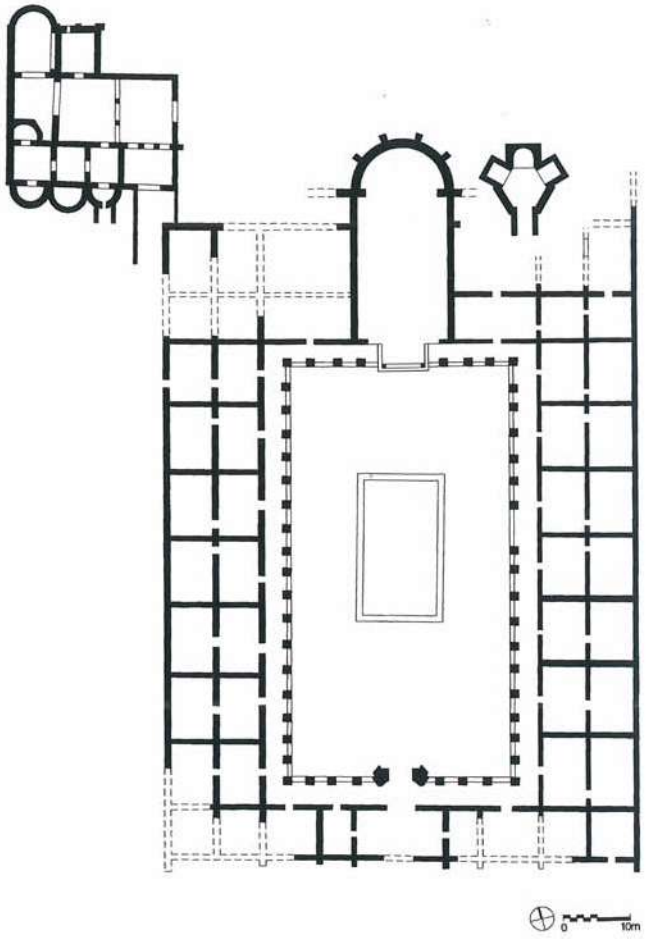
dens. Some of these are known by their names, some by name and function. Their mutual relationship, and the general topography of the Great Palace at the time of Constantine and his immediate successors (as well as in later centuries), has frustrated many historians and architects, who have attempted in a variety of ways to put the disparate pieces of a giant jigsaw puzzle into a coherent picture. As learned and as ingenious as some of these efforts have been, they have all failed in producing satisfactory answers. The prudent approach for us, therefore, is to deal with nothing more than a diagrammatic sketch of the general layout of the complex, leaving the rest to one's imagination. In our efforts we can be aided, to a degree, by the scant excavated remains of other Constantinian palatine establishments at Serdica and at Mediana.

Serdica, as we have already seen, became Constantine's temporary headquarters, and one of the foci of his architectural activity before the founding of Constantinople. Under these circumstances, we may postulate that his building activity in Serdica may have served as the dry run for what was to come in Constantinople (fig. 55). Several architectural features of the imperial palace complex that have come to light signal the scope and quality of the work, which was most probably related to imperial patronage, though, unfortunately, none of these component pieces is identifiable in terms of its individual function. Particularly significant here are two curious octagonal rooms, with their axes rotated in such a way that the entrances do not occur in the conventional locations for spaces of this type (fig. 56). These, along with several other design features, indicate the work of a creative architect, executed by highly competent builders. The meager remnants of mosaic and *opus sectile* pavements further point to the highest level of patronage. Another noteworthy architectural characteristic of this complex is the large number of rooms that must have been domed. This, as we have already noted, became one of the hallmarks of Roman imperial architecture around the turn of the fourth century.

Before closing our discussion of early fourth-century Serdica, we must return to the church of St. George, the only standing Constantinian building in the Balkans (figs. 45 and 46).[51] As we have seen, initially this building was probably built as a bath. Its precise relationship to the imperial palace complex – which lay to the east of it, and from which it was separated by a narrow paved road – however, remains unclear. The problem is complicated further by the fact that within the partially excavated remains of the palace another complex of rooms, including a domed octagon, has also been identified as a bath. Considering the location of the church of St. George in front of the palace complex, and relatively close to the city center, one is reminded of the prominent location of bathing establishments close to the

entrances of late antique palaces, as a general phenomenon that we have already discussed. The architecture of the building reveals that it was built almost exclusively of brick. Its main, circular room, measuring approximately 8 meters in diameter, is located at the eastern end of an axis that symmetrically bisects three other rooms before reaching the terminal rotunda. The first of these is a type of oblong vestibule with two apses at its opposite ends. Such a feature is relatively common in architecture of this period. It normally indicates that the building to which it relates was attached to another, usually more important building. Whether that was the case here is unknown, for the excavations could not be carried out beyond this point. The rotunda is symmetrically flanked by two rectangular apsed rooms. Internally, it has four diagonally placed horseshoe-shaped niches. The eastern two are slightly larger and are expressed on the exterior. Between these two niches is a much larger, rectangular axial niche, originally connected with the lost external *prefurnium* linked to the interior hypocaust system. The presence of a hypocaust system per se does not necessarily indicate that the building was a bath. In rougher climates, such as that of the central Balkans, the Romans customarily introduced heating systems into other parts of residential buildings as well. The rest of the palace complex at Serdica clearly illustrates this point. Although the dome of the rotunda was rebuilt on more than one subsequent occasion, its cylindrical brick drum is original. This very feature, perforated with large arched windows (presently somewhat reduced by later partial blocking), indicates that the design was in the mainstream of current architectural thinking. A comparison with the dome of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki, or Santa Costanza in Rome, demonstrates this in the clearest possible terms.

Our second opportunity to gain some insights into palatine architecture at the time of Constantine I and his successors comes from examining the remains at Mediana, a luxurious suburb of Naisus (modern Niš, Serbia). Sprawled over a flat area measuring more than 40 hectares, the site of Mediana has long been known, but has attracted the systematic archaeological attention that it deserves only recently.[52] Known from the sources, Mediana was an occasional place of residence of fourth-century emperors, and may have even been the place where two imperial edicts of Valentinian (8 June and 19 June 364) were issued. The archaeological exploration of the general area thus far has revealed the existence of a major luxury residence, accompanied by several smaller private residences, religious cult buildings, a large *horreum* (granary), a water tower, and possibly a small fort. The exact relationship between these component pieces, as well as the overall urban plan of the area, unfortunately are still unknown. All of the remains are preserved in foundations only. The site was apparently already devastated by a fire



57 Mediana, Official residence; plan

toward the end of the fourth century, and was certainly completely destroyed by the Huns in 441. Mediana showed but little signs of life after that time. It first came to the attention of modern explorers in 1864, but its plundering as a convenient resource of ready-made building materials, which must have begun already in antiquity, has continued unabated virtually until our own time. The principal discovery at Mediana was a huge residence, measuring roughly 1 hectare in area (fig. 57). Only the central portion of what must have been an even larger complex has been explored. It consists of a rigidly symmetrical peristyle court measuring 35.4 × 62.2 meters, surrounded by porticoes on all four sides, with well-preserved mosaic pavements covering approximately 450 square meters of floor area. The peristyle court was entered through a monumental gate framed by a pylon. Directly opposite this feature, and on the same axis, was

a protyron of some sort marking the entrance into a large apsidal room – an audience hall – comparable to those seen already at Romuliana and Abritus. The entrance to this hall, as was the case with the other two examples, faced south. The entire suite of rooms surrounding the audience hall to the east and west was heated through a hypocaust system, and is considered to have constituted the residential wing of the complex. At the northwest corner of this wing was located a private bath. To the east of the audience hall are the well-preserved remains of a small hexagonal room with a hexagonal marble fountain in its center. It had three deep niches, one semicircular and two rectangular, and a floor covered with a variety of geometric mosaic patterns. It is thought to have been a nymphaeum, though both its function and its exact relationship to the rest of the "residential wing" remain insufficiently studied. The remaining rooms surrounding the courtyard in a highly regimented manner were evidently all utility rooms. In one of them, close to the entrance, was discovered an extraordinary cache of sixteen marble and porphyry sculptures of headless pagan divinities. This important discovery is of dual significance: first, it illustrates the taste and the level of luxury maintained by the initial occupant; second, it suggests that the residence was at some point raided, in all likelihood by Christian fanatics, who in a characteristic manner dispensed with the offensive pagan "idols." We shall return to the latter point again in Chapter 3. The luxury residence at Mediana has been identified as a villa belonging to one Roimetalkis, by virtue of inscriptions on two porphyry sculpture bases found among the group mentioned above. Roimetalkis, a high-ranking official in the emperor's government, may have occasionally entertained visiting emperors on his private estate. Indeed, with the increasing mobility of the imperial court, the custom of providing temporary lodging for the emperor's entourage may have been a late antique precursor of an institution known as the "Queen's Progress" in Elizabethan England. The maintenance of such an establishment, generally, was the responsibility of the provincial governor. The comparison with the slightly earlier luxury villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily is very relevant, and is deserving of particular attention, also because of the inherent difficulty in establishing the precise identity of the owner of that particular estate.[53] The axially symmetrical peristyle court of the villa at Mediana is nearly twice the size of the one in the roughly contemporary luxury urban residence at Abritus (fig. 22), and larger even than the same type of court at the tetrarchic villa at Piazza Armerina. By virtue of its size and ostentatious decoration, featuring an impressive collection of sculpture, the luxury villa at Mediana gives one some idea of the appearance of Constantinian palatine architecture in the Balkans, of which not a single element remains standing.

Churches

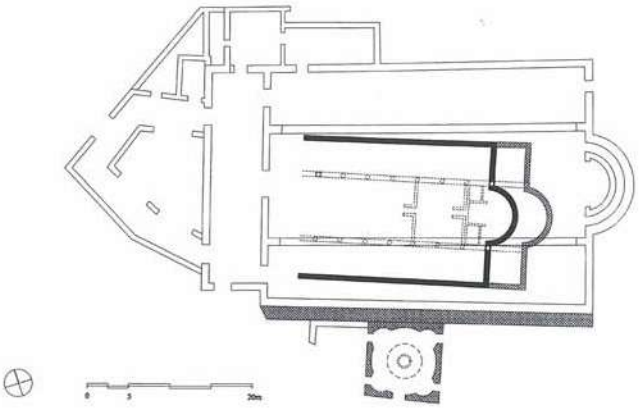
The physical evidence for fourth-century church architecture in the Balkans is also quite meager. There are several reasons for this. None of the churches belonging to this earliest period of official Christian building actually survives; they were all destroyed by earthquakes, fires, etc., and were most often replaced by new churches built over their foundations. Under such circumstances the remains of older structures are difficult to detect, even by carefully conducted archaeological investigations. An even more significant reason for our limited knowledge of fourth-century ecclesiastical architecture seems to be the plain fact that comparatively few such buildings were actually built. As we have remarked earlier, Christianity made relatively slow progress in the Balkans, even after the Edict of Milan. The architectural patronage of Constantine and his successors was largely focused on secular buildings, mainly fortifications, palaces, and villas, in sharp contrast to their activities in other regions of the empire. Not only the number, but apparently also the size of individual churches, the quality of their design, and their construction, were all considerably below the standards employed elsewhere.[54]

One of the earliest monumental church constructions, the so-called double cathedral of Aquileia, built possibly as early as 313, is just beyond the western limits of the Balkans.[55] During the tetrarchic era Aquileia acquired imperial status, its harbor an important one in the northeasternmost corner of the Adriatic, thus playing a major role in that part of the Balkans during its heyday. The church complex was erected on the site of a demolished *domus ecclesiae* and displays an aspect of the experimental spirit characteristic of Constantinian church architecture in general. Known only from its foundations excavated below the later cathedral of Aquileia, the complex consisted of two nearly symmetrical three-aisled halls, connected by a third, placed transversally at the western end of the other two. Only the southern of the two halls was in fact a church, provided with the necessary liturgical furnishings – an altar, a *cathedra* (bishop's throne), and a bench for the attending clergy. The three halls were remarkably plain – rectangular in plan, subdivided by rows of columns supporting arcades, and with wooden trussed roofs – they were distinguished only by their size (each of the two larger halls measured roughly 20 × 37 m) and the lavish mosaic decoration of their floors. The mosaic floor of the church was, as its inscriptions indicate, contributed by a number of different donors, in a communal spirit characteristic of the early Church. In all likelihood inspired by secular architectural models of the pagan Roman world, this complex deviates from other contemporary solutions elsewhere because of the presence of the twin halls, whose exact functional relationship remains a

mystery. Whatever may have inspired this particular solution, it was evidently accepted as a norm in the northern Adriatic region, with other fourth-century examples known from the excavated remains at Trieste, Parenzo (modern Poreč, Croatia), Pola (modern Pula, Croatia), and on the island of Brioni, not far from Pula.

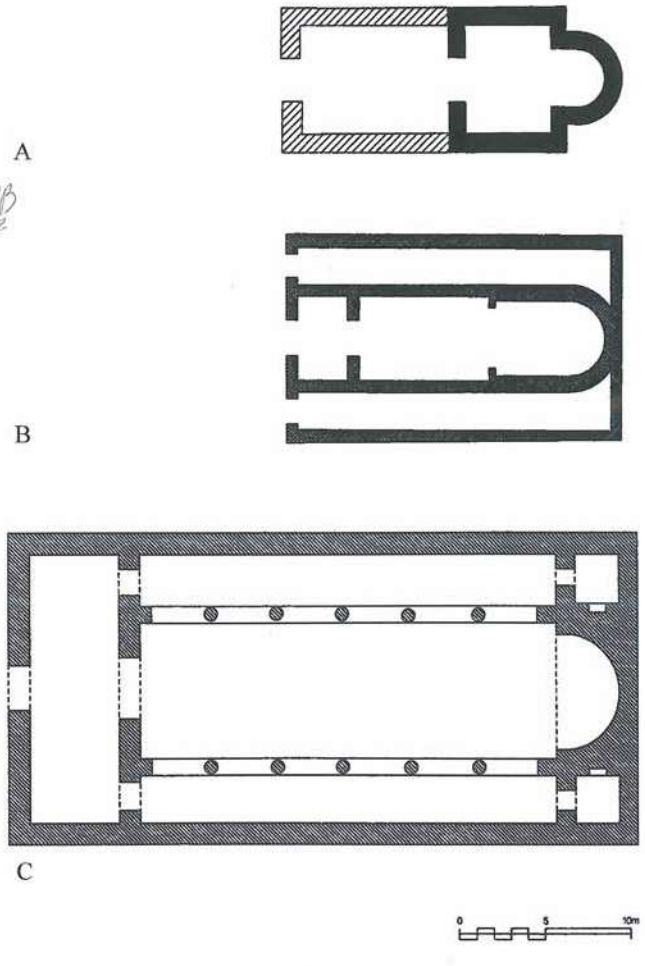
A different, and we may say more conventional, approach characterized the first episcopal church of Stobi (FYROM).[56] Here, a three-aisled basilica, measuring 17.5 × 31 meters, including a semicircular apse at the eastern end, was built *circa* 325 (fig. 58). The date is based on the fact that the preserved floor mosaics include an inscription mentioning a Bishop Budios, known to have participated in the First Council of Nicaea (325). For reasons that are not entirely clear, the first basilica was replaced by a slightly longer second basilica. This must have occurred sometime between 343 and 381, or possibly as late as the first half of the fifth century. Along the south side of this basilica was built a large circular baptistery with four entrances, four semicircular corner niches, and a central piscina. The second basilica was also replaced, probably around the middle of the fifth century, by a much larger church built on an artificial platform, at a level of 4.5 meters above its predecessors.[57]

An even more remarkable sequence of churches built on the same site within a relatively short span of time has been recorded below the present, sixth-century church of St. Sophia in Serdica (Sofia, Bulgaria). The site initially belonged to an early Christian cemetery situated at some distance from the eastern gate of late antique Serdica. The complex remains discovered during the various archaeological investigations have recently been interpreted as indicating that as many as four churches predate the present one.[58] The complex evolved from what appears to be a martyr's tomb, around which several tombs of individuals wishing to be buried near the martyr's remains have been discovered (see p. 62 above). One of those was in a small square mausoleum with an apse facing east and with a fine mosaic floor (fig. 54B). Sometime during the first half of the fourth century, this mausoleum was expanded by a western addition of a rectangular room with its own set of fine floor mosaics. The new constellation, consisting of the square mausoleum building and its westward extension, constitutes the first church on the site, measuring approximately 6 × 14 meters in plan (fig. 59A). This building may have been destroyed in 361–63, during the brief pagan resurgence under Emperor Julian. Thus the year 364 should probably be taken as the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the second church, a small three-aisled basilica, which in turn may have been the victim of a raid by the Goths, following the defeat of Emperor Valens' army in 378 (figs. 59B and C). The third church, evidently also a three-aisled basilica,



58 Stobi, Episcopal churches I and II; plan

59 Serdica, St. Sophia, church I (A), II (B), and III (C); plans



had an even shorter life, presumably having been razed during the Goth uprising of 391. The fourth church, whose existence is known only through yet another mosaic floor that has been partially preserved, was probably built in the early years of the fifth century, and was itself most likely destroyed by the Huns between 441 and 447.

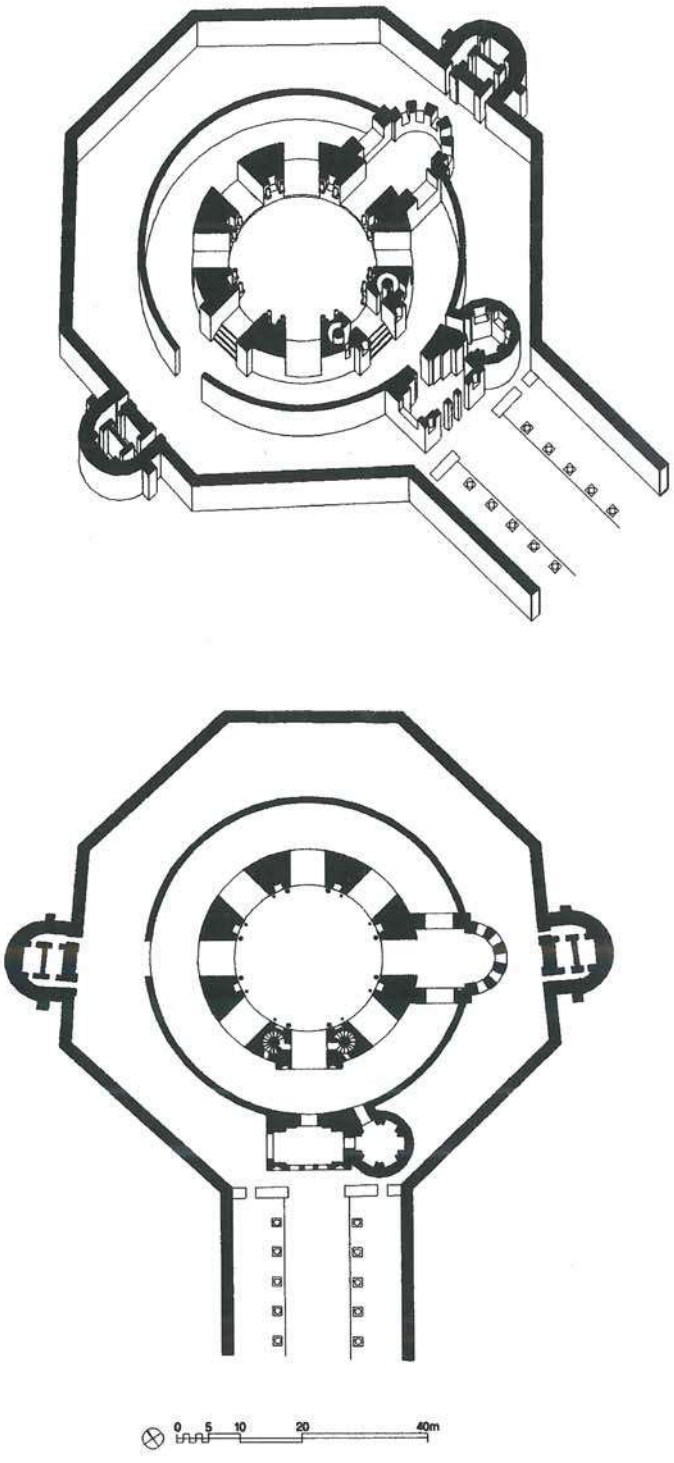
The last quarter of the fourth century set the stage for a very different development that was to take place in Balkan architecture during the next century. Several conditions brought this about. Exhausted by both external threats and internal upheavals, the Eastern Roman Empire faced its moment of truth in 378, when the army led personally by Emperor Valens suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Goths in a battle near Adrianople, in which the emperor lost his life. The victorious forces were actually an ad hoc coalition of Visigoths and Ostrogoths, whose presence in the Balkans was brought about by the great migration processes emanating from the East. Spread out militarily by the protracted need of defending its northern frontiers against the continuing waves of alien intrusions and fighting its perpetual enemy, Persia, in the East, the Eastern Empire was seriously weakened. This was further exacerbated by ongoing religious disputes that affected not only Church circles,

60 Thessaloniki, Rotunda; present general view from E

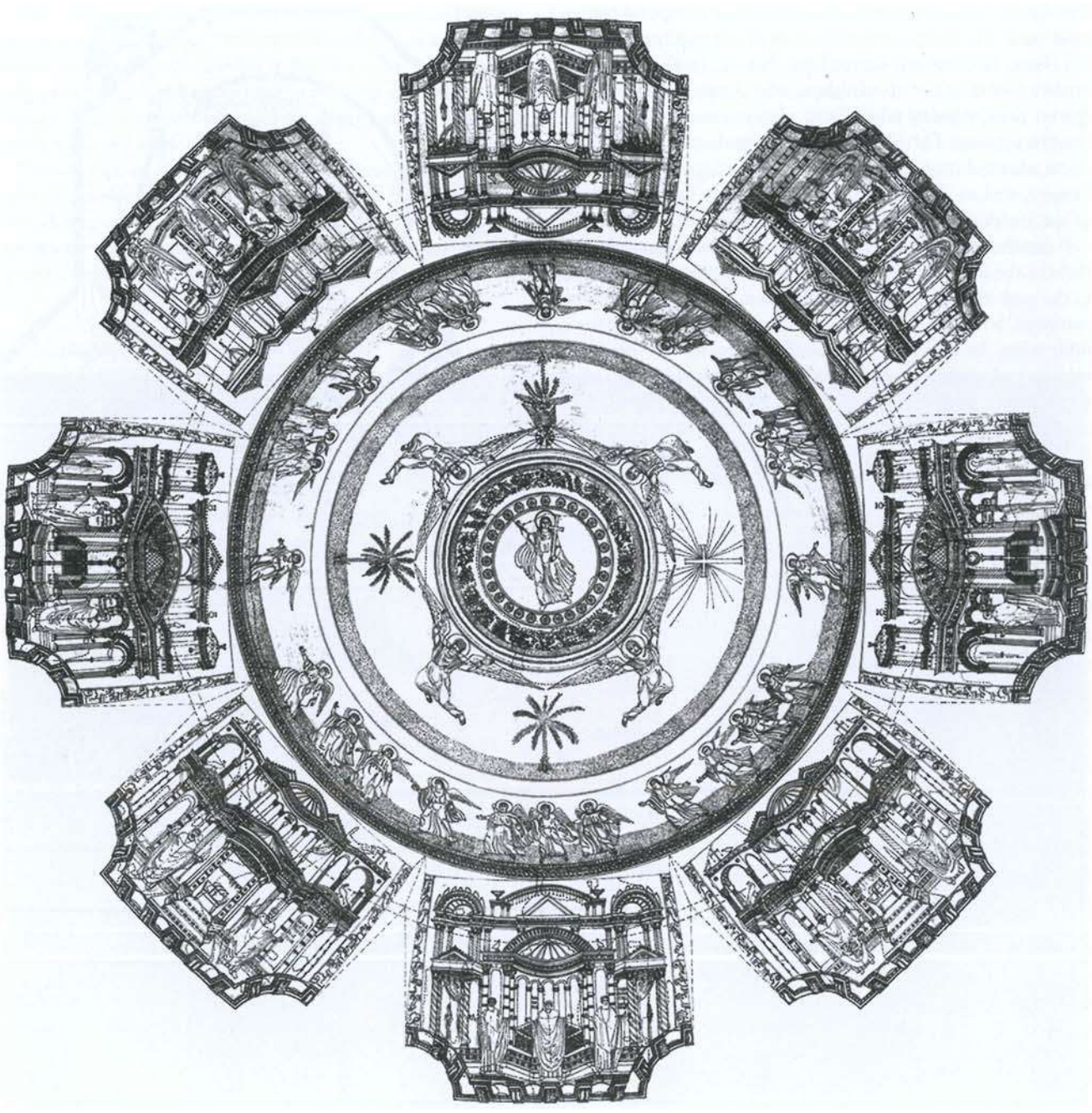
but also the entire social hierarchy, including the imperial household itself. The Arian controversy, though technically resolved at the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (325), continued unabated until the death of Valens, who championed Arianism against the Orthodox faith. Faced with too many raging fires, the new emperor, Theodosius I (379–95), made several bold decisions, whose ultimate impact on the course of future events may be compared to those of Constantine I during the first quarter of the fourth century.

A native of the Iberian peninsula, Theodosius I made the Balkans the principle focus of his activities as emperor. Elevated to the rank of Augustus in 379 at Sirmium, he pursued two fundamental policies relentlessly. With respect to the barbarian infiltration, he rejected direct confrontation as the principle vehicle, and resorted to the use of force only in extreme situations. With respect to the Church, he became an indefatigable champion of Orthodoxy, making all other faiths and sects illegal. Both policies, as we will see, had a profound effect on the future course of architectural development in the Balkans. Theodosius worked hard at restoring the unity of the empire, yet his decision in 395 to administratively divide it between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, proved to have permanent consequences. The line dividing the East from the West once more became a reality now empowered by administrative policy. Reinforced as it was by major cultural factors, including languages, this divide, which ran through the very center of the Balkan peninsula, was doomed to become the permanent fault line between two worlds – the East and the West.

Theodosius I strove to make Constantinople the grand capital of the Christian Roman Empire, yet he spent much time away from it. Bent on using his personal authority, he intervened directly – ruthlessly if necessary – in various regional affairs. His visit to Stobi in 388 must have been remembered not only by the raising of the city to the rank of the capital of a newly formed province (Macedonia Salutaris), but more so by various activities on the urban scale that soon followed suit. These included the closing of the city's great theater, the destruction of the synagogue and its replacement by a church.[59] Both acts reflect Theodosius' intolerance of other religious groups, and his systematic strengthening of the Church. The destruction of the synagogue, furthermore, implies a possible expulsion of the Jewish community from the city. Theodosius' choice of Thessaloniki as his temporary residence, from which to implement some of his policies, seems equally telling – by the end of the fourth century the central Balkans were still not fully Christianized, nor was there much sympathy for the general imperial policy of appeasement of the Goths. Theodosius' decisions led to a public outcry in 390 that, through a sequence of deteriorating events, ultimately led to a massacre of some 7,000 people by the imperial Gothic



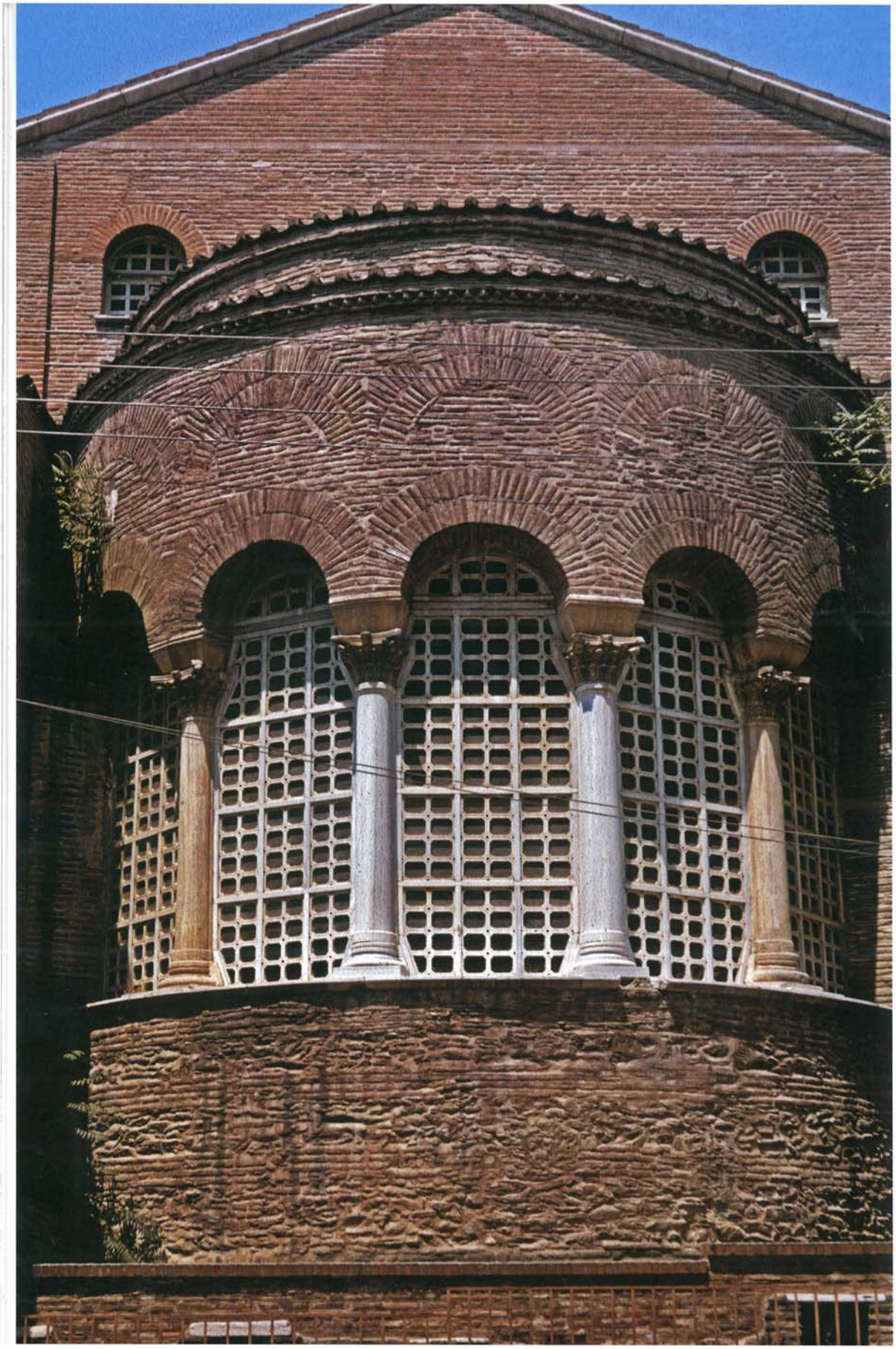
61 Thessaloniki, Rotunda, phase II; axonometric and plan



62 Thessaloniki, Rotunda, dome mosaics; reconstruction drawing

troops in the hippodrome of Thessaloniki, where they had been lured under false pretexts.

Theodosius' presence in Thessaloniki may have left other significant traces in the city. Indeed, the conversion of the Rotunda, possibly planned as the mausoleum of Constantine and most likely left unfinished, may have occurred under his auspices.[60] The conversion involved much more than functional change; it profoundly affected the appearance of the building (figs. 60 and 61). A large apse preceded by a square bay were added to the east side of the freestanding rotonda. To accomplish this one of the great niches and a corresponding window above it had to be sacrificed, and their original openings somewhat broadened. At the same time, the remaining large niches of the Rotunda were opened and made into huge barrel-vaulted passageways related to a spacious ambulatory that was wrapped around the building. This ambulatory, consisting of a relatively thin outer wall, supported a wooden lean-to roof against the sides of the main vessel. In the process of its construction, the original southern entrance portico, facing the Arch of Galerius, had to be dismantled. On the same side of the building, but projecting beyond the parameter wall of the ambulatory, was added a large rectangular hall, its long side tangential to the outer wall of the building, and flanked on the east side by an internally hexagonal rotunda, measuring 11 meters in outer diameter. Clearly built as the vestibule of the new church, the hall may have also served other functions that remain unknown, while the small rotunda was in all likelihood intended as a mausoleum for some individuals of distinction. Similar monumental tomb structures attached to the sides of important churches became common in other parts of the Christian world, especially in the West (Rome, Milan), from the mid-fourth century to the mid-fifth. The most important intervention in the converted Rotunda without a doubt was the finishing of its dome, and the decorating of its underside with one of the first, largest, and finest monumental Christian mosaic programs anywhere (fig. 62). The program consisted of eight (seven are actually preserved) enormous panels depicting pairs of standing male figures in prayer. These, in all likelihood, represent martyr saints (and not donors, as has been proposed), shown against a background of fantastic architecture. This architecture, recalling elaborate theater *scenae frons*, and therefore symbolic palaces, is undoubtedly an allusion to the Heavenly Jerusalem.[61] The paradisaical nature of these buildings is reinforced by the inclusion of peacocks and other birds, and by the fact that many of the main columns on their façades are depicted as being studded with gems. The elaborate scenes, including the frontal male figures in prayer, should be understood together with the decoration of the apex of the dome. Though now badly damaged, this included a full standing figure of Christ victorious within a wreathed medallion, symbolically carried by four angels with outstretched wings. Although this theme clearly depicts an early version of the Ascension, its iconographic makeup unmistakably alludes to its imperial roots. Hypothetically, we may suggest that this theme, along with the real architecture within which it is accommodated, owes its debt to imperial art at its best. We may go one step further and propose that what is depicted here in a Christian context is a scene of imperial *salutatio*, shown in a manner that would have taken place in a *vestibulum* or a *salutatorium* of an imperial palace and in the presence of invited dignitaries. The "emperor" in this context, is Christ himself; the "invited dignitaries," martyr saints; and the palatine setting, the Heavenly Jerusalem. The choice of such a subject seems ideally suited for the city chosen by the emperor as a stage for the affirmation of his stringent policies, particularly his making Christianity the exclusive religion of the empire. By converting an older structure, and giving it a distinctive Christian use, the emperor would have given a very palpable form to the notion of Christian triumph. The conversion of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki was, in all likelihood, the first instance of a surviving monumental structure in the Balkans to be converted to Christian use. By choosing such a building, and carrying through such an idea, the emperor would have provided an example to be followed. By the time of his death in 395, Theodosius I had, probably unwittingly, closed an important chapter of Balkan architectural history. At the same time, he ushered in a new era, which saw architectural production in the Balkans moving swiftly and aggressively in an entirely different direction.



3

Christianization

FIFTH CENTURY

The reign of Theodosius I (379–95), as we saw in the last chapter, constituted a watershed in the development of the empire in general, with particular impact on the Balkans. While architectural activity during the fifth century continued unabated, its general character was vastly changed. The great emphasis placed on fortification architecture, which prevailed during the period of the Tetrarchy and through much of the fourth century, gave way to new priorities. The fifth century was dominated by ecclesiastical building activity that affected major urban centers as well as the countryside. Clearly, this reflected new policies aimed at cementing the role of the Church in the life of the empire, but also in marshalling its resources in resisting the perpetual threat of barbarian invasions. The dominant role of the Church is best gauged by the sheer number of new ecclesiastical buildings – churches and baptisteries – but is also perceptible in other distinctive ways. One of the crucial factors in the process of the emergence of the Church as a major force was its ultimate victory over paganism. The closure of pagan temples, initiated as a policy under Theodosius I in the 380s, became the law by 438, under Theodosius II. A dwindling number of pockets of resistance to such measures – the case of Athens being the best known – persisted for several more decades, but by about 500 most of the urban centers in the coastal areas of the Balkans effectively had become fully Christianized.

Victory over paganism found its expression in the realm of the physical environment in several different, albeit related phenomena. The most drastic among these was the destruction of pagan buildings, mostly temples. This practice, begun already at the time of Constantine I, never became an official state policy, but as a popular expression it was widely tolerated, and occasionally even encouraged. A more pragmatic approach, with a comparable end effect, was the process of conversion of pagan temples into Christian shrines. This approach – requiring rational thinking in an unemotional climate – became practical only with the passage of time. Its first major signs, as we saw in the previous chapter, may have appeared under Theodosius I, but its full implementation did not occur before the sixth century.

A particularly distinctive form of Christianization vis-à-vis the pagan building heritage involved changes in the conventional architectural orders. Until the time of Constantine I, the Vitruvian system of classical orders in architecture had been firmly entrenched, with only minor occasional variations in details and stylistic conventions. With Constantine, a significant break with that tradition occurred, as we know from major architectural examples in Rome and elsewhere. The great colonnades of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter in Rome, for example,

63 (*facing page*) Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; Apse, present state (see fig. 103)

LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
Sava
Danube
BELGRADE
BUCHAREST
SARAJEVO
Danube
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
SOFIA
PODGORICA
SKOPJE
Maritsa
TIRANA
SEA OF MARMARA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
ATHENS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0
100
200
300km

Map 3

Key to Map 3

Adrianople	68	Diocletianopolis	18	Majdan	49	Pliska	41
Akrinē	38	Dion	16	Majsan	35	Pola	70
Alykē	73	Dōdōnē	58	Mastichari	76	Polače	20
Amphipolis	15	Dženevar Tepe	27	Midye	34	Postira	78
Arapaj	60	Golem Grad (Prespa Lake)	46	Mogorjelo	22	Povlja	79
Athens	7	H. Paraskeve	63	Mokro Polje	50	Rhegion	2
Bakirköy	3	Herakleia Lynkestis	17	Naissus	36	Romuliana	23
Bar	40	Iadera	11	Narona	77	Salona	10
Bargala	75	Island of St. Catherine	51	Nerezi	80	Slava Rusa	28
Beroe – Augusta Traiana	37	Isperihovo	29	Nesactium	71	Srima	72
Betika	53	Ivaniani	42	Nikopolis	13	Stobi	5
Bilice	55	Kephalos	45	Oborci	47	Studenica Hvostanska	32
Botevo	44	Knossos	52	Orlandovci	24	Synaxis	62
Buthrintos	12	Kos	57	Paramythia	61	Thaumakos	64
Byllidos	59	Lechaion	9	Parentium	69	Thessaloniki	4
Cim	54	Lepenica	30	Philippi	6	Trnovo	33
Constantinople	1	Lichnidos	67	Philippopolis	39	Tropaeum Traiani	19
Corinth	8	Lin	66	Phtiothic Thebes	14	Ts'rkvishte	43
Daphni	26	Louloudies	21	Pirdop	25	Založje	56
Dēmētrias	65	Lovrečina	48	Pirinch-Tepe	74	Žitomislići	31

featured reused columns of varying sizes and orders, thrown together without any apparent respect for the overall aesthetic expression. Such an attitude has long been thought to reflect the haste in construction and even economic considerations dictated by the new priorities and objectives imposed by the first Christian emperor.[1] Questions must be raised regarding such pragmatic twentieth-century ways of interpreting this evidence. Could the choice of "dis-orders" in the colonnades have been deliberate, as the first Christian commentary on the pagan monumental architectural tradition that the Church was at once dependent on and wanting to be dissociated from? These types of questions have no easy answers, but they must be posed. Fourth-century architecture in the Balkans, unfortunately, has not left us any physical evidence that could be helpful in this regard. The fifth century, on the other hand, provides us with a different, albeit related phenomenon: a common appearance of crosses on architectural members used in the construction of churches, most notably on column shafts (fig. 64). A very distinctive by-product of this particular tendency appears to have been the introduction of the so-called impost block. An impost block is characteristically of a simple geometric volume (roughly speaking, it is an inverted truncated pyramid), and it is set on top of a capital (fig. 65). Used exclusively in the construction of buildings with arcades, the impost block was initially perceived by historians of architecture as an ingenious structural device.[2] This, too, ought to be critically reassessed as an example of the modern, rationalist way of interpreting the past. Since impost blocks appeared during a relatively short period of time, not more than a century in duration, and because they were very popular during this time, a different sort of explanation may be in order. Virtually without exception, impost blocks bear crosses prominently displayed on their principal faces, often without any additional decorative features. As such, they would seem to have had an essentially symbolic function. Taken as standard components of what otherwise may be thought of as a late antique variant of the Corinthian or Composite orders, they may have been part of a conscious effort to define a "Christian order" in architecture.[3] That such a phenomenon occurred during the century in which the Church assumed a dominant, militant role, and during which the last battles with vestiges of pagan culture were fought, should come as of little surprise. By the same token, the gradual disappearance of this element from the architectural scene in the course of the sixth century may be perceived as evidence that the elimination of such structurally redundant, perhaps even risky elements occurred when the Church had become sufficiently established.

As the conventional means of military resistance to the waves of barbarian invasions showed repeated signs of weakness and even failure, greater and greater reliance on the supernatural assistance offered by the Church gradually became the norm. This notion, which has been observed in various phenomena, such as the growing importance of the cult of relics and their trafficking, has never been adequately studied in the context of architectural production in the Balkans.[4] The process of introducing relics into church buildings certainly had a profound effect on all aspects of society. Above all, it signaled a major shift

64 Column shaft with a cross – Istanbul, Archeological Museum

in attitude toward the dead and burials, which, traditionally in the Greco-Roman world, were placed outside of urban limits.[5] Bringing relics into the urban context opened the door to the eventual custom of burying the dead within the city limits, signaling yet another manifestation of a complete break with ancient traditions. While placing the relics of saints under permanent church altars had become a norm already by *circa* 400, a separate custom of transporting entire bodies of venerable saints and placing them into new contexts also came into its own around roughly the same time, and perhaps *because of* the former mechanism. Unlike small relics, used for the mandatory purpose of sanctifying altars by being placed in receptacles directly below them, the placement of entire bodies required specially designed shrines that made the presence of the prized remains not only highly visible, but also functionally accessible to believers.[6] Increasingly over the course of time, such shrines acquired a special place in church buildings, and their presence induced new demands on architects, who had to solve ever more complicated circulation problems. Providing access to pilgrims, while at the same time ensuring the safety of relics, as well as the conduct of regular liturgical functions within the church itself, proved to be the main challenges facing architects during the fifth century.

The possession of a saint's relics charged with miraculous powers not only drew ever greater numbers of believers seeking various intercessions, but also boosted the absolute authority of the Church in a major way. The state, in fact, may have been increasingly given over to seeking help from the Church in matters that were slipping out of its control. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the policy toward barbarian invaders, who were ever more frequently appeased by territorial and other forms of concessions. Fifth-century architecture bespeaks these new attitudes in the clearest possible terms. With the exception of the city walls of Constantinople, and a few other isolated undertakings, fortification architecture experienced a sharp decline. At the same time the general volume of construction showed no signs of recession. The Church, no doubt with state support, became by far the greatest builder during this period. The enormous increase in church building and the simultaneous decline in the volume of military architecture must be seen as opposite faces of the same coin. Needless to say, these processes were slow in the making, but they have left highly visible results in the development of Balkan architecture during the fifth century.

Despite the fact that fifth-century architecture in the Balkans was to a great degree dominated by change, one must not go so far as to imagine a revolutionary break with the past. In many respects, in fact, continuity remained the norm. This chapter will attempt to present as comprehensive an outline of fifth-century architectural developments in the Balkans as possible. It will begin with a discussion of new urban developments related to the massive process of Christianization, while paying attention to the particular forms of continuity that occurred. The second half of the chapter will be devoted to architectural developments. Exploring the categories of fortified residential and ecclesiastical complexes, monasteries, and finally ecclesiastical architecture (churches and baptisteries), we will be in the position to gauge the nature and extent of change that took place in architecture during the fifth century. The range and the volume of construction were immense. The emergence of cliché solutions within certain categories of buildings has led some scholars to see the fifth century as a period of "standardization," in contrast

to the "experimentation" evident in the age of Constantine and his successors.[7] This notion certainly does not hold true for the Balkans, where creative thinking as well as the volume of production retained a level of intensity easily matching, if not exceeding, that of the preceding epoch.

CHRISTIANIZED CITIES

Inasmuch as building new cities in the Balkans during the fifth century largely became a thing of the past, urban growth and redevelopment on a massive scale took place in many of the existing urban centers. Such a development was not thwarted by the waves of barbarian invasions that continued throughout most of the fifth century. In a number of cases, in fact, it may be correlated with the direct threat and even destruction. The phenomenon of urban growth and development against the apparent odds has been noted, but has been treated largely as a function of church building by historians of architecture.[8] While the dominant presence of churches on the urban scene of most Balkan cities during the fifth century cannot be denied, factors other than the active Christianization of cities must not be ignored. The massive introduction of churches with accompanying buildings into the existing urban fabric of many Balkan cities left an undeniable imprint on their character and their future urban development. At the same time, this did not imply a complete erasure of those cities' established urban tissues and the architectural features of their past, and in a number of cases resulted in their reinforcement. Our analysis will begin with an examination of Constantinople, and will then turn to a selection of other Balkan cities whose particular developments in the course of the fifth century warrant individual treatment as special case studies.

65 Column capital and impost block with a cross – Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios

Constantinople

The new capital of the empire experienced a major spur in its growth from the end of the fourth century until the end of the fifth. One can safely say that Constantine's vision was fully realized only during this period. The city's growth, initially nurtured by special imperial incentives, took on a life of its own during the last decades of the fourth century. The city population numbered around 300,000, and possibly as many as half a million by *circa* 500.[9] In the course of the fifth century the city also experienced a number of calamities. An earthquake of major magnitude took place in 447, followed by a fire in 462 that caused extensive damage to the harbor facilities. Another two fires in 465 and 469, which burned as many as 250 hectares of urban area between the Golden Horn and the Mese, left the city devastated and in need of intensive rebuilding.[10] The extent of damage in these fires becomes particularly glaring if one recalls that few late antique cities in the Balkans actually exceeded 100 hectares in area. It was Emperor Leo I (457–74) who, apparently after the fire of 469, issued an edict permitting the construction of residential buildings to an unprecedented height of 100 Byzantine feet (31.23 m).[11] The measure was evidently intended to stimulate the reconstruction process and to give building owners lucrative economic advantages, clearly reflecting a sense of urgency following the disaster. This edict apparently took little notice of other urban needs, however. As such it was modified

by another edict, of 476–79, issued by Emperor Zeno (474–91), which required that new buildings intended to be 100 feet high also had to maintain the equivalent distance from the buildings directly opposite.[12] This measure, as well as a number of other related legal stipulations, clearly reflected a desire to ensure a level of comfort, even by taking into account the need to preserve views of the sea. From these building regulations a picture of a city with a very high population density and the problems that go with it emerges with unmistakable clarity.

The implications drawn from the edicts of emperors Leo and Zeno cannot be confirmed by surviving buildings, nor even from their archaeological traces. Invaluable insights in this regard may be gleaned from an unlikely text: "The Life of St. Daniel the Stylite." This rich hagiography devotes a considerable amount of space to describing a number of urban episodes following the arrival of the saint in Constantinople during the short reign of the usurper Basiliskos (475–76). Several scenes involve people watching the events unfurl from windows high up in the buildings they occupy. In one of them a "most glorious patrician Dagalaiphus . . . himself leaned out from an upper window and seeing that the holy man was being unbearably crushed he ran down . . ."[13] Clearly, Dagalaiphus' residence, which was near the Forum of the Ox (Forum Tauri), was a high building with "upper windows." Elsewhere in the text, we read about the "sudden fall of the palace tower," implying that such "high-rise" structures existed within the palace itself.[14]

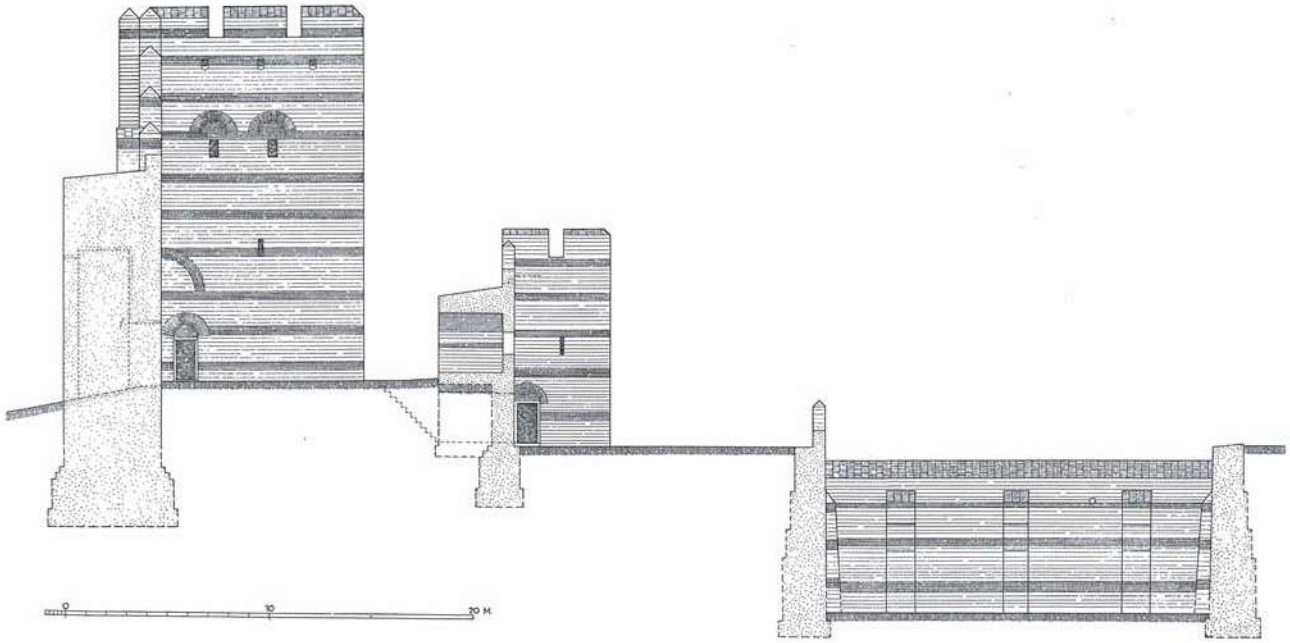
Our knowledge about the layout of Constantinople's streets and public spaces is also unclear. Very few, if any, of the main streets of Istanbul, with the exception of the Mese, appear to follow the layout of the late antique streets. Attempts to reconstruct aspects of the basic urban framework have been made, but this remains substantially a partial, hypothetical vision of what the early Byzantine city may have looked like.[15]

The most palpable gauge of Constantinople's growth and expansion was undoubtedly the construction of the new city Land Walls, begun in 412–13 under Emperor Theodosius II.[16] Although Theodosius II may have been responsible for the building of the Sea Walls as well, his main achievement was the grand Land Walls, 5,650 meters long, stretching from the Sea of Marmara in the southwest to the so-called Blachernae district in the northeast and enclosing an area of approximately 1,400 hectares. Built quite rapidly, the new walls replaced those built by Constantine I, providing the city with much needed protection against external threats, as well as ensuring ample room for future urban growth. The city, in fact, did not exceed the limits set by these walls until the twentieth century. The walls themselves constituted a masterpiece of engineering in every respect. From the point of view of their design, they proved extremely effective, protecting the city against potential invaders for more than a millennium.[17] From the point of view of their construction, they introduced certain building standards that were to be employed by local workshops for centuries to come. This hallmark construction technique consisted basically of alternating layers of four to five courses of brick and several courses of ashlar (fig. 66).[18] The seemingly solid construction had its flaws – the ashlar courses were merely a facing (as well as the formwork) for a packed rubble core mixed with large quantities of mortar. The brick courses, by contrast, extended through the thickness of the wall. Known in literature as "leveling courses," their main function was to provide the necessary structural ties between the two faces of the wall, ensuring its stability. Other constructional characteristics that emerged as standard features at this time include semicircular all-brick arches, and cross and domical vaults, also built exclusively of brick. Marble, as a finer and harder material, was reserved for framing entrance gates. All of these practices essentially constitute continuations or adaptations of methods employed by late Roman builders in the Balkans from the period of the Tetrarchy on. The outstanding qualities of the Land Walls suggest that they must have been a product of a team made up of highly skilled architects and craftsmen. At the same time, we must imagine their work as having been facilitated by an army of craftsmen and simple workers whose input was efficiently coordinated on a massive scale. The actual cost of construction was covered by the state by special requisitions imposed on each of the citizens. They were obliged to "provide for the construction of the walls as well as for the purchase and transport of supplies in kind," according to the famous Law Code issued in 438 by Emperor Theodosius II, who was also responsible for the construction of the walls themselves.[19]

The Land Walls actually comprised two parallel systems – the inner, main wall (*esoteichos* or *megas teichos*) and the outer wall (*exoteichos* or *mikros teichos*; also *proteichisma*), separated by a space (*peribolos*), all preceded by a moat (*tafros* or *souda*) (fig. 67). Though the concept of double enclosure, involving the so-called *proteichisma* (an outer line of walls), had been employed before, its use here was on an unprecedented scale. The inner wall was the more massive of the two – 10–13 meters high, it was 5 meters thick at the base – and strengthened by ninety-six rectangular or polygonal towers, between 30 and 70 meters apart. A terrace (*peribolos*), 18–20 meters wide, separated the inner from the outer wall. The outer wall was approximately 8 meters high and only 1–2 meters thick at its base. Against its back were built some 2,500 barrel-vaulted chambers – casemates – whose principal function appears to have been to support a 5-meter-wide platform on top of the wall. The outer wall was strengthened by the same number of towers as the inner wall, though these were merely 8.5 meters high and spaced at intervals that fell roughly at midpoints between the towers of the

66 Constantinople, Land walls; general view

main wall behind them. In front of the outer wall lay another terrace, approximately 20 meters wide and enclosed by a low battlemented wall (about 1.5–2 meters high). Fronting this terrace was the moat, 18–20 meters wide and 5–7 meters deep, partially filled with water (fig. 68). Because of the highly uneven terrain over which the Land Walls were built, the moat was equipped with transversal walls that acted as a type of lock for keeping the water in reservoir-like containers at different heights. It appears that some of these water containers may also in fact have functioned as cisterns, supplying parts of the city with an additional source of water in times of need.[20] All of the walls and towers were equipped with crenelations, designed in keeping with conventions of bow-and-arrow warfare techniques. The main towers, and probably also the broad platform of the outer wall, were designed to accommodate balistas, while the terrace in front of the outer wall may have been used for catapults. Balistas and catapults were stone-throwing devices, likewise part of contemporary warfare technology. It is estimated that it would have taken some 10,000 troops to man these walls fully in times of siege. This may not have been difficult in the fifth or sixth centuries, but it certainly became a problem in later times when the city's population sharply declined. Properly manned, the Land Walls were practically unassailable, and they remained so until the invention of the cannon, first employed successfully in a major offensive siege by the troops of Mehmed II during the conquest of Constantinople in May 1453.



67 Constantinople, Land walls; typical section

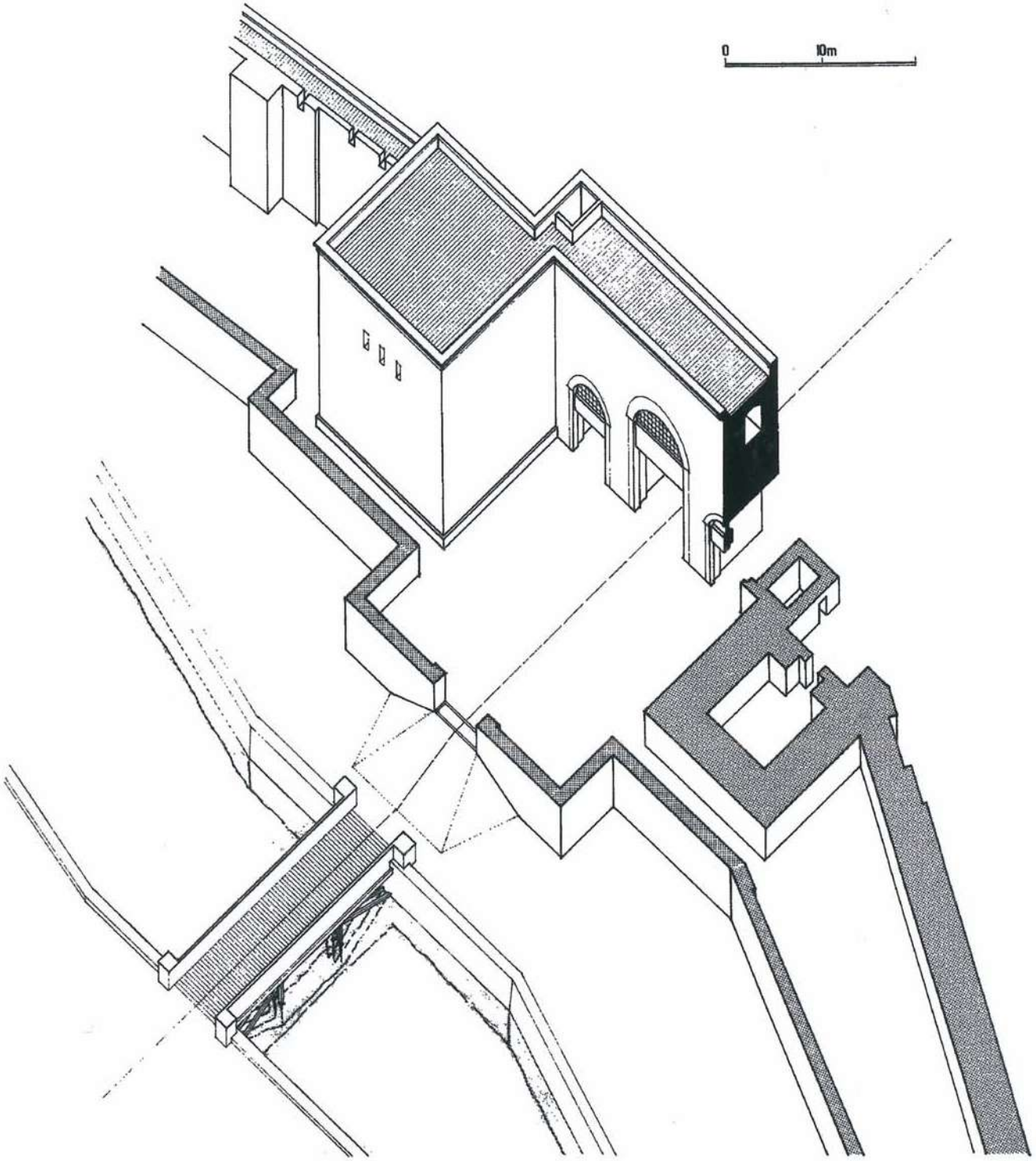
68 Constantinople, Land walls; general view as of c. 1900

The Land Walls had nine main gates, each flanked by a pair of towers. Each gate straddled one of the roads leading in and out of the city, linking it with its suburbs in the surrounding area and the countryside beyond. The most important of the city gates was the so-called Golden Gate, technically the terminal point of the Via Egnatia, the main east–west trans-Balkan road (figs. 69 and 70). The Golden Gate in many respects differed from the other eight gates. With its triple-arched arrangement, its gleaming, white marble façades, its bronze statuary, and its marble-paved forecourt, it visually declared its unique ceremonial role as *the* main gate of the city. The triple-arched form of the gate, with the central arch larger than the flanking pair, recalls Roman triumphal arches. This, combined with the knowledge that it was customarily used for imperial triumphal entries into the city, has given rise to a hypothesis that it may have been built as a freestanding triumphal arch by Theodosius I, grandfather of Theodosius II, the builder of the city walls.[21] There is, however, no hard evidence that would support this notion. The Golden Gate was – as has long been thought – the imperial city gate par excellence. Its central door was probably kept closed, and was opened only for the purposes of staging imperial ceremonial entries in the best tradition of ancient Rome. The exquisite execution of the huge door frames and the dowel holes indicating the location of large bronze letters belonging to an inscription on the face of the main arch all demonstrate a classical taste and attitude toward building design. Save for the strategically placed, albeit relatively small, carved crosses, there was absolutely nothing overtly Christian about this, the main gate of the capital city of the Christian Roman Empire.

The survival of classical taste and practice, perceived in conjunction with the Golden Gate, was in fact a hallmark of much Constantinopolitan architecture during most of the fifth century. This attitude, at first, may seem strangely paradoxical, in view of the fact that the emperors who championed it – most notably Theodosius I and Theodosius II – were at the same time responsible for laws that effectively spelled the end of paganism in the empire. The paradox is less glaring than at first sight it may appear. Anti-pagan legislation, in fact, guaranteed the Church the religious monopoly, and consequently made its attitude toward forms of pagan cultural expression far more relaxed. It is for these very reasons, it would appear, that the conversion of pagan buildings, even temples, slowly began to occur, and that a wholesale acceptance of various elements of the classical architectural vocabulary became the norm. Constantinople, as we shall see, became the showcase of these initiatives, inspired and financed by the imperial court.

Fifth-century urban developments that affected the appearance of the main processional avenue of the city – the Mese – provide us with the clearest manifestation of all of these phenomena.[22] The Mese, as already discussed in Chapter 2, was laid out as the backbone of the Constantinian city. Extended, and revamped along certain stretches of its course, it retained its primary functional and ceremonial roles.[23] Along the Mese, in keeping with the pattern set by Constantine I, a series of new fora were constructed, putting the final, classicizing touch on the general urban fabric of the capital city of the Christian Roman Empire. The first of these was the Forum of Theodosius I, also referred to as the Forum Tauri. Although many elements of this grand layout are known, its precise location still eludes us, as does the relationship between the Forum of Theodosius and the Forum Tauri.[24] According to Kedrinos, a twelfth-century Byzantine author, the Forum of Theodosius emulated the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Like its famous model, it apparently contained a great, double-apsed Basilica Theodosiana, measuring 28 by 80 meters in plan, being, it would seem, a half-size replica of Trajan's Basilica Ulpia.[25] This great architectural undertaking, clearly in the Roman imperial spirit, was relatively short-lived. It suffered major damage from earthquakes and fires already in the course of the fifth century. Probably somewhere within this forum stood the Column of Theodosius, erected perhaps in commemoration of the emperor's triumph celebrated in October 386. The column was evidently topped with a silver statue of the emperor. The statue, we are told, was toppled in the earthquake of 480. Fragments of the column base may still be seen used as spoils, built into a foundation wall of the Baths of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512). One of these features Roman soldiers in battle gear carrying shields embossed with XP symbols. Far more unusual and striking in its design must have been the Arch of Theodosius, whose remains came to light during post-Second World War urban interventions in the general area. The exact relationship of this arch to the Forum of Theodosius is also a moot ques-

69 Constantinople, Golden Gate; present state aerial view

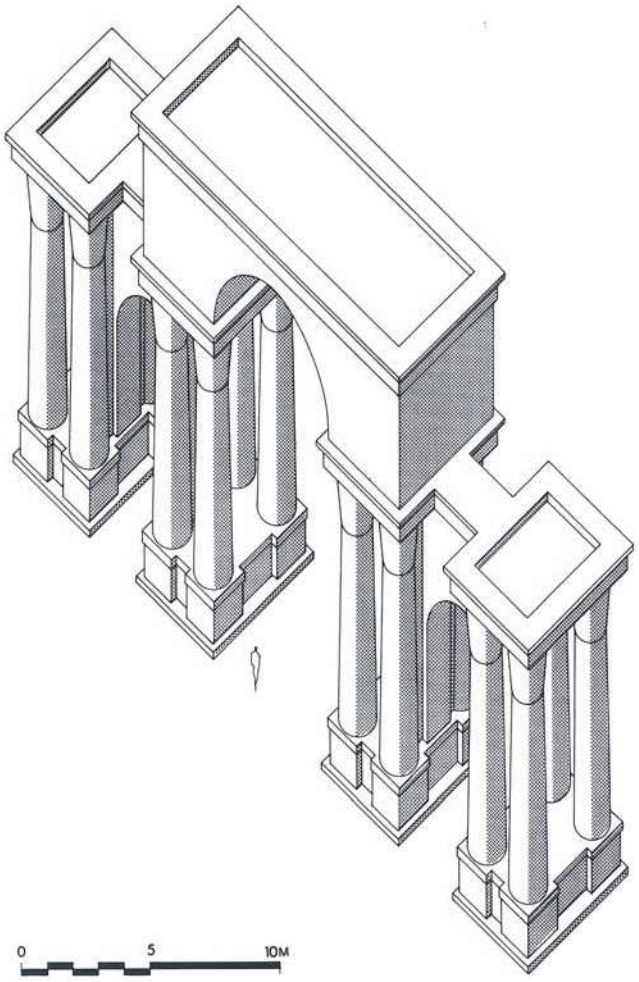


70 Constantinople, Golden Gate; axonometric

tion.[26] Compositionally, the Arch of Theodosius belonged to the triple-arch variety of Roman triumphal arches, though it was in no sense of a conventional design (figs. 71 and 72). Its barrel-vaulted openings were supported by four column clusters, each consisting of four massive columns standing on tall pedestals. Though the capitals more or less conformed to late antique Corinthian types, the column shafts featured a unique pattern of "tear-drop" shapes, actually representing a stylized version of tree-trunk knots (fig. 72). At the necking of each of the shafts was depicted a highly stylized giant human hand, wrapped around the column as if it were grasping it. The figurative allusion was apparently to the hand of Hercules holding the legendary club in his hand. Since the importance of Hercules in late imperial iconography in general is well known, we may have here an unusual late example of its monumental articulation.

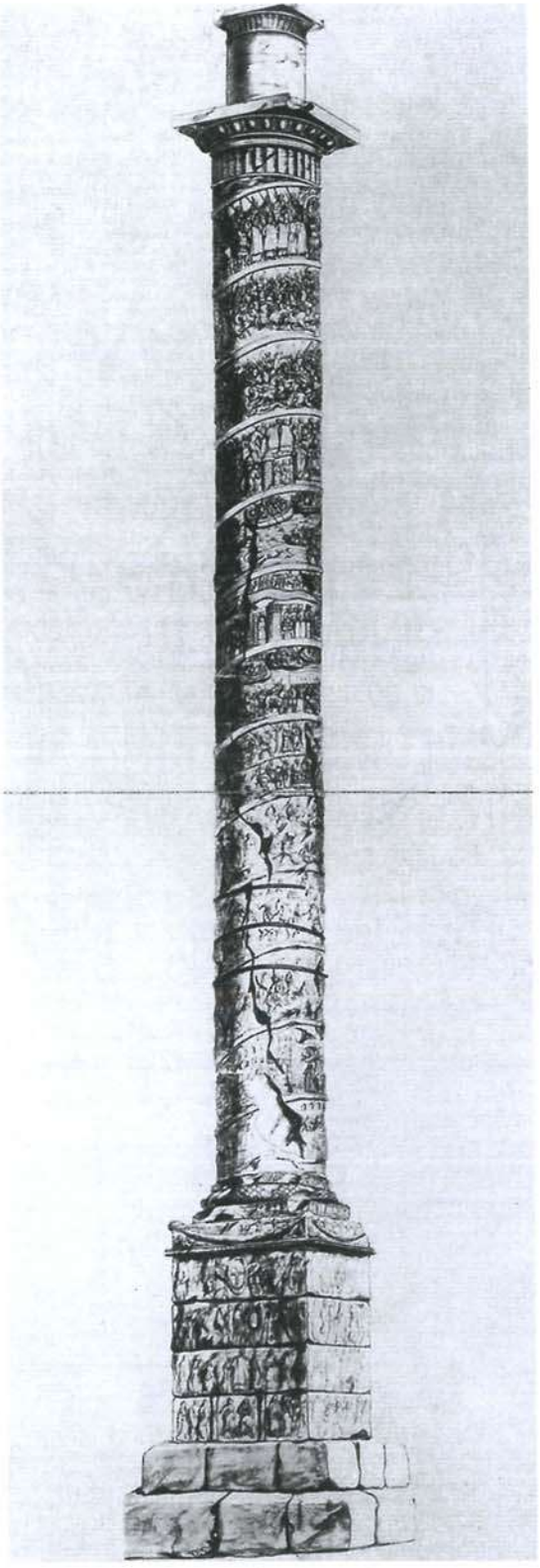
The last of the imperial fora to be built in Constantinople was the Forum of Arcadius, begun in 403. This forum, of which no traces survive, was also surrounded with porticoes and exedras, and, like the Forum of Theodosius, abounded in statuary. In its center rose the honorific Column of Arcadius, the pathetic remnants of whose base are still preserved. The statue of the Emperor Arcadius at its top, placed there in 421 by Theodosius II who finished the entire project, apparently fell during an earthquake in 740. The rest of the column, though cracked in later fires, survived in reasonable shape until the late seventeenth century, when it was recorded in a celebrated engraving (fig. 73). The Column of Arcadius was the last of the so-called historiated honorific columns. In a manner comparable to the Column of Trajan in Rome, a continuous relief strip spiraled around it, depicting, from bottom to top and in the best Roman imperial tradition, the war exploits of Arcadius, which in reality were few. The base of this column likewise depicted scenes of imperial triumph. Had it not been for the emblematic crosses on shields worn by the soldiers and a large cross within a wreath carried by winged victories, this column might have easily been mistaken for a pagan Roman work, so pervasive was the emphasis on standard imperial iconography of old.

Little is known about the urban setting of the Column of Marcian, erected around 450–52 (figs. 74 and 75). Still standing, the remarkably well-preserved nearly 17 meters high column also displays the characteristic blend of Roman imperial iconography with emblematic applications of the XP symbol. Its Latin inscription, no less than its relief sculpture, betrays its Roman heritage. The top of this column, however, displays an element of innovation – above its huge Corinthian capital rises an impost block, 1.6 meters high. It is decorated with four eagles with outstretched wings at the four corners, the arrangement obviously alluding to the imperial apotheosis. The impost block, whose form is unmistakable, serves no structural role whatsoever. Its appearance here

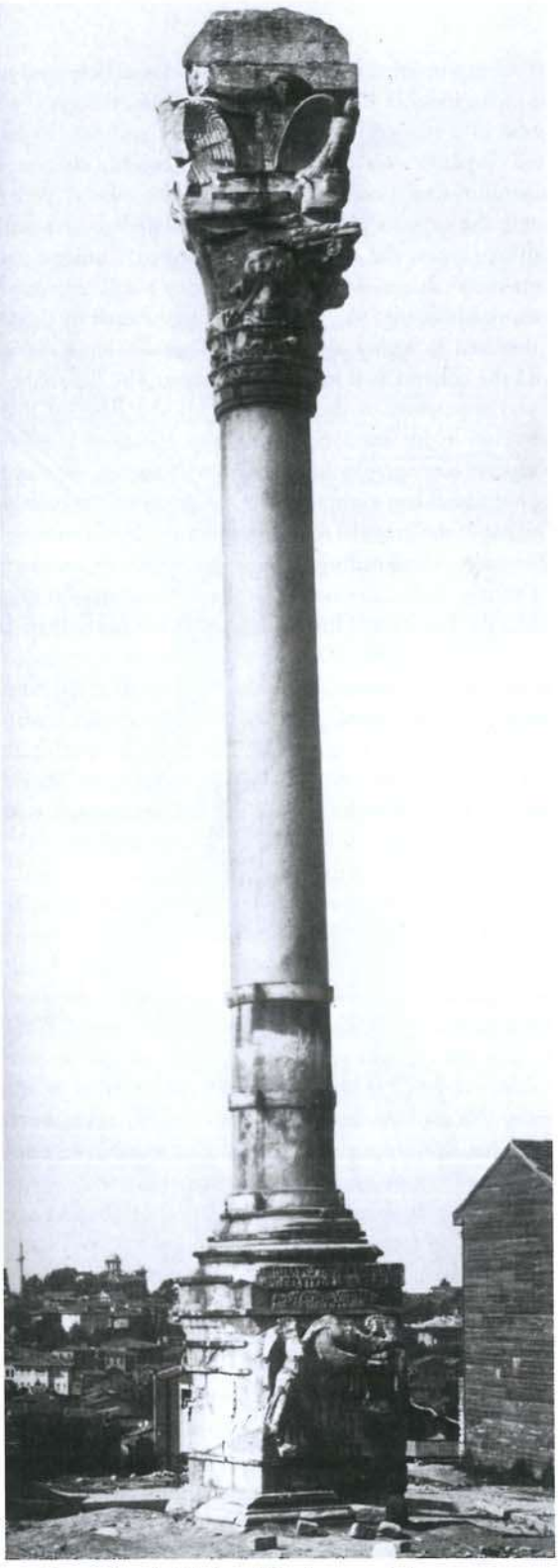


71 Constantinople, Arch of Theodosius; axonometric reconstruction

72 Constantinople, Arch of Theodosius



73 Constantinople, Column of Arcadius; 17th-century engraving



74 Constantinople, Column of Marcian; general view

75 Constantinople, Column of Marcian; capital and impost

76 Constantinople, Obelisk of Theodosius; base

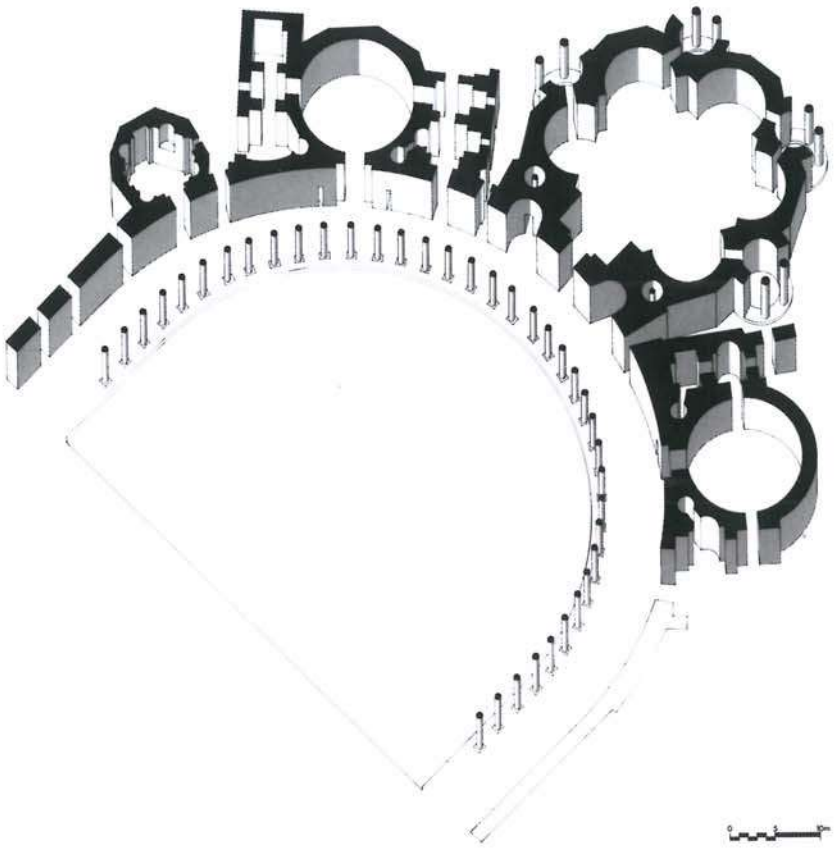
ought to be thought of in conjunction with the suggested symbolic role of impost blocks in the context of church architecture of this period, as a probable attempt at defining a "Christian order" of architecture. The Column of Marcian, in no uncertain terms, illustrates the interaction between the conservative and innovative trends operating side by side in the architectural practice of the capital during the fifth century.

The Obelisk of Theodosius I in the hippodrome was erected upon its tall base in 390 by the Prefect of the City, Proculus, in commemoration of an imperial victory. The very accomplishment, which had eluded the engineers of Constantine I, who had brought the obelisk from Egypt, must have been considered a major feat in its own right. The engineering principles involved in its erection are deserving of greater attention and study than has been afforded them so far.[27] The decoration of the marble base upon which the obelisk was set is one of the richest and most important documents of the various aspects of ceremonial and urban life in Constantinople around 400 (fig. 76). Its artistic aspects have been discussed on numerous occasions; recapitulating only the main points here will suffice. At the bottom of the monument, two of the faces bear commemorative inscriptions in parallel Greek and Latin versions. The other two faces feature a representation of the engineering procedures in conjunction with the erection of the obelisk and – on the opposite side – chariot racing in the hippodrome. Above this, four large relief panels depict scenes involving Emperor Theodosius I and his court at the games. In accordance with Roman imperial custom, the emperor was the official sponsor of all games in the hippodrome, thus presiding over many of the ceremonies depicted here in a summary fashion. From the artistic point of view, these panels are notable for the combination of highly schematized, hierarchical compositional arrangements with the facial realism characteristic of portrait sculpture of this period. The two tendencies seem to be the opposite faces of the same coin, which reveal the dual nature of artistic, as well as architectural, production in the city during this period. Among the

77 Constantinople, "House of Justinian"; sea front before highway construction in late 1950s

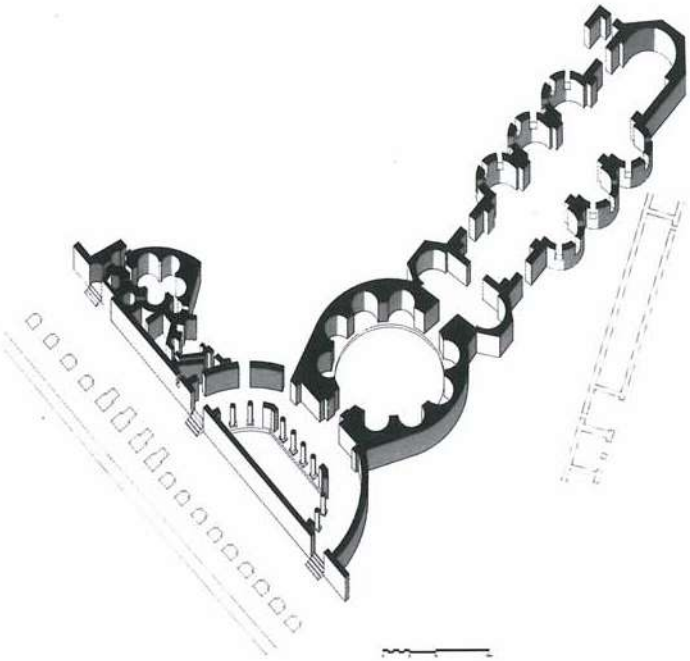
many details depicted on the main panels on the base of the obelisk, we should call particular attention to the architecture of the imperial box. Two relatively distinct versions of its rendition seem to occur: in one, the box appears to be a trabeated structure with freestanding columns; in the other it is arcuated. From the written sources we know that the imperial box was part of a structure known as the *kathisma*, which rose several stories in height, linked by means of a spiral staircase, with separate chambers on each floor for the accommodation of the imperial family.[28] Each floor of the *kathisma* visible on the side of the hippodrome would have had a different type of articulation, and possibly a different functional and symbolic meaning. Indeed, these may have been related to the articulation of the hippodrome itself, the exterior façades of which, as is recorded on several old engravings, had an arcuated lower and a trabeated upper story (fig. 40). Because the *kathisma* was a special place from which the emperor interacted with his subjects in person, it ought to be understood as the palace paradigm – an icon, one might say, of the rambling complex that the Great Palace had become. The reliefs on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, in a sense then, can be said to be the only exclusively symbolic images of the Great Palace in Constantinople to be preserved.

Some 250 meters southwest from the preserved palace's peristyle court are the pitiful remnants of apparently another palatine group incorporated into the remains of the Sea Walls tentatively identified as the "Bukoleon Palace".[29] These were utterly devastated by the construction of the railroad in the 1870s. The remaining parts of the complex overlooking the sea known as "House of Justinian" have also been separated from it by a massive landfill necessitated by the construction of the coastal highway in the late 1950s (fig. 77).[30] The identity of these remains, their date, their functional meaning, and the interrelationship of the various smaller components continue to be debated by scholars. The only thing that can be said with some certainty is that a part – evidently planned independently from, but later related to, the Great Imperial Palace but referred to erroneously as the "House of Justinian" – was built integrally with the Sea Walls. An open gallery related to this part of the complex was placed on top of the Sea Walls, thus taking advantage of the superb view in a manner that recalls the sea façade of Diocletian's palace at Split.



78 Constantinople, Palace of Antiochos; axonometric reconstruction

While the remains of the Great Palace will continue to intrigue and frustrate researchers, we are in a position to examine aspects of the palatine architecture of Constantinople by virtue of the remains of two smaller palace complexes – known as the Palace of Antiochos and the Palace of Lausos, after the names of their owners. Situated along the northwestern flank of the hippodrome, adjacent to the Mese, the two contiguously built palace complexes occupy what must have been a prize piece of real estate in Constantinople (fig. 190). Built in the early years of the fifth century, by two wealthy, high-ranking court officials, these palaces may be thought of as reflecting the highest standards of imperial architecture. The Palace of Antiochos, the larger of the two, belonged to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (the imperial palace chamberlain) under Theodosius II, a eunuch by the name of Antiochos (fig. 78).[31] The palace is notable for its monumental size. It was approached through a horseshoe-shaped court, 73 meters wide, lined with a colonnaded portico with marble-faced back walls. On the central axis of this court rose a hexagonal domed building (diameter 18 m) with six deep niches – five semicircular and one rectangular – on the interior. The niches were externally outlined by polygonal walls, while between them stood four circular spaces, in all likelihood domed, opened to the exterior through columnar screens. This arrangement, reminiscent of the pavilion in the Licinian Gardens in Rome of *circa* 300, suggests that the hexagonal building stood in a garden setting with which it communicated through the small, substantially open rotundas. The size and location of the hexagonal room suggest that it was probably the audience hall of the residence. The four circular rooms, it should be noted, also occupy strategic locations relative to the interior, and may have accommodated certain ceremonial functions, much like the small rectangular rooms appearing in quadruple arrangements alongside basilican audience halls discussed in the previous chapters. Framing the hexagonal hall were two slightly smaller, symmetrically disposed, circular domed rotundas (interior diameter 13 m), each surrounded by a suite of smaller yet, symmetrically organized clusters of rooms. Other, lesser rotundas apparently followed in a seemingly descending order, away from the main, hexagonal hall in the center of the composition. This elaborate, ingeniously planned complex must have had a



79 Constantinople, Palace of Lausos; axonometric reconstruction

lively silhouette dominated by at least nine clearly exposed domes. This, too, would have constituted an aspect of continuity with an architectural tradition established already during the period of the Tetrarchy. The proud owner of this impressive architectural creation, ultimately, may have fallen victim of his own vanity in a manner recalling the downfall of Colbert under Louis XIV in seventeenth-century France. In 438–39, at a time that must have marked the peak of his power, Antiochos fell from grace, his property passing into imperial hands. Later on, the hexagonal hall was converted into a church, ultimately becoming the martyrium of St. Euphemia, whose relics were transferred there in the early decades of the seventh century.

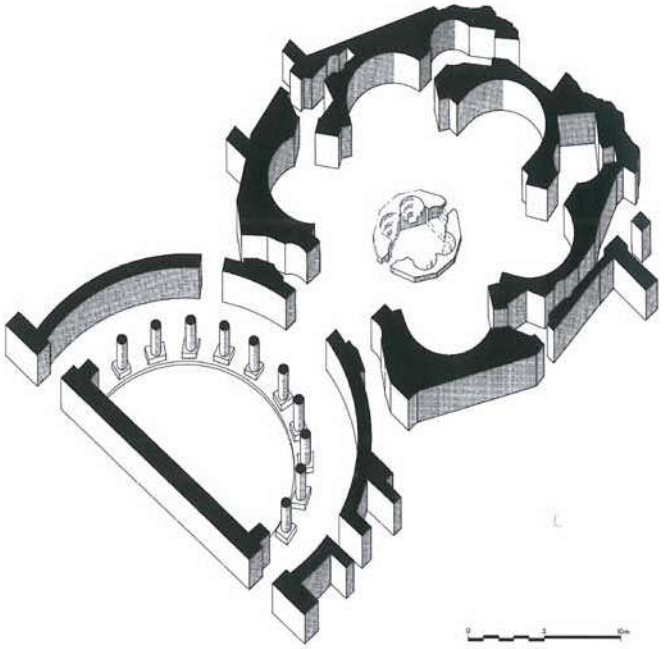
In the immediate vicinity of the Palace of Antiochos rose another palatial complex belonging to a court official by the name of Lausos. Hemmed in by its slightly older neighbor, the hippodrome, and a string of shops lining the Mese, the Palace of Lausos occupied a difficult, essentially triangular site (fig. 79).[32] The nature of the site left a clear imprint on the architecture of this complex. Its unusually elongated form, its slightly bent axis, and the spread-out elements of its entrance façade all seem to have been predicated on the physical characteristics of the site. The palace was entered through a "sigma court" comparable in principle, if not in size, to that in the Palace of Antiochos.[33] The court, whose back was "flattened," also possibly because of the site restrictions, was not entered on axis, but through two doors opening into the curved portico. The central part of the open court was enclosed by a solid wall separating the palace property from a 10-meter-wide street lined with the arcaded substructures of the hippodrome along the opposite side. From the court one entered, axially, a large rotunda, approximately 22 meters in diameter. The massive walls of this rotunda, articulated with eight semicircular niches and two rectangular passageways, suggest that the building was domed. Opposite the main entrance lay the passageway into a large hall, approximately 60 meters long and 12 meters wide, preceded by a double-apsed vestibule with a large apse at its western end. Two groups of three lateral apses, symmetrically billowing out from the opposite flanks of the long hall, along with cross vaulting, seem to have been added during a later building phase. The characteristic disposition of the plan has led scholars to the conclusion that this must have been the palace *triclinium* (dining hall), and that its niches must have accommodated large dining couches reserved for the guests, with the couch reserved for the palace owner in the main apse.[34] Flanking the sigma court on its south side was a cluster of unusually shaped rooms – circular, pentagonal, and five-lobed in plan. Provided with its own, separate entrance, this must have been the private bath of the palace, situated, as was customary in late antiquity, near the main entrance. The highly articulated spaces of the Palace of Lausos were echoed on the exterior of its building components in a lively display of almost sculptural forms in a manner reminiscent of the architecture of the Palace of Antiochos and a number of other late antique palaces. The real fame of the Palace of Lausos, however, rested on the collection of ancient sculpture belonging to the building's owner, and boastfully displayed in its halls.[35] The collection, which included works by the most famous ancient Greek sculptors, Phidias, Praxiteles, and Lysippos, was apparently destroyed in a fire in 476, which also caused the destruction and subsequent remodeling of much of the palace itself. This sculptural collection was unique only by virtue of the extraordinary quality of the displayed pieces. Other such collections, as the one in the already mentioned villa at Mediana, indicate that the collecting of sculpture appears to have become a particular vogue in an age when Christian believers were becoming increasingly intolerant of pagan "idols." "Collecting," then, may perhaps also be perceived as a manner of saving ancient works of art from hostile mobs, by removing them from the public realm and accommodating them in private residences.

Continuing admiration of the ancient ways and culture on the part of the Constantinopolitan aristocratic elite, drew the ire of St. John Chrysostomos (Patriarch, 398-404) whose famous sermons illuminate what archaeology cannot document. Thus, he accuses many wealthy nobles of possessing "ten or twenty mansions and as many private baths"[36] and goes on to say that:

> . . . a thousand, if not well nigh two thousand slaves called them [the rich owners] lords, and their halls were thronged with eunuchs, parasites, and retainers. In their gorgeous houses the doors were of ivory, the ceilings lined with gold, the floors inlaid with mosaics or strewn with rich carpets, the walls of halls and bedrooms were of marble, and whatever commoner stone was used the surface was beautified with gold plate. Nude statues, to the scandal of strict ecclesiastics, decorated the halls. Spacious verandahs and baths enjoined the houses, which were surrounded by gardens with fountains . . .[37]

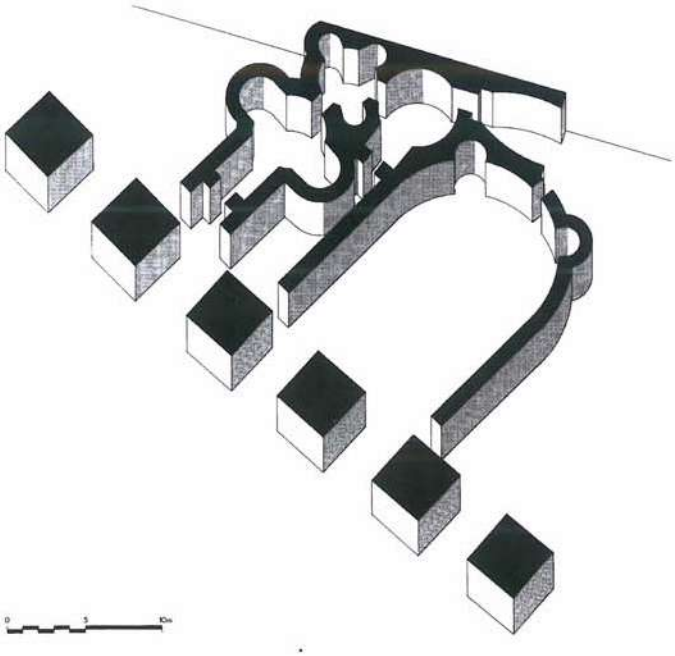
Fragmentary remains of several other luxury private residences, probably dating from the fifth century, have been archaeologically retrieved. A building tentatively identified as the "Hagiasma of the Monastery of Theotokos tōn Hodēgōn," and dated to the fifth century, may have originally been part of such a private residence (fig. 80).[38] Indeed, its sigma court and the hexagonal room (interior diameter about 15 m) with its five niches, and the accompanying four miniscule rooms situated between the niches, is a near-replica on a slightly smaller scale of the hexagonal hall in the Antiochos Palace.[39] The center of this hall features an elaborately niched marble fountain, a replacement of an older one found below it. The similarity of its form to some fifth-century baptismal fonts poses the possibility that this building was a baptistery, though such a notion has not been entertained, largely on account of the lack of archaeological evidence for any church building in its immediate vicinity.

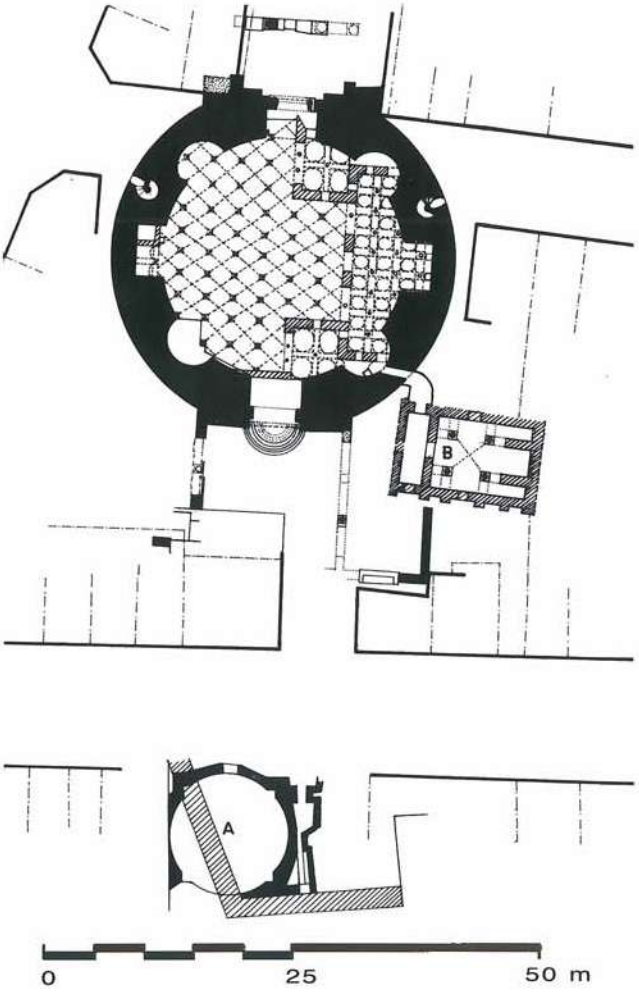
Another fragment of a building identified as a "Roman Bath" and dated to around 400 is deserving of attention here (fig. 81). Uncovered during a large-scale excavation carried out between the Kalenderhane Camii and the Aqueduct of Valens in the late 1960s, the building was determined to be the oldest architectural component on the site, with an enormously complex subsequent building history.[40] What was discovered constitutes a cluster of circular rooms articulated with lateral niches, creating a dense grouping of curvilinear shapes, reminiscent of bathing establishments at Romuliana and in the Palace of Lausos. To the west of the excavated cluster of rooms was discovered a curving wall with a blind niche, enclosing a portion of what must have been a horseshoe-shaped open space, approximately 11 meters in diameter. A suggestion that this may have served the function of an exercise court must be dismissed on account of its small size. Instead, we should view it as a miniature version of a sigma court with an adjacent bath. Because of the excavated section of road running at an angle to the aqueduct, the site must have been contained in such a way that the larger part of the residence would have probably been to the west of the "sigma court" in a decidedly asymmetrical arrangement. Such a composition would not have been out of line with plan-



80 Constantinople, Monastery of Theotokos tōn Hodēgōn, Hagiasma; axonometric reconstruction

81 Constantinople, Kalenderhane, Bath; axonometric reconstruction





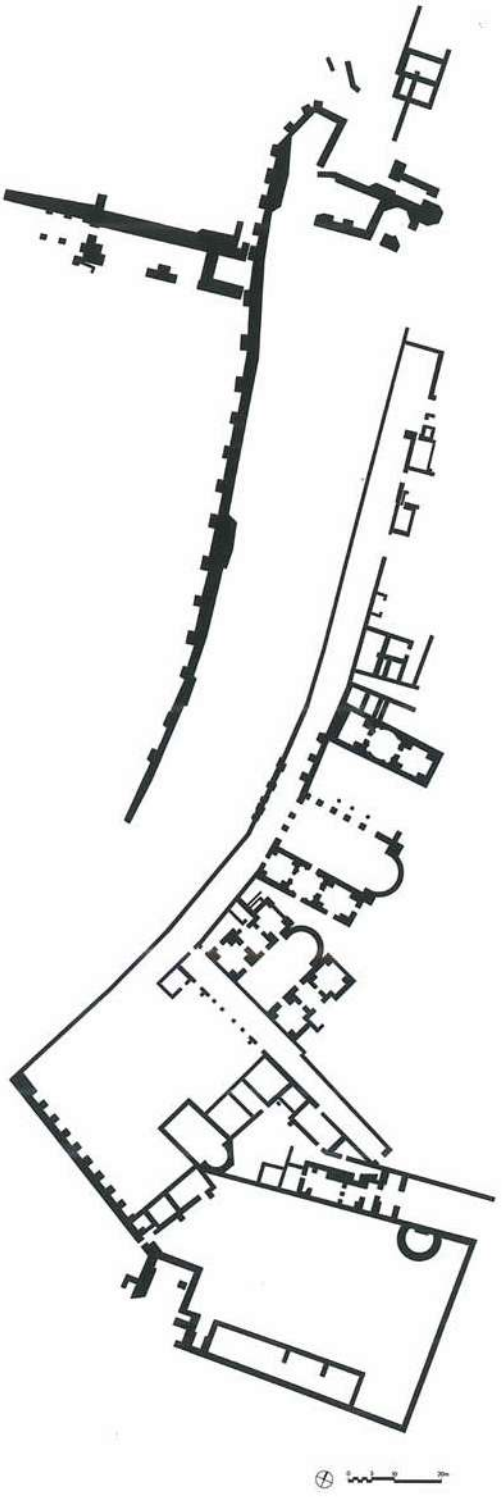
82 Constantinople, Myrelaion Rotunda; plan

ning schemes employed in the fourth and fifth centuries. Of further interest here is the fact that this private residence – if indeed it was one – was superseded, a century or so later, by an urban monastery roughly at the same location. What the exact link between this monastery and the original residence may have been, if there was any, remains unclear. On the basis of the excavated portion of the complex, Striker and Kuban have assumed a complete disjunction between the two.

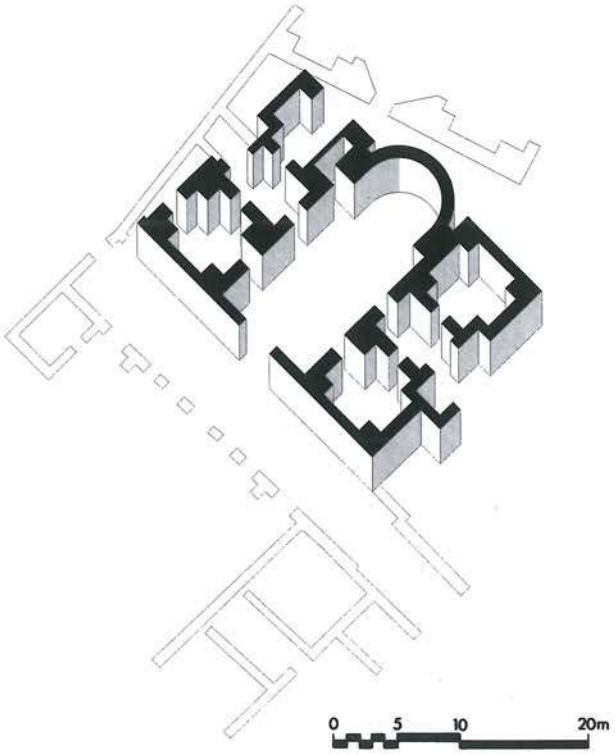
By far the largest of all of the partially preserved palatine remains in the city is at the same time the most puzzling – a huge round building, known as the "Myrelaion Rotunda," with an interior diameter of 29.6 meters, and 6.1-meter-thick cylindrical wall (fig. 82). One of the largest known ancient domed rotundas, it closely resembles the Pantheon in Rome in design, if not in size. It is of some interest to contemplate the dimensions and the general appearance of this building on the city's skyline. Given the proportional relations of several late antique rotundas, we may postulate that the height of the Myrelaion Rotunda would have been one-and-a-half times its interior diameter, that is to say, approximately 45 meters. A building of that height – roughly equivalent to a fifteen-story modern high-rise – would have loomed high on the fifth-century skyline, making it one of the most visible structures in the city before the construction of several large sixth-century churches. Although we know nothing about the nature of its superstructure, it is reasonable to assume that its dome would have been made of brick, rather than of concrete, as in the case of the Pantheon. The conservatism of its solution is notable not in the execution, but in the character of its plan and the building's general appearance. Constantinople had a fully developed building trade of its own by this time. It was only through certain deliberate, conservative choices that a presence of Roman architectural thinking in the new capital continued, a century after Constantine.[41] The lower part of the ruined rotunda was reused in the tenth century to house a large cistern, whose vaults, supported on rows of columns, carried a platform upon which was built the Palace of Romanos Lakapenos. In its original form the rotunda was clearly part of a larger complex, about which very little is known, though circumstantial evidence makes it probable that it belonged to a fifth-century palatine establishment of some significance. The interior of the rotunda was marked by eight alternating semicircular and rectangular niches. Two of the rectangular niches, directly opposite each other, accommodated large marble-framed doors, suggesting that the building, in the manner of the rotunda in the Palace of Lausos, must have functioned as a monumental vestibule. The tradition of centralized domed buildings functioning in this manner, it will be recalled, was in place already during the period of the Tetrarchy, as witnessed in Diocletian's palace at Split (see pp. 40–42). As at Split, the main axis here extended in the north–south direction. The rotunda appears to have been entered from the south, where the remains of a columned court of some sort have been discovered. Nothing is known about the opposite side, though one could expect the palace proper to have been located there. At a distance of approximately 40 meters south of the Myrelaion Rotunda, the foundations of a smaller circular structure were discovered by archaeologists, who were unable to determine the functional identity of this building. Almost completely ignored by architectural historians, this "Small Rotunda," with a not so negligible diameter of 15 meters, may hold important clues for the understanding of the developing new principles of dome design and construction, which probably took place in Constantinople in the course of the fifth century.[42] Conservatism, we must remind our-

selves, was only one of the deliberate design choices made in certain specific contexts by patrons and architects in the capital during this time. Simultaneously, a highly imaginative, creative spree affecting design and construction alike was also taking place. The latter trend, as we have already observed, was particularly pronounced in the realm of palatine architecture.

The last example of palatine architecture to be considered is a vast complex situated on the shore of the Sea of Marmara at a location known as Rhegion (modern Küçükçekmeçe), some distance west of the city, along the Via Egnatia. Although technically speaking not part of the city, the Rhegion complex, being an imperial estate, allows for some insights into what the Great Palace may have looked like in terms of its layout. Modern excavations have retrieved only the foundation remains of a portion of the Rhegion establishment sprawled over an area measuring approximately 300 × 175 meters (fig. 83).[43] The size of the complex, with an area of some 5 hectares, brings to mind the fact that many late antique towns in the Balkans were considerably smaller. Unfortunately, little is known about Rhegion, which Prokopios mentions only in passing. From Prokopios' comments it is clear that Justinian's interventions here were little more than a patching up of an older complex. Aspects of the overall plan reveal that it was built along the shore, on a series of artificial terraces reinforced by strong retaining walls. Individual main buildings were planned loosely in relation to the overall scheme, but quite tightly within the individual functional clusters to which they belonged. This recalls Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, or the chronologically closer villa at Piazza Armerina. At Rhegion, we find such familiar planning themes as a symmetrical cluster of rooms grouped around what must have been an audience hall (fig. 84). The single-aisled apsed basilica, measuring roughly 10 × 20 meters, opens in the southerly direction onto a large courtyard. The basilica is flanked on each side by two symmetrical rows of three rooms. The central of each of these three-room clusters was evidently a type of a vestibule, giving access to the two corner rooms. A four-room constellation symmetrically accompanying a basilican hall is a familiar planning scheme in palatine complexes from the period of the Tetrarchy on. The principle difference that can be noted here is that the corner rooms, and possibly also the basilica itself, were in all likelihood vaulted. Vaulting, though not unknown, was not so commonly used in palatine halls, which, in what appears to have been a particular convention, tended to be covered with timber trusses and suspended coffered ceilings. Another group of spaces – this one facing west and opening onto a terrace overlooking the water – deserves notice in this context. The main room, in this case, is also a large single-aisled basilica, entered through a triple arcade on piers. Along its northern flank the basilica was open, its wall replaced by another piered arcade. Archaeology has



83 Constantinople, Rhegion complex; plan



84 Constantinople, Rhegion complex, Audience hall; axonometric reconstruction

provided no clues whether the basilica had a twin along its northern flank, or whether it actually opened onto a private garden of sorts. If the basilica was the *triclinium* of the palace complex, the latter arrangement would not have been impossible. Both the basilica and its neighbor, whatever its actual form, were flanked by clusters of three rooms, of which the central one, on both sides, was a small rotunda functioning as a vestibule for the other two cruciform rooms. With this, we will leave our discussion of the fifth-century secular architecture of Constantinople, which, as we have had ample opportunity to observe, was marked by a remarkable volume of construction, as well as extraordinary creative dynamism. While this was setting the architectural pace and formulating new trends, contemporary ecclesiastical architecture was still merely following in the footsteps of its achievements.

The volume of construction that can be gleaned from the excavated remains of various palaces and luxurious residences is both revealing and misleading. It signals that the city of Constantinople during the fifth century was rapidly developing into a metropolis that both in size and urban character had displaced its great model – the city of Rome – on the world scene. What it does not give us is a realistic picture of the burgeoning new capital from the point of view of the other building types that made up its rich urban fabric. A contemporary source, known as *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, dated *circa* 425, offers us a little frustrating statistical information. From it we learn that the city, in addition to the 5 imperial palaces, 4 fora, 2 basilicas, 2 theaters, 8 public baths, 322 streets, and 52 colonnades, had as many as 4,388 *domus* (probably meaning masonry private residences) and 153 private baths.[44] Four of the city's major public baths – Constantiniane (built 345–427), Honorianae (finished 412), Baths of Achilles (rebuilt in the fifth century), and Baths of Dagistos (begun by Emperor Anastasios) – were undergoing some form of construction in the course of the fifth century. Private baths in all likelihood must have belonged to the larger and more luxurious private residences and at times, as we have seen, could have doubled as "public baths," functionally speaking, while being privately owned and run. From this we could also deduce that at least some of the *domus* along with their bathing establishments may have been large and luxurious enough to fit our definition of "palatine" architecture. This, we might suggest, could have been the case with the "Roman Bath" and the related complex at Kalenderhane. Even if that were the case, we must concede that we have no physical information for most of the 4,388 *domus* mentioned in the *Notitia*. This, of course, does present us with a distorted image of the city, a partial remedy for which may still come from a more careful reading of the written sources, as has recently been demonstrated.[45]

The life of the new metropolis depended on numerous factors, but above all on the supply of food and water.[46] Areas of Constantinople associated with commercial activities have recently been mapped, largely on the bases of preserved textual evidence, while physical remains are extremely meager.[47] The principal staple in the daily diet of its citizens was bread, thus the supply of grain, as had been the case with Rome earlier, depended on good harbor facilities, including granaries. Because grain had to be supplied by ship, mostly from Egypt, the proximity of the city to the sea was a major advantage that surely did not escape the notice of Constantine I and his planners when the location of the new capital was chosen. Most of the harbor facilities, however, were constructed later. Until very recently little was known about the harbors of Constantinople beyond the fact that several existed – those of Julian (Sophia) and Theodosius on the Sea of Marmara, and those of Prosphorion and Neorion on the Golden Horn, being the best known.[48] Physical evidence related to the Harbor of Theodosius and any facilities that may have been associated with it have only recently come to light along with the remains of the sunken Byzantine cargo ships, but these extremely important finds have not yet been fully published.

Our understanding of the water supply for Constantinople is much greater, thanks to several recent studies. Fresh water was brought to the city from great distances, requiring the construction of aqueducts in accordance with Roman practice. Maintaining and, even more, protecting these aqueducts were major challenges. Bringing water to the city in satisfactory quantities was a necessity both in terms of its use for drinking purposes and for running the many public and private baths. Storing water in large quantities was a corollary need, requiring the construction of water-storage facilities – cisterns – in large numbers. Cisterns are another important gauge of the city's population growth. They were constructed by the state for the purpose of maintaining a sufficient and safe supply of water within the city walls, in case its aqueduct lines were cut in times of siege, as had happened in the city of Rome. Cisterns were almost certainly being built from the very beginning in Constantinople. Some were open, though most, albeit smaller, were generally covered. Although some of the cisterns lay outside the Theodosian Walls, most were built within the city's fortified enclosure. The largest open-air cistern, preserved outside the city walls, is the fifth-century one at modern Bakirköy, known as the Fildami Cistern ("elephant cistern").[49] Measuring 127 × 75 meters (just under 1 ha) in plan, it was enclosed by walls some 10 meters high, still substantially preserved (fig. 85). Built of alternating bands of stone and brick, the walls display the characteristic Constantinopolitan building technique at its best. The same technique, as already noted, was used in the construction of the Theodosian Land Walls. The two longer walls of the cistern were articulated by a series of semicircular niches that reveal a structural rather than an aesthetic approach to design. Two other known open-air cisterns – those of Aetios and Aspar – were located between the Constantinian and the Theodosian walls. Both were built in the fifth century – Aetios *circa* 421 and Aspar in 459 – and both were more than double the size of the Fildami Cistern.[50] Among the many underground cisterns, it will suffice to mention the largest two surviving. The older of these, known as the Yerebatan Cistern, or the Basilica Cistern, may have been built in the late fourth century, though it seems more likely that it is an early fifth-century construction. Situated to the west of the area once occupied by the Augusteion, the Yerebatan Cistern is believed to have been the substructure of a very large public building, most likely the famous "Basilica."[51] The Basilica and all of the surrounding buildings have long since disappeared, but the cistern is preserved virtually intact (fig. 86). It measures 64.6 × 138 meters (about 0.88 ha) and features twelve rows of twenty-eight columns in each row (a total of 336 columns). The columns are laid out on a regular square grid approximately 5 meters on center, each square module covered by a domical cross vault executed in brick. The vaulting webs are only one brick thick, the entire system revealing "standardized" construction at its best. The supporting members, the column shafts and capitals, are anything but standardized. In their variety, they reveal that the stone members,

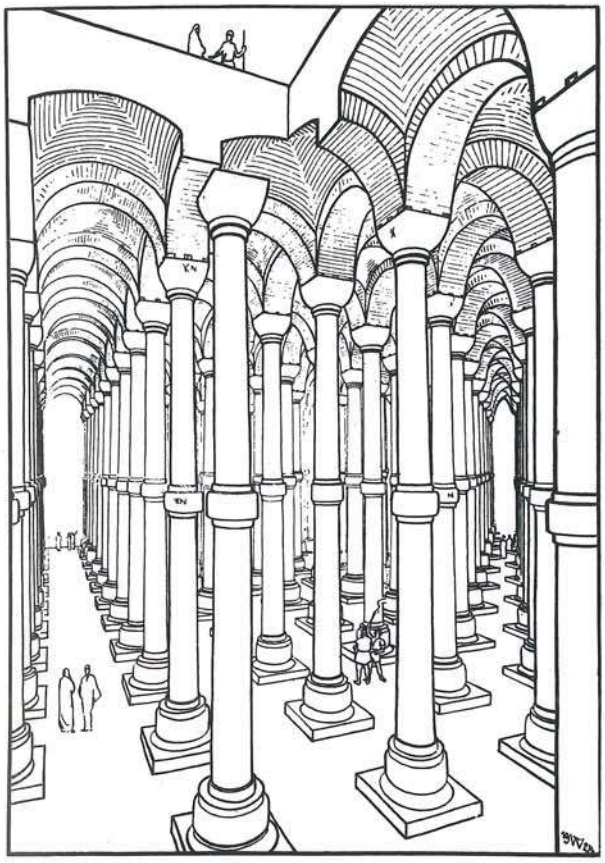
85 Constantinople, Fildami Cistern; exterior retaining wall

86 Constantinople, Yerebatan Cistern; 19th-century interior view, lithograph (after drawing by T. Allom)

87A Constantinople, Binbirdirek Cistern: 19th-century interior view, lithograph (after drawing by T. Allom)

employed in the construction of cisterns, were spoils, left over or rejected from any number of other construction sites. The utilitarian nature of cisterns precluded any aesthetic principles that would have been carefully observed in a public context. One of the columns used in this cistern, featuring characteristic tree-trunk knots, is obviously related to the Arch of Theodosius. Whether it was left over or rejected at the time of the arch's construction, or whether it was brought here after one of the severe damages suffered by the Forum of Theodosius and its buildings in the course of the fifth century, cannot be said with certainty. The second monumental example, the so-called Binbirdirek Cistern, situated behind the Palace of Lausos close to the Mese, is thought to belong to a period between the mid-fifth century and the sixth.[52] Measuring 56.4 × 64 meters, it has 224 columns employed in a manner very similar to that at the Yerebatan Cistern (figs. 87A and B). While the use of columns to support domical cross vaults is comparable in principle, the columns themselves are not. In this case, they are apparently of uniform make, using shafts extended by means of an ingenious coupling device resembling a stone ring. The double-height columns substantially increased the volume of this cistern, which, though the smallest of the five that we have discussed, had a capacity for storing 40,000 cubic meters of water. All of its columns are capped by uniform basket capitals, possibly made as a series, and deliberately left unfinished for this purpose.

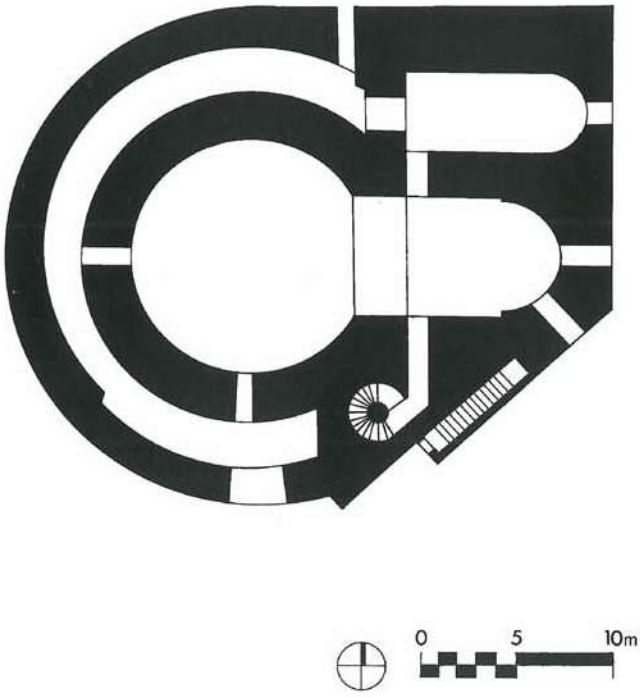
The *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* records only fourteen churches in a city that is estimated to have had as many as 300,000 inhabitants at the time. Though fourteen represents a significant increase over the number of churches in the city at the death of Constantine, it is nonetheless revealing of the still slow pace with which the capital of the Christian Roman Empire was being "Christianized." It would seem, in fact, that for most emperors until *circa* 450 the first priority was to imbue the city with an imperial aura. Only the second half of the fifth century actually signified a watershed in these developments. Doctrinal disputes, which reached a new peak during the first half of the



87B Constantinople, Binbirdirek Cistern: Interior reconstruction

fifth century, had at first put Constantinople in a weakened position. The Third Ecumenical Council, held in 431 in Ephesus, declared the Virgin "Theotokos" (God-bearer), and condemned the teachings of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Nestorius, who saw Christ as a human at birth in whom the divine nature was independently incarnated, as heretical. The downfall of Nestorius signaled a victory for the so-called Monophysites (who preached that Christ had only one nature – the divine one), but not for long. Twenty years later, in 451, at the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon, following years of theological diplomacy behind the scenes, the imperial government and the patriarch of Constantinople were able to regain control of Church affairs by championing a new compromise solution. The victory was not won without a price, however. The acceptance of the doctrine that Christ had two distinct, but at the same time inseparable natures had been won with papal aid. The price was the adoption of Canon 28 that gave the pope nominal first rank in his otherwise equal status vis-à-vis the patriarch of Constantinople. Though the problem of confrontation between the two ecclesiastical giants may thus appear to have been solved, actually it had merely begun. Given the apparent victory at Chalcedon, the Church in Constantinople must have taken advantage of the momentum it thus acquired. From then on, the city became a subject of perpetually intensive "Christianization." In architectural terms this implied an ever-growing number of churches. The process was not merely a reflection of the will of the emperor, or of high-level Church authorities. Significantly, it had to do with the popularization of Christianity on many different levels. This was effected simultaneously from within, as well as from without the city proper. During the second half of the fifth century Constantinople began to experience a major influx of Christian "holiness" into its midst. This manifested itself in an intensive importation of relics, as well as in the influx of foreign monks, who saw in the city a new bulwark of Christian faith, a kind of a "promised city," to which they eagerly flocked.[53] Significant for the perception of Constantinople around 500 is the fact that contemporary writers began to compare it no longer to Rome, but to Jerusalem. Through such comparisons Constantinople acquired a new epithet – "The New Jerusalem." The newly acquired relics, such as the famous *maphorion* (Mantle of the Virgin), brought to Constantinople from Nazareth in 468, became not only precious possessions, but were immediately "employed" in their new settings. Relics now began to draw pilgrims to Constantinople and, in times of need, were even "in charge" of protecting the city. Monks, as champions of popular beliefs, slowly acquired a new social status, wielding great power. Not only were they establishing new monasteries, but also, on account of their holiness, they became welcome guests and even permanent members of many wealthy households.[54] The "holy men" among the monks transplanted the legendary behavior of "desert monasticism" from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine into, or next to, the urban environment of Constantinople itself. The second half of the fifth century witnessed the dominant presence of Daniel the Stylite (d. 493), whose isolation atop a column at Anaplous – emulating the Syrian practice initiated by the famous St. Symeon Stylites the Elder (d. 459) – attracted considerable attention. He not only drew enormous crowds of the faithful, but had even the emperor, Leo I (457–74), dependent on his advice. According to the story in the *Life* of St. Daniel the Stylite, the saint's entry into Constantinople in the 460s was nothing short of an imperial triumph. The route took him from the palace in Hebdomon, through the Golden Gate, through the fora, all the way to the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, with multitudes lining the streets and cheering along the way.[55]

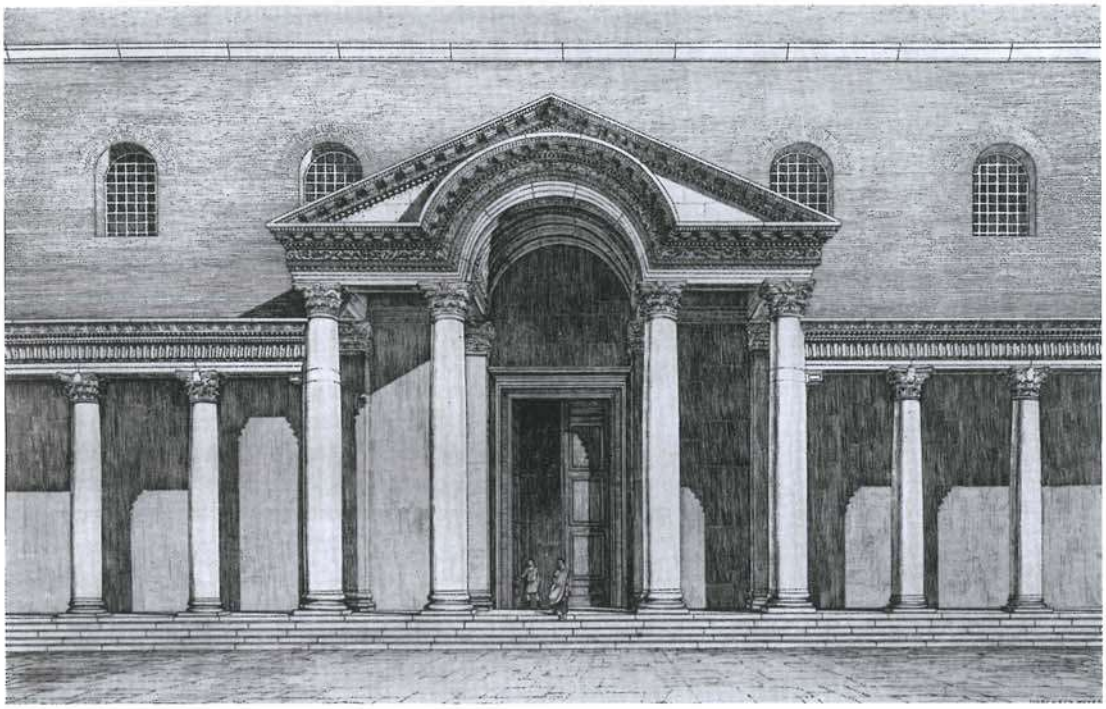
Most of the venerable churches and religious shrines of the city from this period have disappeared without trace. Occasion-



88 Constantinople, Hagios Menas; plan

ally, textual evidence allows for an insight into the appearance of a certain building, although such evidence must always be taken with a grain of salt. One must be reminded that descriptions of buildings written by ancient authors were seldom, if ever, produced with the intent we are inclined to expect from them.[56] Yet, critical reading of ancient texts can provide insights that can be enormously illuminating and helpful. Such is the case of the textual evidence related to the famous Blachernae Shrine, just outside the Theodosian city walls, near the Golden Horn.[57] Here, related to an older "holy water spring," an important shrine arose in the course of the fifth century that eventually evolved into a major healing center associated with Constantinople. By *circa* 468 a centralized church, known as Soros, had arisen on the site with the aim of accommodating the *maphorion* of the Virgin Mary. Built by Emperor Leo I (457–74) and his wife, Verina, it was a fairly large building equipped with liturgical features (bema, ambo), as well as an *episkepsis* (reliquary?), apparently a separate chamber on the south side of the church, in which the *maphorion* was actually kept. The building is also known to have had a gallery, reached by a single spiral staircase. Special chambers for the safeguarding of tombs, relics, or other sacred objects, as will be seen in this chapter, became corollary features of many churches in the course of the fifth century. The Soros of Blachernae must have epitomized this development. As an imperial monument of prime religious significance, it attracted attention and presumably also exerted influence not only on the local, Constantinopolitan scene, but also well beyond.

Physical evidence of fifth-century church architecture in Constantinople is slightly greater than that for the fourth century, but it is still meager. Judging by what remains, it is possible to say that it also reflected both innovative and conservative trends. The preserved substructure of the present-day church of Hagios Menas may be that of a church dedicated to the martyr saints Karpos and Papylas, and is thought to date from around 400.[58] The substructure constitutes a vaulted crypt consisting of a central domed room (12 m in diameter) opening toward the east into a barrel-vaulted space that ends in a low semicircular apse (fig. 88). Circumventing the domed room, and separated from it by a solid wall, is an ambulatory covered by an annular barrel vault. The walls were built in the characteristic technique of several courses of ashlars alternating with bands of several courses of bricks. All of the vaults were made of brick. Along with other constructional details and building techniques, they can be related to other Constantinopolitan buildings dating from this period. On the east side, the ambulatory is terminated by a thick wall containing a spiral staircase on the south side, and by another apsed chamber on the north. The function of this crypt is unclear, though in character it resembles crypts of some of the tetrarchic mausolea. Its form suggests that the main part of the building must have had a domed central space separated from an ambulatory by freestanding columns, piers, or a combination of the two. The domed space was expanded eastward into a barrel-vaulted bema, indicating that the building was designed as a church and intended for the accommodation of liturgy. The scheme, in a very simplified form, and on a smaller scale, recalls the Rotunda in Thessaloniki, converted into a church around the same time (fig. 61). On the north side the ambulatory was probably linked to a separate apsed chapel, which may have held the remains of the two martyrs. Separate rooms, specially designed as martyria, as we will see, became quite common in church architecture of the fifth century. The irregular exterior form of the overall plan suggests that the building must have been related either to a system of streets or to other buildings belonging to some sort of a complex. The main, upper part of the church was linked to the crypt by means of a spiral staircase embedded in the thickness of a wall mass. Several of the features preserved in this building may be related to what the sources describe as having existed in the Soros of Blachernae. Such a comparison aims neither at suggesting that the rotunda of Hagios Menas should be identified with the Soros, nor that the two stood in any sort of direct mutual relationship.

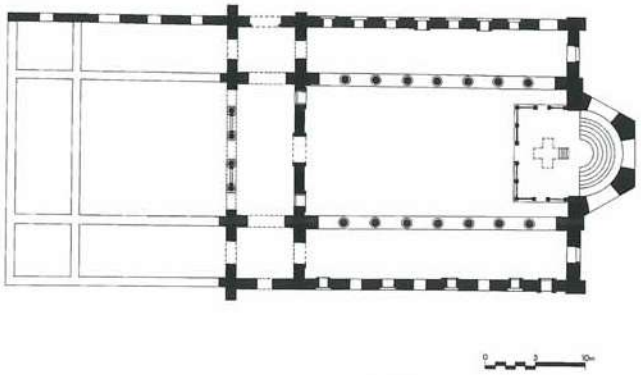


89 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, entrance portico as in 415; reconstruction drawing

The recurrence of similar features, nonetheless, can imply certain common needs and resulting responses that could have affected not merely these two buildings, but a wide range of architecture during this important century.

Very different sort of evidence, belonging to the rebuilding of the first church of Hagia Sophia after a disastrous fire in 404, was discovered in an excavation carried out in front of the present building in the 1930s.[59] The excavations brought to light substantial remains belonging to approximately half of a monumental portico fronting the building façade, as rebuilt by 415. Enough well-preserved architectural elements were retrieved to allow for a detailed reconstruction of the entire façade (fig. 89). The portico apparently belonged to the exterior façade of an atrium, and not to the church itself. It must have included at least twelve freestanding columns. The columns carried a horizontal architrave in a manner that revealed remarkable adherence to classical taste. The four columns in the center of the façade were taller than the rest and upheld a large pediment resting on an architrave that arched in the center, filling out most of the triangular field of the pediment proper. The motif is strikingly reminiscent of the protyron in the Diocletian's palace at Split (fig. 24), suggesting a clear link between imperial iconography and the iconography of Christ. Since the portico of Hagia

90 Missorium of Theodosius I (388)



91 Constantinople, Studios Monastery, St. John the Baptist; plan

Sophia was an entrance into the church of Holy Wisdom, it was, symbolically speaking, an entrance into Christ's abode, His Heavenly Palace. The cogency of this argument is further reinforced by the appearance of the very same architectural frame on the famous missorium of Theodosius I, depicting the enthroned – one might even say "enshrined" – emperor in the company of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius (fig. 90). Because the missorium is precisely dated to 388, not more than two decades separate it from the portico of Hagia Sophia. The attitude of bold borrowing of architectural vocabulary from the pagan past, as we have already seen, was very much in the spirit of the general policies introduced by Theodosius I and his successors.

92 Constantinople, Studios Monastery, St. John the Baptist; north aisle looking E, present state

Unfortunately, little more can be said about the rebuilt Hagia Sophia. For coherent general information on fifth-century church architecture in the capital, we must turn to the only substantially preserved building: the church of St. John the Baptist in the famous Studios Monastery (also known as Imrahor Camii, its name after its sixteenth-century conversion into a mosque). The great urban monastery, inhabited at the peak of its prosperity in the ninth century by some 700 monks, disappeared without trace long ago. The only remaining component of the monastic compound is the church building, still in use as a mosque until a major fire of 1820, followed by an earthquake in 1894, finally rendered it unusable. More than a century later, it is still standing as the impressive shell of a building, its exterior walls preserved to their full height. Built *circa* 453–54 by a senator named Studios – hence the commonly used name "Studios basilica" – the church has long served as a paradigm of early Constantinopolitan church architecture (fig. 91).[60] The building was a three-aisled basilica of very distinctive proportions: the main body of the church is 26.5 meters long, and has the same width. The nave, two-and-a-half times as wide as the side aisles, and twice as long as it was wide, dominated the interior. It opened into a broad apse, internally semicircular and three-sided on the exterior. The main part of the building was preceded by a narthex, doubling as the eastern portico of an atrium, about which little is known, except that its central open court had almost square proportions and was as wide as the nave. The side aisles and the narthex had a gallery above them, accessible by stairs accommodated in tower-like projections that must have flanked the building on the north and south sides of the narthex. Considering that the church did have galleries, the question arises as to whether it had a clerestory. This, too, is impossible to answer with any degree of certainty. The exterior walls of the building had a series of large arched windows on both levels, and the main apse also had three large windows, indicating that the interior would have been well lit even without a clerestory. The main vessel was separated from the side aisles by two rows of seven *verde antico* columns supporting architraves, above which originally rose the colonnades of the gallery, made up of smaller columns also carrying architraves (fig. 92). The presence of a trabeated system in a church interior around the middle of the fifth century must be understood as an unusually conservative, classicizing solution. Most churches being built at this time had

arcades. The Studios church is also noted for having preserved major elements of its liturgical arrangements. Its apse was outfitted with a six-step synthronon (a seating arrangement for the clergy), a sanctuary enclosure, whose low barrier projected 5 meters into the nave, with three doors on the west, north, and south sides, clearly predicated on the functional requirements of the liturgy accommodated within the enclosure.[61] Related to these were doors in the exterior walls of the church – one in the eastern portion of the north and south walls, and one in the eastern end wall of both aisles. These doors illustrate, according to Mathews, the unusually open nature and high visibility of liturgy in the early centuries. In the middle of the sanctuary enclosure originally stood the altar table, most likely under a canopy on four columns. These elements no longer survive, but their spatial location is pinpointed by a fully preserved cruciform crypt beneath the original floor level. Both the form and the function of this small crypt are notable. Too small to have been accessible on a regular basis, it was designed for the express purpose of accommodating the relics of a saint, its location, directly below the altar table, reflecting a convention that became standard practice around 400. While the sanctification of every altar required the presence of a relic, no matter how small, the manner of its actual accommodation could, and did, vary from case to case. The form of the crypt in the Studios basilica is a miniature version of fairly typical vaulted Roman hypogea. Its cruciform shape would, in this case, seem to relate more directly to this ancient tradition than to the particular symbolic associations of the cross. The Studios basilica also preserves among the finest examples of architectural sculpture of this period. Especially noteworthy are the so-called Theodosian capitals in the narthex portico, which reveal the characteristic aesthetic changes affecting architectural sculpture during this period – a heightened sense of abstraction and extensive use of the drill as a means to achieve it (fig. 93).

93 Constantinople, Studios Monastery, St. John the Baptist; Theodosian capital

The "standard" characteristics of the Studios basilica are generally confirmed by the even more meager remnants of the Chalkoprateia (Copper Market) basilica, situated in an old Jewish neighborhood, near Hagia Sophia (fig. 190). Dedicated to the Virgin, the church was probably built around the middle of the fifth century by the pious Pulcheria (sister of Theodosius II and wife of Emperor Marcian), who is known to have built at least one other church dedicated to the Virgin in Constantinople. Pulcheria's activities were, no doubt, responsible for the early rise of the cult of the Virgin in the city. The subsequent acquisition of a prized relic – the Girdle of the Virgin – reinforced the importance of the church, which, in the following centuries, held a crucial place in the urban religious ceremonies held on specific days of each year.[62] By virtue of its three-aisled plan, its proportions, the form of the apse, the location and the form of a small crypt, and the layout of its atrium, the church was a near-replica of the Studios basilica.[63] One of the most important aspects of the kind of "standardization" witnessed in these two buildings has to do with their overall proportions. Constantinopolitan basilicas appear to have plans whose length and width are essentially identical. This is in stark contrast to planning characteristics elsewhere in the Balkans, especially in its western parts, where the Roman preference for pronounced longitudinality of church plans dominated during the fifth century. The Chalkoprateia basilica, despite its remarkable similarities to the Studios basilica, also displays some not so insignificant differences. The most important among these is the almost exclusive use of brick in the construction of its walls, in contrast to the characteristic alternation of bands of multiple courses of brick and stone seen in the Studios basilica.

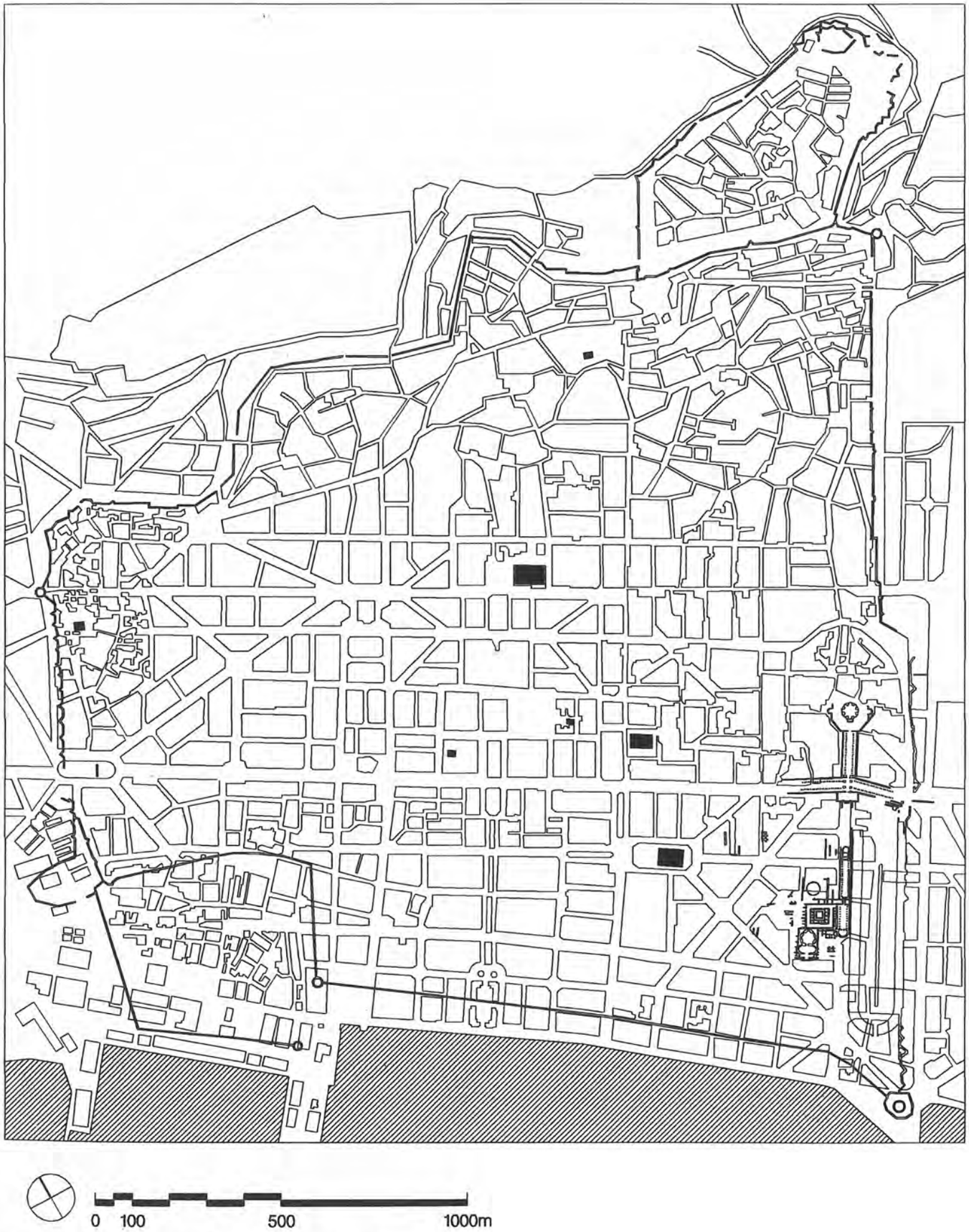
The fifth-century architecture of Constantinople, despite the dearth of preserved evidence, nonetheless gives us an opportunity to draw some general conclusions regarding building practices then current in the city. The use of alternating bands of several courses of stone ashlars with several courses of brick became a hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction, especially in the aftermath of the construction of the Land Walls. On the basis of the volume of construction that went on in the city after that time, we may safely assume that several building workshops could have been locally employed, essentially in perpetuity. The appearance of other types of building techniques, such as all-brick wall construction, does not necessarily imply an all-out shift to new methods of construction. It may simply mean that new building crews arrived in the capital from elsewhere. Such practices, in fact, were a common occurrence throughout the city's later history. Here we are in a position to make some useful further observations regarding differences in the design and execution of buildings. The two procedures, though related to the same profession, need not have been linked to the same groups of people. The cases of the Chalkoprateia and the Studios basilicas are particularly instructive in that regard – their plans are nearly identical, while their construction techniques are quite different. What this would seem to suggest is that the designing of buildings, and perhaps even the supervision of their execution, was the work of local architects, directly linked to patrons and their needs. The actual building process was apparently "contracted," given to a building workshop that could employ its own experience and technological know-how, as long as the final outcome agreed with the design intentions. "Contracting," of course, is a modern concept, yet it seems to describe aspects of large-scale building production in fifth-century Constantinople very well. Another area that may help us understand the working methods is the production of architectural members – column shafts, bases, capitals, and other building features (ciboria, altar tables, ambos, thrones, etc.), often referred to as "church furnishings." Most of this was mass-produced from a distinctive type of marble, known as Prokonnesian marble, quarried on the islands of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara.[64] Our knowledge of the Prokonnesian marble workshops in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries is considerable. They not only produced all of the needed architectural elements for buildings in the capital, but also for numerous sites in the provinces around the Mediterranean basin – from Palestine to Spain. Shipping of complete inventories of building components, presumably to order, appears to have been a norm, confirmed by underwater archaeological finds.[65] The Balkans were no exception in this regard, as special studies on the subject of architectural sculpture clearly indicate.[66] Marble trade underscores, once again, the separation between the design of buildings and their execution. Constantinopolitan-looking building components were employed time and again in buildings that otherwise had no similarities to the architecture of the capital. This is not to say that, on occasion, Constantinopolitan architects were not sent to the provinces to carry out special tasks. It is simply to remind us that the presence of Prokonnesian architectural elements should not be immediately construed as evidence of the "architectural influence" of the capital.

From the foregoing, it is clear that in the course of the fifth century Constantinople emerged as the paramount center of architectural activity in the Balkans. The volume and the quality of building executed in it were commensurate with its prestige as the capital of the Christian Roman Empire. While it is abundantly clear that the Church gained considerable power in the city itself, it is equally clear that the traditional – whether we refer to it as "pagan" or "classical" – momentum continued unabated. Particularly important in these matters was the role of the emperors, who simultaneously aggressively pursued the policy of solidifying the power of the Church within the empire, while maintaining certain links with the non-Christian past. It was through the particular imperial initiatives that elimination, as well as the simultaneous selective assimilation of the classical heritage into contemporary Christian culture, was taking place, Constantinople serving as the showcase of these developments.

Thessaloniki

The preeminence of Thessaloniki as the second most important city in the Balkans was definitely established during the fifth century. Thessaloniki, as we have seen, had been a capital city during the Tetrarchy, and was subsequently visited by several emperors, including Constantine I and Theodosius I. It was Theodosius I, it would seem, who played a decisive role in the process of the city's Christianization. Unfortunately, as we have already noted in the discussion of the conversion of the Rotunda, firm historical evidence for architectural activities in Thessaloniki is totally lacking.[67] No dates for any of the major buildings built in the city during the fifth century are known, and scholars continue to debate the issue, invoking in the process one or another type of circumstantial evidence. There is unfortunately not much more we can do, though we propose to look at the buildings collectively, and not so much on an individual basis.[68] By broadening our frame of consideration, we can hope to establish some degree of relative reasoning that may ultimately prove helpful.

Several general facts about the city's status need to be highlighted before we turn to the discussion of its architecture. In the first place, from the early fourth century, the city was the



94 Thessaloniki, Modern city plan, late antique city walls

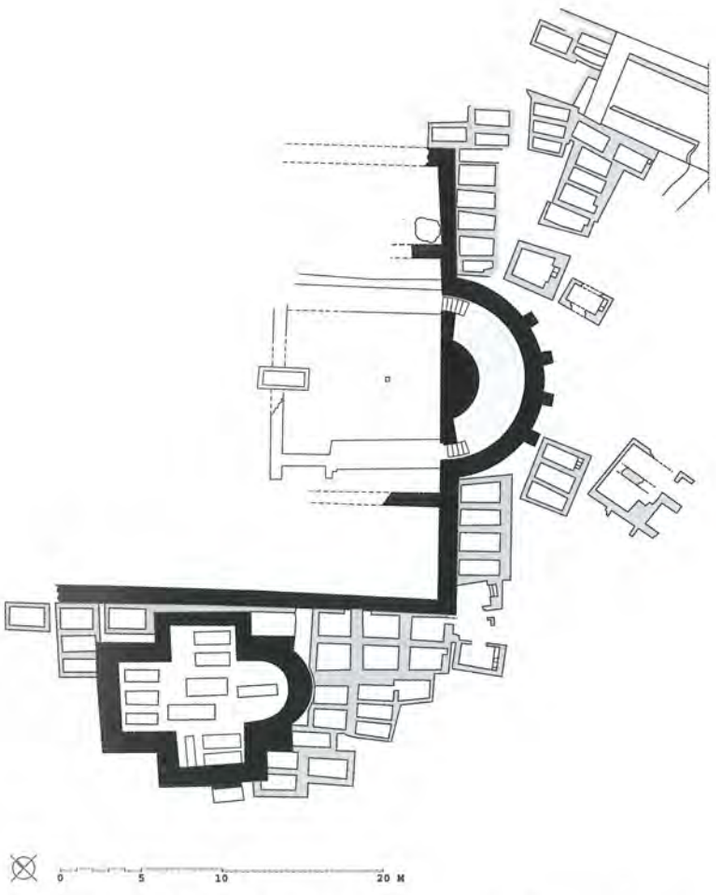
seat of a powerful bishop with a growing degree of authority. His authority depended on the pope in Rome, who had the jurisdiction over most of the western half of the Balkans, including most of the present-day Greek lands.[69] By 412 Pope Innocent I had extended the authority of the bishop of Thessaloniki over all metropolitans in the provinces of Macedonia and Macedonia Salutaris.[70] This surely must have met with imperial approval, from the point of view of establishing the city as a strategic religious and military stronghold in this part of the Balkans. The second historical datum was of even more momentous significance. In 441–42, in the face of an invasion by the Huns, the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum was moved from Sirmium to Thessaloniki. This decision further confirmed the notion that the imperial government was willingly abandoning the Sava–Danube *limes*, and was prepared to deal with barbarian invasions without resorting to direct military confrontation. The moving of the seat of the prefect may have been related to another event of even greater significance – the translation of the remains of St. Demetrius from Sirmium, the possible site of his original martyrdom, to Thessaloniki.[71] Thus, by the middle of the fifth century, Thessaloniki had gained enormously in its administrative as well as its religious significance. The great building boom, which gained particular momentum after *circa* 450, reflects in no uncertain terms Thessaloniki's newly acquired status.

Along with Thessaloniki's prestige, marked by ambitious architectural projects, came the growing need for improved security. Periodic barbarian incursions into the Balkan peninsula, which began, as we have seen, already during the second half of the third century, continued and became increasingly more threatening as the military strength of the empire declined. The crushing defeat of the imperial army and the death on the battlefield of Emperor Valens in 378 sent alarm signals across the Balkans. Emperor Theodosius I, as already discussed, inaugurated new policies, which led, it would seem, to the strengthening of existing cities. Though he himself was not directly responsible for their construction, the city walls of Constantinople were, in a sense, the prime example of this trend.

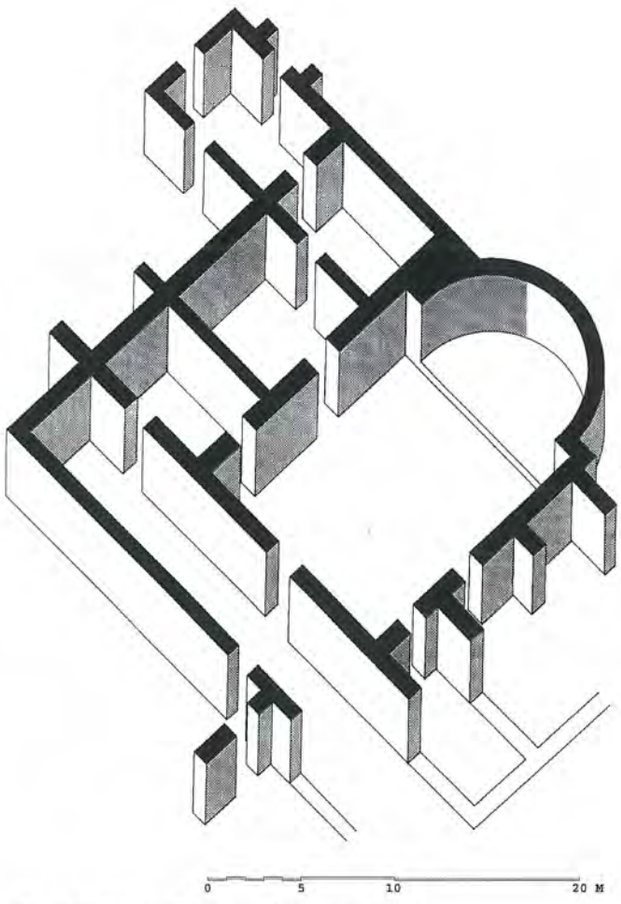
The city walls of Thessaloniki have an enormously complicated history, and the dating of their different phases is still hotly contested. Built already during the second half of the third century, they underwent repeated rebuilding, alterations, and additions (see pp. 17–18). Despite the many differences of opinion, most scholars agree that the main part of the standing walls of Thessaloniki was constructed – or reconstructed – between the 380s and the middle of the fifth century.[72] For the present discussion we will be satisfied with this general dating frame, observing only that it generally coincided with the construction and subsequent reconstruction of the Land Walls of Constantinople. The circuit of the Thessalonikan walls was approximately 8 kilometers long, enclosing an area of roughly 300 hectares, with an additional 15 hectares enclosed in the so-called acropolis area, at the highest point of the city (fig. 94). Considering that the main circuit of walls along the northern side was continuous with more-or-less evenly spaced rectangular towers, the acropolis enclosure would seem to have been added somewhat later. Within it have come to light in recent years the remains of a huge brick barrel-vaulted cistern and those of a large cemetery basilica. It is possible to postulate that these two structures may have been originally situated *extra muros*, and that their security, among other factors, may have necessitated the construction of the acropolis walls.

The presence of major *extra muros* cemetery churches in Thessaloniki is attested to by the excavated remains of a large three-aisled basilica, 31 meters wide, which came to light during the street construction in the eastern cemetery area, now largely occupied by the International Fair grounds (fig. 95).[73] Adjoining this basilica was a cruciform martyrium, measuring 11 × 14 meters. The full length of the basilica itself remains unknown, for its western part could not be excavated. Its exterior, along the eastern and southern sides, was densely packed with fifty-eight masonry tombs, illustrating the importance of this locus as a burial place for people of distinction. The attraction, clearly, was the tombs of local martyrs, located in a small cruciform chapel, along the southern flank of the basilica, and in the sanctuary proper of the basilica itself. The sanctuary tomb appears to have been a particular object of veneration, situated on the main axis, at the point normally occupied by the entrance door into the sacred enclosure. Only the foundations of the basilica and the adjacent martyrium have been preserved. Its relatively thick walls suggest that the martyrium chapel must have been vaulted, and may even have had a type of dome over its crossing. The exact date of this important monument is unknown. According to its excavator, it was built in the late fourth or early fifth century, and was apparently destroyed during the Avar raid on Thessaloniki in 618. A much smaller single-cell cemetery basilica, accompanied by separate rooms framing its flanks and its narthex, has recently come to light outside the western city walls, approximately 100 meters from the church of the Holy Apostles. The church is tentatively dated to the fifth century.[74] By the middle of the fifth century, clearly, Thessaloniki had become a major Christian city in the Balkans, second in size only to Constantinople.

Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the urban structure of fifth-century Thessaloniki. Its streets and public spaces lie buried several meters below the present street level. The rapid development of the city in the past fifty years has practically foreclosed any possibility of an extensive retrieval of the ancient city

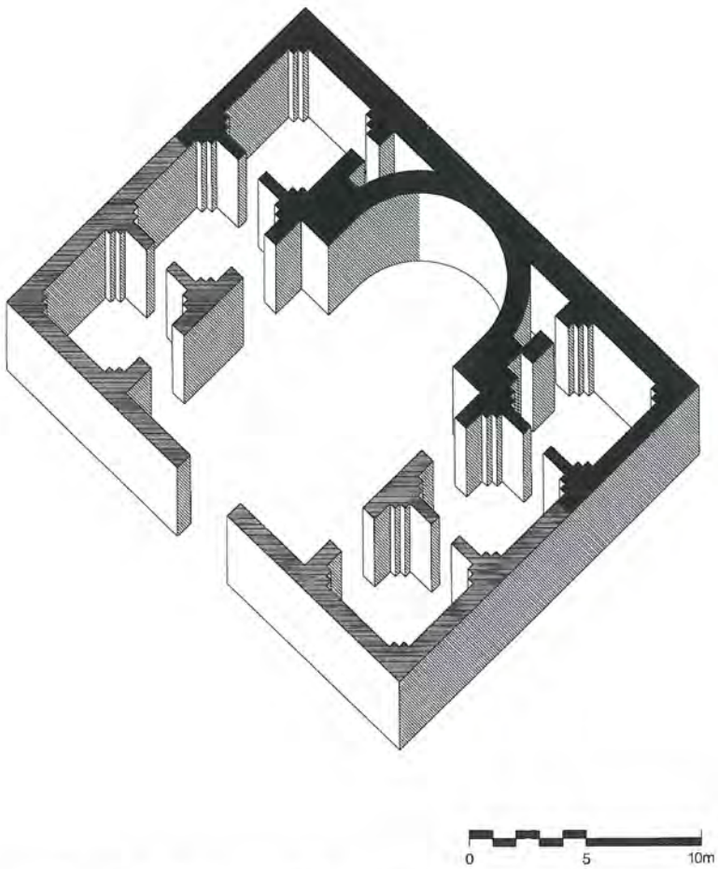


95 Thessaloniki, Cemetery basilica and martyrium; plan of excavated area

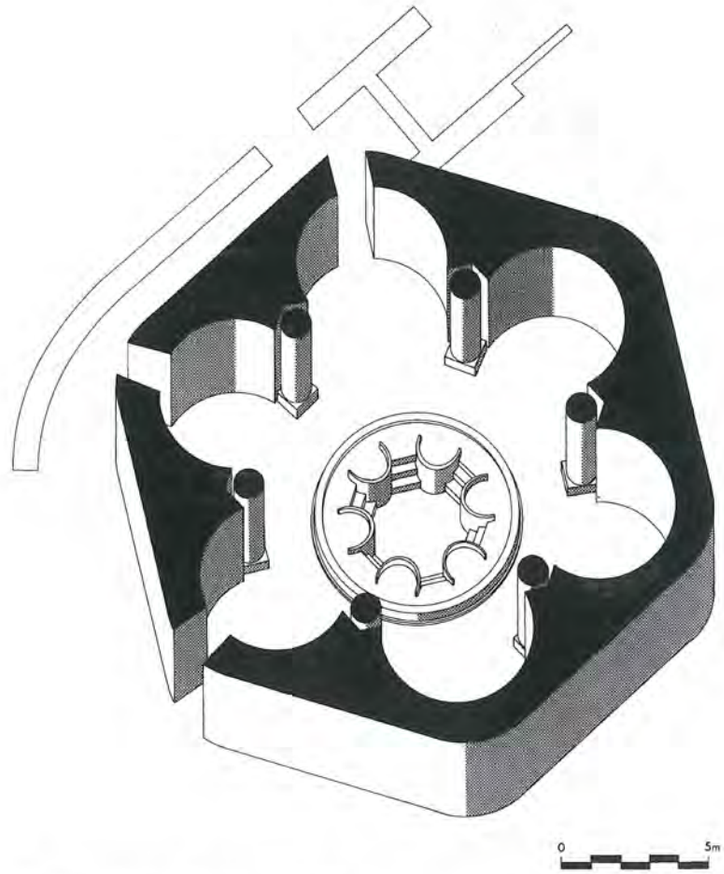


96 Thessaloniki, Laodigitria residence; axonometric

fabric.[75] We know that Thessaloniki continued to be visited by different emperors into the fifth century. The last imperial visit to the city on record was in 437–38.[76] The palace, which presumably was still being used at that time, may have continued to function even after that date, though the evidence, either literary or archaeological, that would confirm this notion is lacking. The only part of the palace that provides evidence of significant alterations, which may have occurred around 400, is the Octagon. Completed probably under Constantine I, as we saw in Chapter 2, the octagon continued in its secular use into the fifth century. At some point, two lateral square chambers covered with cross vaults were added to the side of the octagon, flanking its main apse. According to Knithakis, these were introduced as part of the conversion of the building into a church.[77] Objections to this interpretation were raised by several scholars, and for good reasons. Not the least of these is the fact that the main apse, flanked by the two chambers, was on the north side of the building. While the eventual conversion of the octagon into a church should not be doubted, the question when exactly this took place must be left open. The addition of the two chambers, instead, could be associated with Theodosius I, the one emperor known to have spent a considerable amount of time in Thessaloniki, and the related palatine needs. An interpretation linking the long stay of Theodosius in Thessaloniki and the octagon has already been made by Bouras.[78] In contrast to Bouras's interpretation, it may be suggested that Theodosius I was not the original builder of the octagon, but may have altered its function. Conceivably, the octagon could have been converted into a throne-room by the addition of the lateral chambers. The two chambers communicated with the two niches flanking the main apse through doors cut through the original walls and outfitted with specially made marble frames integrated into the marble veneer of the surrounding walls. Unfortunately, we know too little about the functional arrangements of the various palatine rooms to understand how these rooms may have been used. The general appearance of symmetrically arranged subsidiary chambers flanking main halls in various palaces, as noted on several occasions above, must be understood as a programmatic phenomenon reflecting functional requirements. Here we need to recall only two such examples – the hexagonal



97 Thessaloniki, Residence on H. Demetrios Street; axonometric reconstruction



98 Thessaloniki, "Hagiasma of H. Ioannis"; axonometric reconstruction

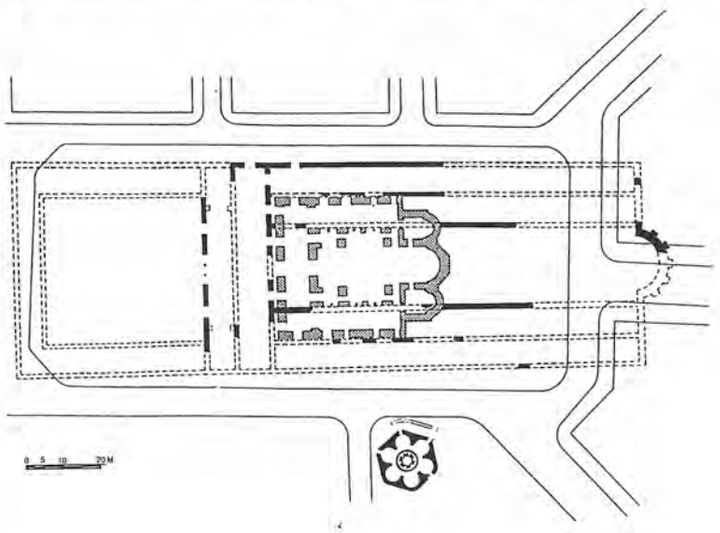
central hall of the Palace of Antiochos in Constantinople and the basilican audience hall in the palace at Rhegion. Thessaloniki itself provides us with a further example of this type of arrangement – a partially excavated portion of a residence belonging to a wealthy citizen that came to light in the upper part of the city, near the present-day church of Laodigitria.[79] Presumably dating from the fifth century, this reveals a basilican hall, internally measuring about 12.5 × 22.5 meters and facing south. The hall was flanked by groups of rooms, two of which communicated directly with the hall on either side (fig. 96). The entire cluster was preceded by an oblong vestibule recalling the complex at Rhegion (fig. 83). This analysis enables us to reevaluate the archaeological evidence from yet another Thessalonikan complex, excavated on Hagios Demetrios Street, southeast and not far from the basilica of Hagios Demetrios, tentatively identified as "an unnamed cruciform church."[80] It would seem that the excavated elements of the plan, the southward opening of the apse, and the disposition of the lateral rooms warrant comparison with the complex at Rhegion and the Thessalonikan residence excavated near the Laodigitria church. Our hypothetical reconstruction proposes that this important find should be placed in the category of palatine architecture (fig. 97) This notion, incidentally, gains credibility from a textual reference to the "Palace of the Prefect," situated to the south of the church of Hagios Demetrios.[81] This palace could have been built only after Thessaloniki became the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum, in 441–42, which also agrees with the presumed dating of our building, as does the probability of its having been vaulted.

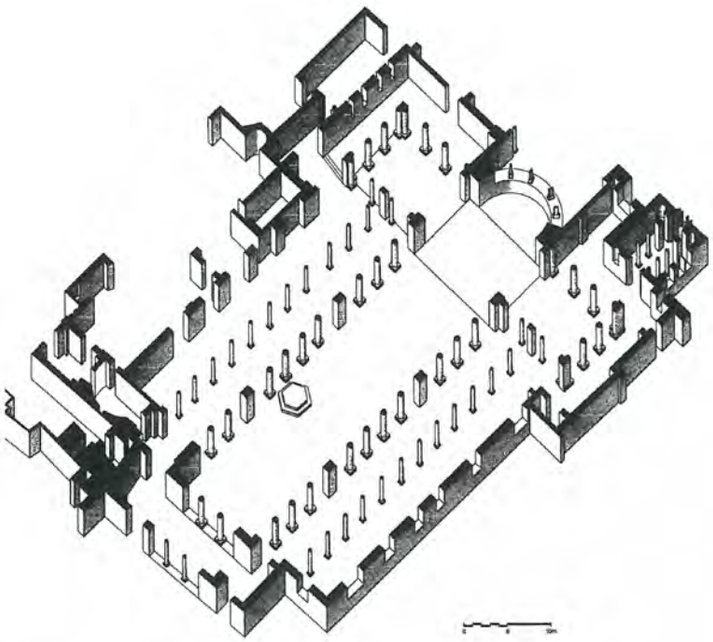
The number, size, and character of its several intramural buildings, especially churches, reveal the real economic strength of Thessaloniki and the creative powers of its patrons and builders during the fifth century. Among these are the well-known, still-preserved churches of Hagios Demetrios and the Acheiropoietos, two other very large churches, known only from excavated remains, and two smaller structures of considerable importance. We shall start our discussion with the excavated remains of a large octagonal church near the original Golden Gate in the western part of the city. Associated with the cult of St. Nestor, the saint known to have been executed near the Golden Gate, the church was of dimensions nearly matching

those of the converted Rotunda at the opposite side of town.[82] It was accompanied by two smaller centralized buildings – a baptistery, to its northwest, and a possible martyrium to its southeast. The main part of the church consisted of a domed octagon (22 m in diameter), open only on the east and west sides, with six semicircular niches cut into the remaining six sides of its massive octagonal parameter wall. On the east side, this octagonal space opened into an apsed sanctuary, while on the west side it was linked to a large oblong narthex, measuring 7 × 40 meters. The octagonal core was circumvented by a two-aisled ambulatory, subdivided by a row of columns (and piers?) supporting an arcade and the presumed vaulting above. The plan of this building has no real parallels, though conceptually it may be linked to the converted Rotunda. Although large domed buildings featuring massive exterior walls in the older Roman tradition still appeared in the fifth century, as we have seen in the Palace of Lausos and the Myrelaion Rotunda in Constantinople, they seem to have gone out of fashion shortly after 400. Thus, our building should probably be dated early in the fifth century, and should be associated with the climate of aggressive Christianization initiated by Theodosius I. As such, it may be thought of as the true ideological pendant to the converted Rotunda, both buildings being situated near the principal city gates at the opposite ends of the Via Egnatia.

The effects of Christian building in Thessaloniki, as in many other older Roman cities, were first felt on the outskirts, and encroached on the city's center only slowly.[83] The largest and probably the most important church built within the walls in the course of the fourth century was the first basilica under the present church of Hagia Sophia. This building, as we have seen (p. 61), may have been built on the site of a Roman stadium. Unfortunately, very little has come to light. Several excavated sections of its longitudinal walls indicate that it would have had an orientation slightly different from the second basilica, or the present church. Although we can say nothing more about this church, a building affiliated with it has been sufficiently preserved to allow some further general comments. The building, known today as the "Hagiasma of Hagios Ioannis," lies separated by the modern road to the south of the church of Hagia Sophia. It is a hexagonal structure, featuring six horseshoe-shaped niches embedded within the thick wall whose exterior was given a hexagonal form with smoothly rounded corners following the outline of the interior niches (fig. 98).[84] The interior corners of the hexagon were enlivened by six large columns, fitted tightly between the niches. These columns would have created the impression of the dome being carried on six slender supports as a large baldachin. Such a use of corner columns was not uncommon in early baptisteries, especially in the West. The central area under the dome was occupied by a very large marble font with six niches facing outward, toward the columns, with six intervening stairs leading into the central pool. Given this evidence, there is little doubt that this building was a baptistery, which must have been associated with the first basilica below Hagia Sophia. In terms of its location, relative to the main church, it resembles the baptisteries of Stobi and Iadera (modern Zadar, Croatia), which likewise survived the churches to which they were originally attached. The date of this monumental baptistery, possibly the first of its kind to be built in Thessaloniki, cannot be determined precisely, but should probably be associated with the period of active Christianization of the city that started around 400. The baptistery must have survived the calamity that destroyed the first basilica and brought about the building of the second church on the site. Though very little of the second basilica under Hagia Sophia has survived, its remains are far more comprehensible than those of the first church.[85] In terms of its size, this was one of the largest churches in the Balkans, measuring 94 meters in length and 53 meters in width, and covering an area of 0.5 hectares (fig. 99). The church had a five-aisled plan, its 19.45-meter-wide nave terminating in a spacious apse, semicircular both internally and externally. The church was entered from an oblong narthex as wide as the church itself. In front of the building was a huge atrium, measuring 53 × 55 meters. The dedication of this church is not known, though its size suggests that it may have been the city's cathedral. On the basis of the few fragmentary excavated remains, we know that it was lavishly decorated. The architectural sculpture, certain pieces of which are believed to have been reused in the present church of Hagia Sophia, has been dated to the late fifth century, though such a late dating is not universally accepted.[86]

99 Thessaloniki, Basilica under H. Sophia; reconstruction plan





100 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; axonometric

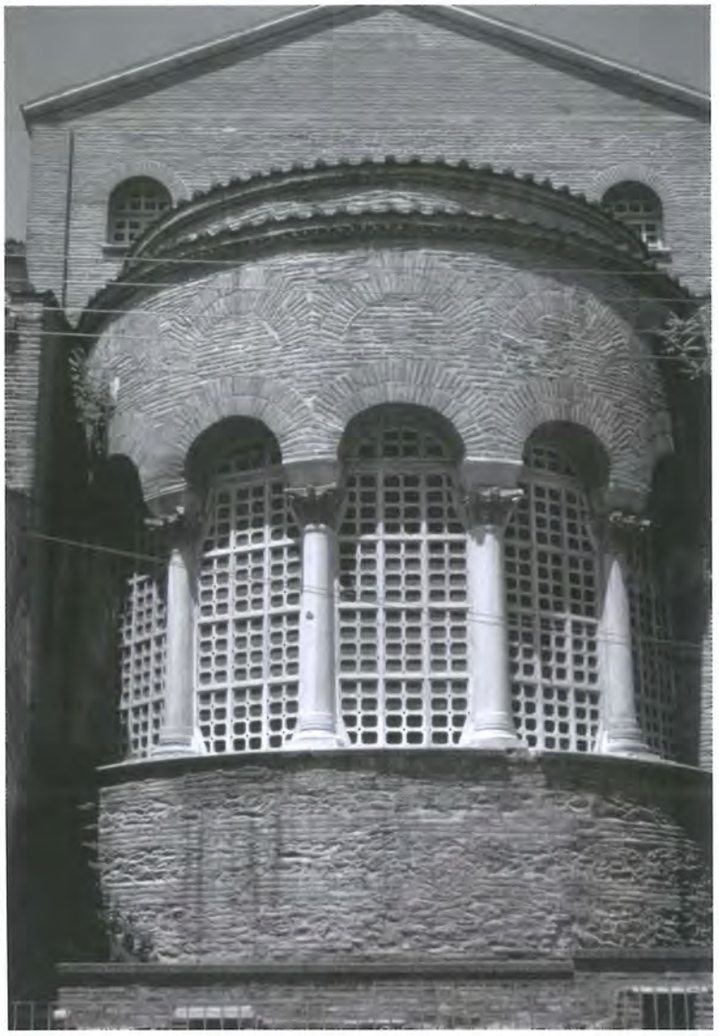
101 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; aerial view from SW

This particular problem is best left for future scholarly debate. We should conclude our discussion with some final observations about the church and its setting. The second basilica had a slightly different orientation from its predecessor, the main axis having been shifted to the north, roughly coinciding with the main axis of the present church. The great church appears to have continued using the baptistery, which, may have been built for its predecessor. It cannot be ascertained whether the church, as became customary for cathedral churches of this period, was adjoined by a bishop's palace. The discovery of a bath to the southwest may be linked to the presence of an episcopal residence south of the church. Sumptuous fifth-century residences, as we have seen on a number of occasions, possessed their own bathing facilities. It is also worth noting that, in addition to the great basilica under Hagia Sophia, other large urban churches, such as Hagios Demetrios and the Acheiropoietos, were also built in relationship to older bathing establishments.

The basilica of Hagios Demetrios, despite the many unresolved problems, is certainly the most important fifth-century monument to survive in Thessaloniki.[87] In its present form it is the result of a massive reconstruction carried out after a great fire in 1917, which severely damaged the church. Without going into any detailed clarifications, we will accept the point of view that the basilica was initially built during the second half of the fifth century and that it underwent some, though not extensive, interventions following a fire in 620. The building of the church, in our view, took place after the transfer of the capital of Illyricum, and with it, most probably, of the relics of St. Demetrius, from Sirmium to Thessaloniki in 441–42. The cult of the saint, who eventually became the patron of the city, grew in time, making the church the most popular religious shrine of Thessaloniki. Though second in size to the much larger church found below Hagia Sophia, Hagios Demetrios was a sizeable building, measuring 42 × 58 meters (figs. 100–05). It is a five-aisled basilica with a large transept, slightly narrower and slightly lower than the nave. The church has galleries over the side aisles and narthex, and was originally preceded by a large open atrium, which survives only in the form of an open square fronting the church. The basilica was built over the partial remains of a Roman bathing establishment, which became as interwoven with the building's fabric as they were with the legend surrounding the martyrdom of the saint and his burial. The largest section of these baths may still be seen in the crypt situated below the transept. This part of the building contained a fountain and a small chapel ("oikiskos"), believed to be the place where the body of the saint was initially laid. The entire "crypt" was, in fact, directly accessible from a street that ran behind the main apse of the church. By *circa* 500 another shrine – a silver-sheathed hexagonal ciborium – was erected roughly at the mid-length of the nave, close to its north colonnade.[88] This shrine evidently contained no relics, and was used for the general veneration of St. Demetrius. It is possible that the saint's relics were kept in the "oikiskos" in the crypt, a safe location for particularly popular relics, as we know from a comparable situation in the somewhat later shrine of Hagios Artemios in Constantinople.[89]

Beyond this, several architectural aspects of the basilica of Hagios Demetrios are noteworthy. The nave was separated from

102 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; West façade, present state

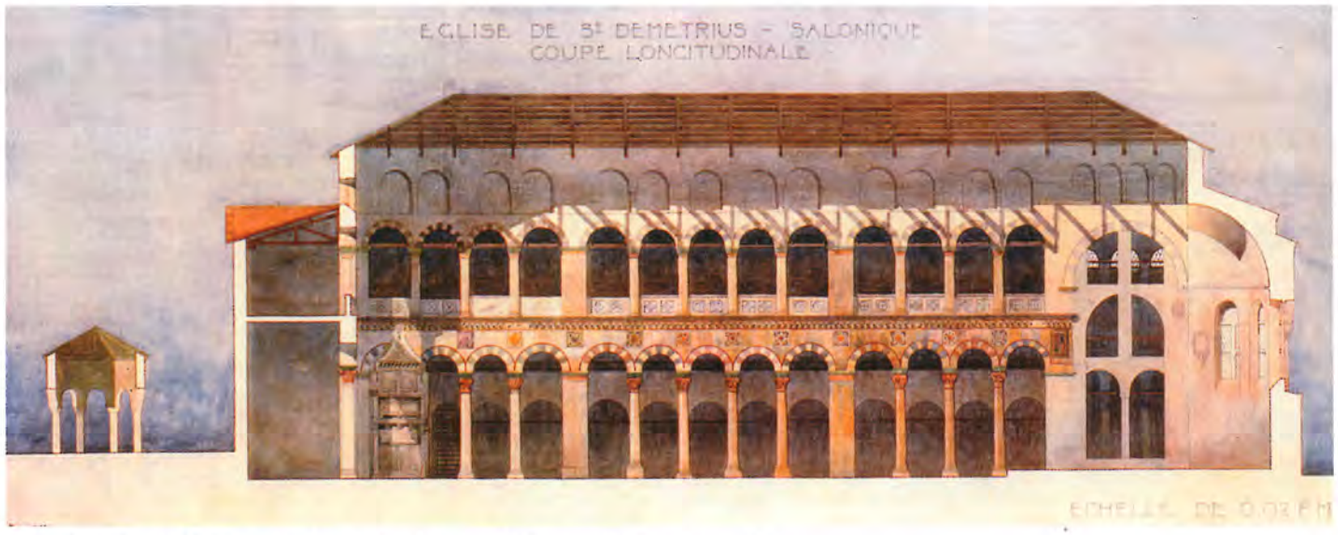


103 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; Apse, present state

the side aisles by arcades supported by a system of alternating columns and piers (figs. 104 and 105). This unusual system resembles closely the similar, albeit historically much later, mixing of structural supports that characterizes several Ottonian basilicas. This similarity has been observed, but no other connection between the two developments can be cited. At Hagios Demetrios it was initially thought that this was the result of the seventh-century reconstruction, but this idea has now been completely rejected. In addition to the unusual aspect of its nave supports, Hagios Demetrios differs from most contemporary basilicas insofar that its columns display considerable variations in size and capital types. Different hypotheses for this have been proposed, but repairs carried out after the fire of 620 in this case does seem the most plausible explanation. Finally, the splendid *opus sectile* decoration of the nave arcade spandrels must be seen as original fifth-century work, and not a result of the seventh-century restoration. In it we recognize late antique visual effects and motifs that did not outlive the middle of the sixth century (fig. 105). As important as the basilica of Hagios Demetrios is – as one of the oldest surviving early Christian churches in the Balkans – it illustrates the difficulties and frustrations that stem from trying to understand such a complex structure. Its fifteen-centuries-long history has resulted in scores of repairs, additions, and alterations, all of which have continued to the present day. This, of course, *is* the true meaning of a building's history, implying a living process and not merely a single frozen moment in time.

Thessaloniki has yet another great fifth-century basilica, the Acheiropoietos ("Not made by human hands"), which survives virtually in its original form. Despite the fact that its dates of construction are also unknown, and that it, too, underwent a

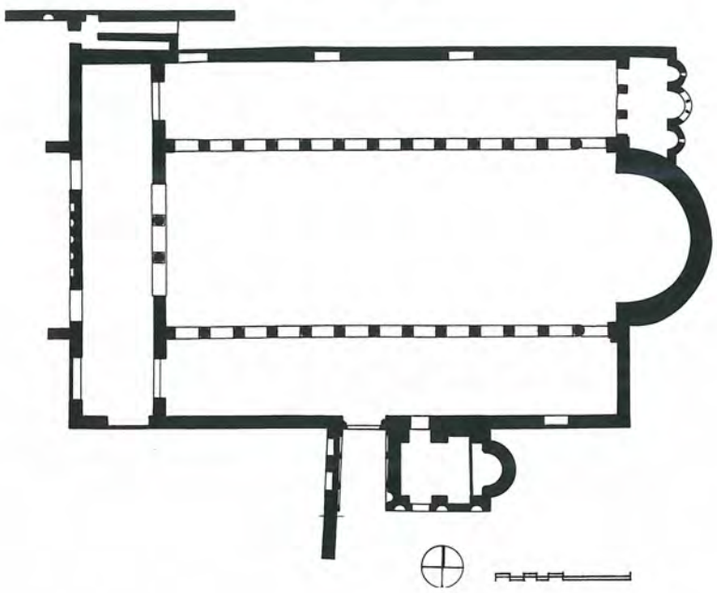
104 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; Interior, N. nave arcade looking west, before 1917 fire (F. Boissonnas)



105 Thessaloniki, H. Demetrios; Longitudinal section, before 1917 fire (Le Tourneau)

number of repairs throughout its history, the consensus of scholarly opinion in this case is remarkable – the building must have been erected within a decade or two after 450. The Acheiropoietos is a three-aisled basilica, somewhat smaller in size than Hagios Demetrios (overall dimensions: 29 × 50 m) (fig. 106). Among the Thessalonikan monuments of the fifth century, the Acheiropoietos most closely fits the description of "standard" architecture.[90] In addition to its overall simple form, it also features uniform architectural components – column shafts, capitals, and bases. Made of Prokonnesian marble, these have not only been linked to the quarries from which they came, but on the basis of internal evidence they have been identified as having been produced by the same workshop responsible for the contemporary Studios basilica in Constantinople (fig. 97).[91] Like the Studios basilica, the Acheiropoietos was provided with galleries over the narthex and the side aisles. The Acheiropoietos nave, approximately 12.5 meters wide and 18.5 meters high, was apparently lit by clerestory windows, in addition to the borrowed light received from the generous window openings in the exterior walls of its aisles and galleries. Its interior, therefore, must have been extremely well lit. The brightness of the interior would have been further accentuated by the huge Prokonnesian marble slabs with which its nave floors were covered, and the glass mosaic decoration that must have covered its apse and possibly some of its wall surfaces. As such, the nave of the Acheiropoietos would have been a splendid stage for liturgical ceremonies, the function for which it appears to have been exclusively designed. The latter notion is substantiated by the fact that the intercolumniations of the nave arcade were closed by parapet slabs, indicating that the congregation was kept within the side aisles and possibly in the galleries, while the nave and the sanctuary were given over to the clergy. Such emphasis on the liturgical use of the vast space of the nave raises questions about the numbers of the participating clergy, from where and how they would have entered the building, and numerous other questions, to which we have no answers, given our present state of knowledge. It is noteworthy that the building, as was also the case with Hagios Demetrios, had no axial door leading into the narthex from the exterior. Thus, clearly, an axial procession, known as the Great

106 Thessaloniki, Acheiropoietos basilica; plan



Entry, postulated for Constantinopolitan churches of this period, could not have been staged here in the same manner. It is also noteworthy that the Acheiropoietos has a large portal, approached through a monumental barrel-vaulted passageway, in the middle of its south flank. What this entrance related to and how it was used are also unknown. Finally, we should note that the church may not have had an atrium typical of basilicas at this time, since it was hemmed in by elements of the preexisting urban fabric.[92]

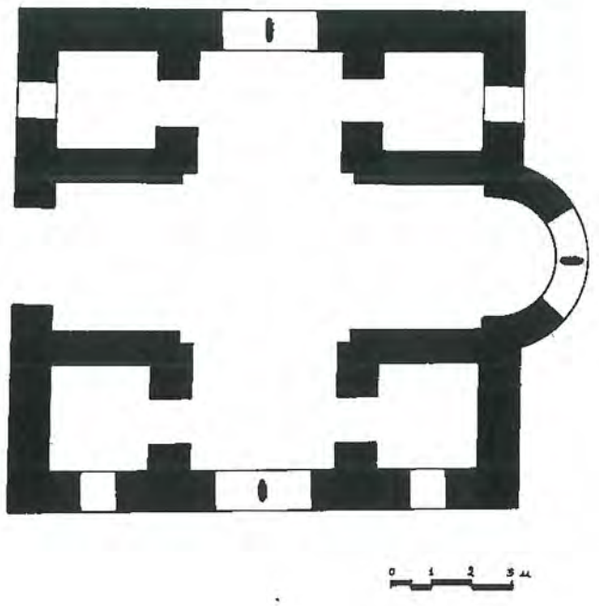
The Acheiropoietos, as was the case with the other two large basilicas of fifth-century Thessaloniki, appears to have been built, at least in part, over the remains of a bathing establishment, in this case thought to have been a large public bath related to the Lower Agora. All of this illustrates aspects of substantial changes in the urban character of the city. Since the city's urban fabric appears to have been fully developed, the amount of available space presumably became limited. Thus the needs and demands of the Church had to be satisfied by sacrificing certain types of existing buildings. What were these and why were *they* chosen to be replaced? The Theodosian Law Code (issued in 438) and various imperial edicts speak clearly of the buildings to be protected.[93] Only occasionally, as was the case with the Edict of 435, issued by Theodosius II in Constantinople, was the destruction of buildings – in this case pagan temples – explicitly prescribed. Other building types may have been subject to other forms of administrative verdicts exercised by local authorities, about which little is known. Whether the remarkably frequent incidence of replacement of older baths with new churches in the case of Thessaloniki should be viewed as a result of water shortage caused by the barbarian attacks and the consequent disruption of water supply lines, or by the need for water in new baptisteries, or whether other factors may have also been responsible, are questions that will have to continue being explored. Presently, we can add to this list the need for the examination of the relationships between the private ownership of bathing establishments, their link to private estates, and the passing of the same, by different means, into the hands of the Church. Urban monasteries, as we have noted, may have been direct beneficiaries of adaptive uses resulting from such practices, while for the purposes of creating large public churches, other, more drastic interventions may have been employed.

Our final building to be considered in the context of fifth-century Thessaloniki illuminates this point further. Known by its twentieth-century name as "Hosios David," this small church once belonged to the Latomos Monastery, as is recorded in a source perhaps dating from the late ninth or eleventh century known as the *Narrative* of Ignatios, abbot of Akapniou Monastery in Thessaloniki.[94] An inscription, spelled out at the base of the apse mosaic in the church, refers to a female donor,

107 Thessaloniki, Acheiropoietos basilica; interior looking E, present state

but does not give her name or the date of the donation. A legend, recorded in the *Narrative*, sheds interesting light on the early history of this building. According to this, it was associated with a residence and its bath, built by one Theodora, daughter of Emperor Maximianus, a fervent anti-Christian. Theodora, a secret Christian convert, built a church in place of the bath, hiding the building's true identity by covering its pictorial images. Theodora's conversion was discovered, for which she suffered a martyr's death, while her residence was torched. Her

108 Thessaloniki, Hosios David; plan

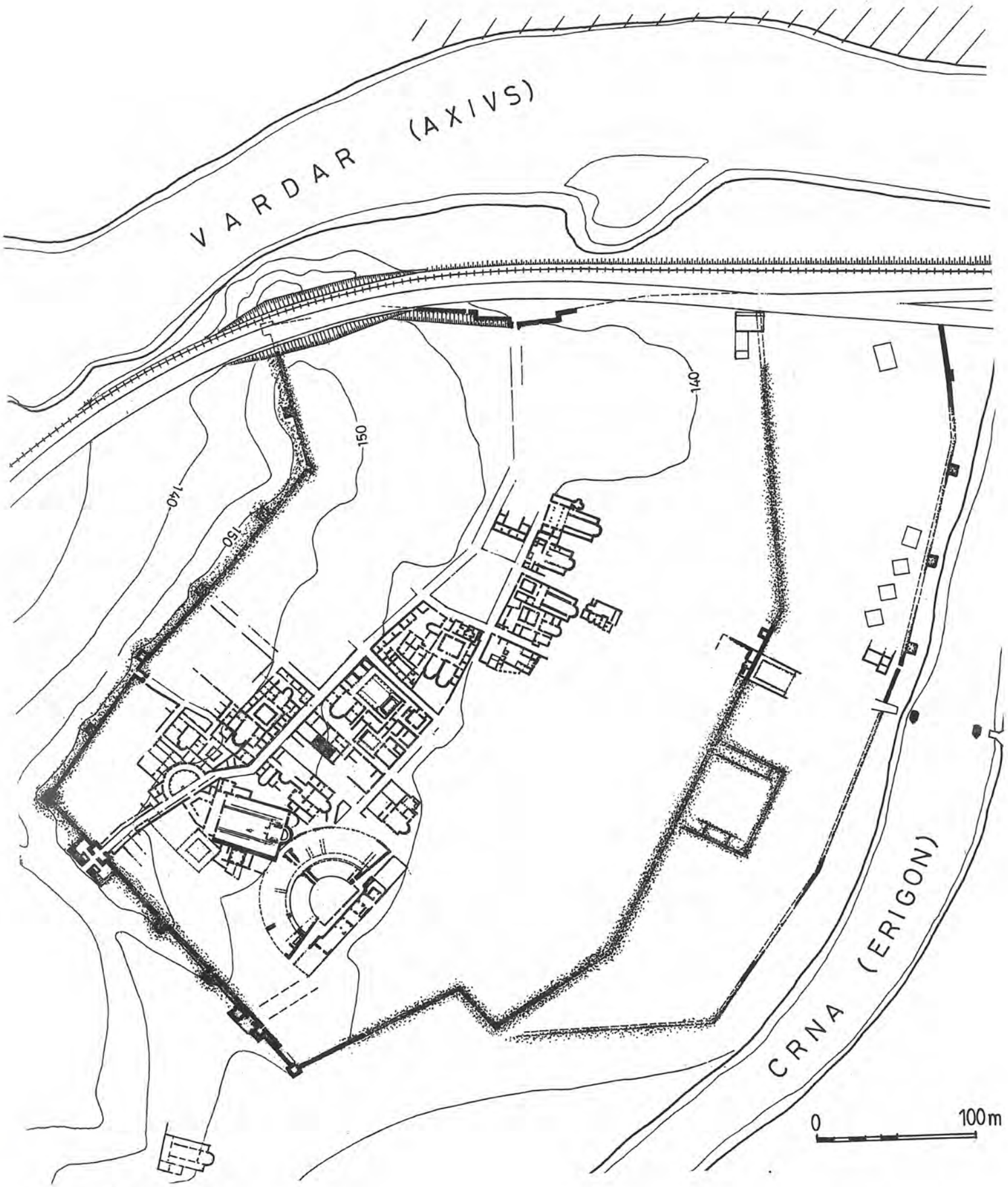


memory was not forgotten and a monastery arose among the ruins of her residence. The story is undoubtedly an imaginative fabrication. Despite its questionable historical usefulness, it does contain several interesting aspects. It alludes to the conversion of private residences and baths into monasteries and churches, a phenomenon that, as we have seen, was relatively common in the fifth century. Owing to the lack of precise historical information, the dating of "Hosios David" has depended on the dating of its apse mosaic. Much has been written about this important work of art, but opinions remain divided. A date around 500 is the most commonly accepted, and agrees most readily with the presumed construction date of the building and the alleged founding of the monastery. Despite its small size (12.5 × 13 m), the church has attracted the attention of architectural historians (fig. 108). Because of the cruciform arrangement of its interior, with a brick pendentive dome rising over a low, square crossing tower, it has been compared to the slightly earlier "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia" in Ravenna. Unlike the "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia," "Hosios David" features four small square rooms fitted into the corner spaces between its cross arms in such a way as to give the building a square overall form in plan. On account of these characteristics, "Hosios David" has also been viewed as a significant precursor of later Byzantine church architecture, both in terms of scale and the spatial organization of its interior. What previous writers have failed to observe, however, is the link between "Hosios David" and late antique palatine architecture. The four corner rooms, in all likelihood functioning as separate chapels, communicated with the main cruciform space through separate doors.[95] Such a symmetrical disposition of four rooms around a main space has been noted in a number of fifth-century palatine halls. Links with the palatine architectural tradition thus make the legend about Theodora and the founding of the church of "Hosios David" all the more interesting.

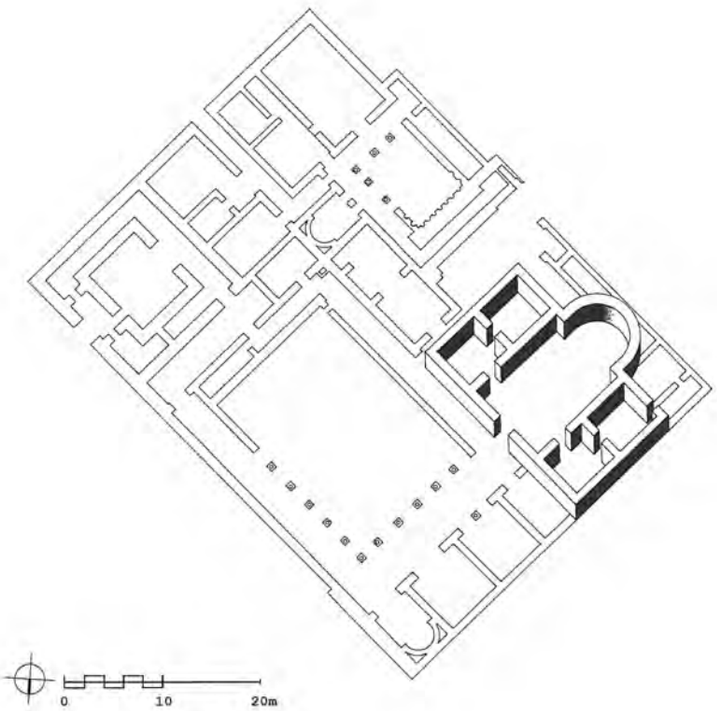
The discussion of the fifth-century monuments of Thessaloniki highlights two very important points. The first is that the number of monuments that are known, and in some cases even reasonably well preserved, is considerable. Second, and even more important for the proper understanding of this material, is the fact that we lack adequate historical information on most of these monuments. In archaeological circles lack of hard historical data is customarily supplemented with other methods for establishing relative chronologies, which in turn facilitate a better understanding of the larger picture. Such methods for dating the buildings of Thessaloniki, unfortunately, have not yet been adequately developed. This is not to say that research elsewhere is so much more advanced, and that the general picture of other comparable sites is much clearer. Thessaloniki, by virtue of the quantity and quality of preserved buildings, simply induces greater expectations.[96] Our presentation of the material has relied on a general hypothetical mode, and we have attempted to stress the need for the expansion of the framework of investigations. As research on the different aspects of late antique Thessaloniki penetrates deeper and deeper into the various problems, much greater efforts must be made by all to preserve the larger picture, which otherwise may become hopelessly blurred.

Stobi

One of a relatively small number of important late antique Balkan cities with a considerably longer history, Stobi (in present-day FYROM) appears to have been inhabited already from around the third or fourth century BC.[97] Stobi reached a high point as a city in the late fourth and fifth centuries AD, before undergoing a process of gradual decline, resulting in the end of urban life by *circa* 600. Situated on the confluence of the Erigon (modern Crna Reka) and Axios (modern Vardar) rivers, the city occupied an important strategic position marked also by the crossing of important Roman roads leading north and west, and linking Stobi with Thessaloniki, the most important city of the province of Macedonia. The fortunes of Stobi rose when it became the provincial capital of the newly formed province of Macedonia Secunda, or Macedonia Salutaris, *circa* 386. As such, the city hosted a visit by Emperor Theodosius I in 388. Despite its apparent prosperity, Stobi had actually shrunk in size. Evidently inundated by a disastrous flood, the lowest natural terrace on which the city was built along the River Erigon had to be abandoned in the late fourth century. A new city wall with a shorter circuit, built after this disaster, is a true symbol of the new era (fig. 109). Not only did it reflect the shrinking fortunes, and the beginning of the process of urban decline, but it also physically embodied the end of an era. In it were used as building material the dismantled seats of the city's pagan theater, condemned by the policies of Theodosius I. Stobi itself was never reinhabited after its final demise. Thanks to the extensive archaeological undertakings carried out over a long period of time, the late antique city has started to emerge in a more comprehensible form than is true of most other contemporary cities. The city was crossed by two major roads – "Via Principalis Superior" and "Via Principalis Inferior" – running more or less north–south, paralleling the contours of the site. The two main streets were connected by narrower, shorter streets that ran up and down the slope of the site. All of the streets were paved with stone. Between the streets was a somewhat irregular grid of city blocks. The more important of the two main roads, the "Via Principalis Superior," also referred to as the "Via Sacra," began at the south-



109 Stobi; City plan

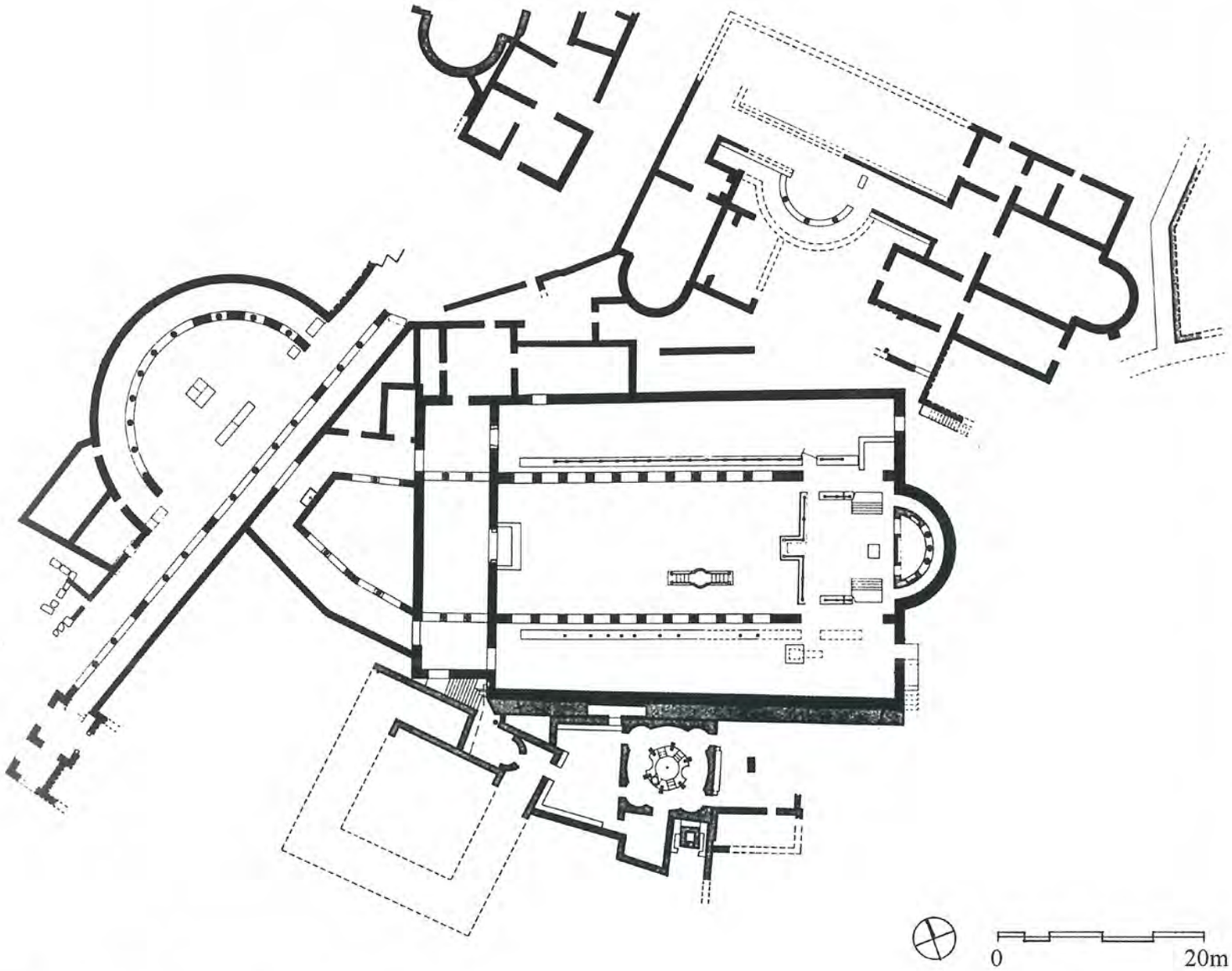


110 Stobi, "Theodosian Palace", axonometric

western city gate, known as the "Porta Herakleia" (after Herakleia Lynkestis, west of Stobi). From there it ran southeastward, past several important buildings, such as the episcopal basilica, the episcopal palace, and other sumptuous residences. In part, this street was arcaded, in the tradition of Roman towns. Directly opposite the atrium of the Episcopal Basilica lay a semicircular public space, approximately 20 meters in diameter. Built probably simultaneously with the fifth-century basilica, it was a type of forum, placing public emphasis on the Christian character of the place that Stobi was aggressively adopting after *circa* 400. The city contained a number of other amenities, such as two public baths, street fountains, a water-supply system, and sewer lines, all in keeping with Roman urban standards. Among the more visible features of the urban fabric of Stobi were large residences, obviously belonging to the city's upper class. Several of these have been excavated, and they all belong to the period of the city's last flowering, after *circa* 400. The most impressive among these is a residence fictitiously named "Theodosian Palace" on the premise that Theodosius I may have stayed there during his visit to Stobi in 388. There is no real evidence for such a supposition, though it cannot be proven wrong either. In any case, the building must be dated to *circa* 400.[98] It occupied three-fourths of a full city block, measuring 23.5 × 58 meters, along its west and north sides (fig. 110). The southeastern corner of the block was taken up by a smaller residence of the same type, known as the "House of Partenios." Both buildings were organized around interior courtyards, with the individual rooms opening onto them. The "Theodosian Palace" displays the high standard of living enjoyed by the wealthiest residents of Stobi during the first half of the fifth century. Its peristyle court contained a large fountain lined with marbles and decorated with niches and elaborately carved colonnettes. In the southwest corner of this peristyle court was the ceremonial wing of the residence, consisting of a basilican hall flanked by pairs of square rooms on both sides. Floors of many of the rooms were covered with sumptuous mosaics or *opus sectile*. Last but not least, the owner of the "Theodosian Palace" also appears to have been a sculpture "collector." Within the main peristyle court were discovered as many as seven statues of pagan divinities (among them *Aphrodite*, *Dionysos*, *Hygiea*, *Poseidon*, and *Cora*). Clearly, the owner was familiar with fashion trends in the empire at the time. Both the architectural layout of the residence, as well as the nature of its contents, recall such luxurious residences as the villa at Mediana (see pp. 65–66). It would have been more than just a curious coincidence if residences such as the "Theodosian Palace" and the villa at Mediana were selected as temporary lodging places for visiting emperors.

Despite the obvious presence of opulent residences in Stobi, the city's skyline must have been dominated by church buildings. As many as four basilicas have thus far been excavated within the city walls, three within 70 meters of each other along the "Via Principalis Inferior." All of the city's basilicas were three-aisled and featured single apses, semicircular both internally and externally. The so-called Central Basilica was a fifth-century church built over a destroyed synagogue, whose architectural elements were reused in part of its construction. In its immediate proximity was the so-called Civil Basilica, constructed *circa* 400, over the foundations of much older buildings of unknown function. The largest, and apparently the most important of these three basilicas, was the so-called North Basilica, flanked by a quatrefoil baptistery with a hexagonal piscina. The church itself was preceded by a very short atrium with an elaborate fountain along its west wall, which functioned also as a type of retaining wall for the "Via Principalis Inferior" below which the basilica was situated. The basilica and its atrium were also built around 400, over the remains of a large residence, whose parts were integrated into the new complex. The baptistery was a slightly later addition, perhaps as a response to the extensive reconstruction of the Episcopal Basilica that was taking place between 425 and 450.[99]

The Episcopal Basilica was situated on one of the highest points in the city, back to back with the much older theater. The original church on this site, as we have seen (p. 66), was built in the fourth century, though its exact date is disputed. At some



111 Stobi, Episcopal Basilica and environs; plan

point, possibly still in the fourth century, but certainly before 425, the first basilica was enlarged by the extension of its eastern end and the rebuilding of its apse. A baptistery was built as a separate, centralized structure along the south flank of this church. The arrangement may have corresponded to the situation found in the first basilica below Hagia Sophia at Thessaloniki, of *circa* 400. A drastic, though deliberate, change seems to have occurred at Stobi around 425. The second basilica appears to have been torn down intentionally, but not before all of its reusable architectural components (including the materials of its *opus sectile* floor) were carefully removed for planned reuse. The rest of the church was knocked down, and its debris left *in situ* as part of the fill required by the construction of a huge, 4–5-meter-high platform, upon which the new episcopal church would be built (fig. 111).

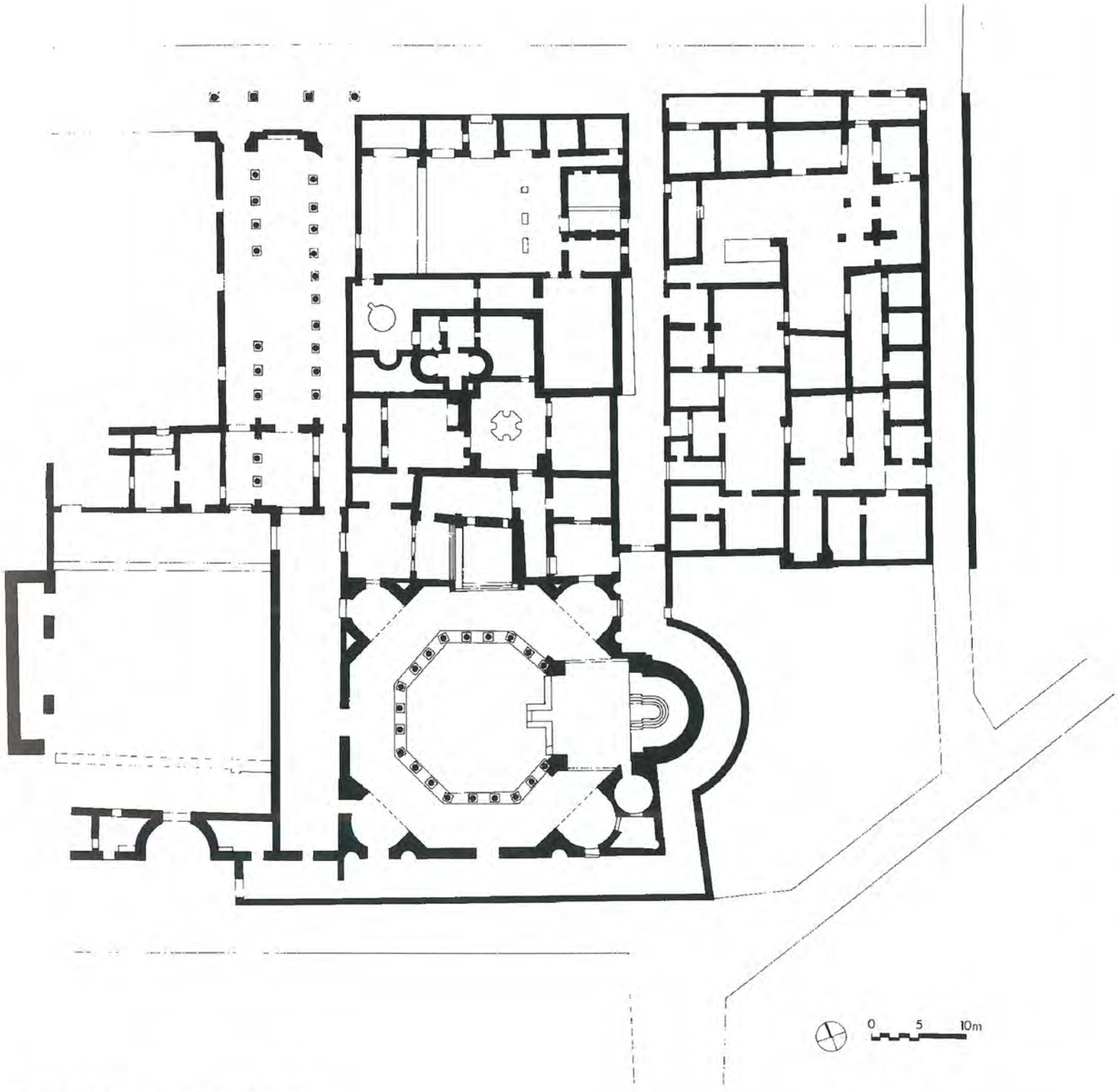
The dramatic physical changes that thus occurred were linked with significant developments within the city of Stobi, as well as in the region as a whole. The first of these developments had to do with the symbolic final triumph of the Church over paganism. The nearby theater, which was officially closed by an imperial edict, was abandoned, deliberately neglected, and ultimately turned into a convenient source of building materials. Its massive physical presence, which could not be easily eradicated, was overshadowed by raising the new episcopal church to such a level

as to dominate the city skyline, overshadowing the dilapidated remains of the theater. These changes were made at considerable cost, and not without some functional inconveniences. Thus, all of the neighboring structures, functionally related to the church, were left at a physically lower level, requiring cumbersome communications with the new basilica. This is particularly glaring in conjunction with the baptistery, which, despite having been remodeled, retained its original, lower position. In the final arrangement, the baptistery could be reached only in a circuitous manner, via a flight of steps leading down from the southern flank of the new basilica's narthex. Such an inconvenient planning solution would seem to indicate that some fiscal restraints were exercised, despite the seemingly megalomaniac nature of the project as a whole. More important, it also seems to suggest that by this date the prime time of baptismal ceremonies as instruments of mass conversion may have already passed. Though monumental baptisteries continued to be built into the sixth century, their role appears to have declined in general during the last decades of the fifth. The case of the baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi is a significant early example illustrating the very beginnings of this trend already before *circa* 450. It is worth noting that the continuing decline in the importance of the baptismal ceremony must have occurred at Stobi already before *circa* 550, when the city became largely deserted. At some point between *circa* 450 and 550, the baptistery underwent its final modification. Its large piscina appears to have gone out of use, having been superseded functionally by a reused marble cantharus, set up as a small font for the baptizing of infants, or for the baptizing of adults by aspersion, rather than by full immersion, as had been practiced before.[100] The Episcopal Basilica, as rebuilt *circa* 425–50, was a resplendent building. Three-aisled, with a narthex and full galleries, it measured 28.6 × 38.8 meters, excluding the apse. Its size and decoration must have made it one of the most imposing churches in all of Macedonia. Its decoration involved elaborate mosaic floors, and one of the finest ensembles of fifth-century architectural sculpture preserved anywhere in the Balkans. These elements appear to have been reused in the basilica's final, extensive reconstruction, which presumably occurred after an early sixth-century earthquake. Judging by the preserved mosaic inscriptions, it seems that private patronage of church building still played a role in the fifth century, though the degree of private input is not clear. This was a period when the Church, as an institution, seems to have been investing in construction from its own, not so insignificant resources.

Very important for the understanding of the life of Stobi during the fifth century is the appearance of three additional extramural churches, all of them related to cemeteries around the periphery of the city. These are the Cemetery Basilica (just outside the Porta Herakleia), the Trans-Erigon Basilica (about 500 m east of Stobi, on the opposite bank of the River Crna), and the Palikura Basilica (about 2.5 km southwest of Stobi). All of these are three-aisled basilicas with internally and externally semicircular apses, and all are dated within the half-century of the city's greatest prosperity (late fourth to mid-fifth century). The appearance of as many as seven churches within Stobi, or in its vicinity, during a period when the city had undergone physical contraction, and presumably also population decline, is remarkable, though not atypical of the fifth-century Balkans, generally speaking.

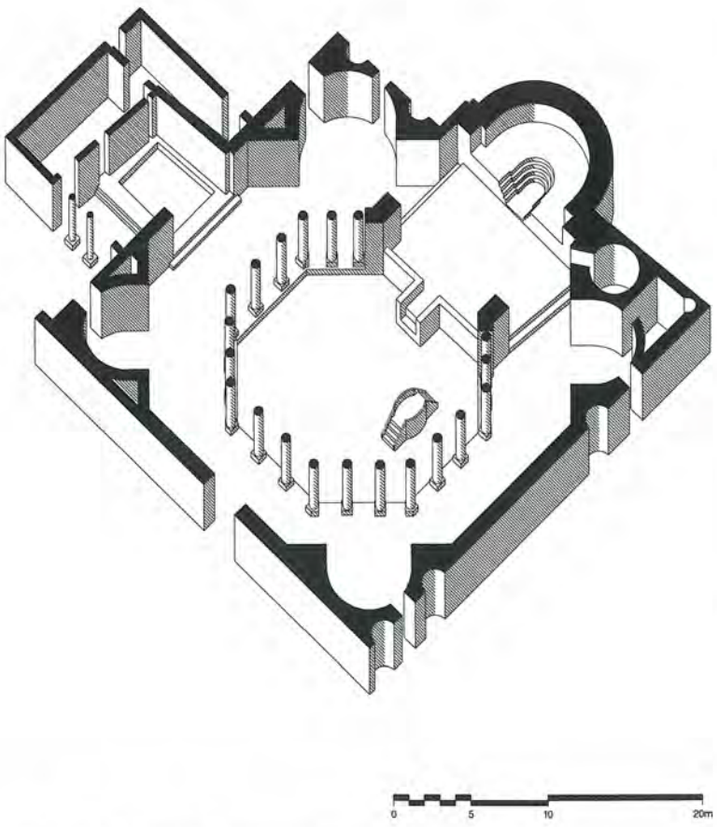
Philippi

The importance of Stobi must have been eclipsed during the second half of the fifth century by the rise to prominence of another old Macedonian city – Philippi.[101] Founded during the fourth century BC by Philip of Macedon, the city bears his name. The original irregular layout of the city walls and the related acropolis were inherited by the later Roman town that prospered on the same site. The grid plan of the city's streets may also have been inherited from the Hellenistic era. The main city thoroughfare cut more-or-less diagonally across the walled-in enclosure in the east–west direction. This road, in fact, was the Via Egnatia, along which the city of Philippi was an important station. During the fourth century, as we have seen (pp. 61–62), Christianization was making slow headway at Philippi. The fifth century, by contrast, was very different. Starting around 400, presumably spurred by the policies of Theodosius I, Philippi was transformed into a major Christian center. Its old Roman core, centered on the main forum, was engulfed by major churches and other Christian buildings, substantially transforming its original appearance. The Hellenistic theater, situated on the natural slope of the hill rising north of the Via Egnatia near the city's eastern gate, as in the case of the theater at Stobi, was gradually abandoned during the late fourth or early fifth century. The first significant changes in the center began occurring in the two *insulae* east of the Roman forum. Here, already during the fourth century, the first Christian church dedicated to St. Paul, a local martyr, had been built over the shrine of a popular local pagan hero. This church was replaced, possibly following its deliberate demolition, by the much larger octagonal church, around 400. This building, in turn, underwent further modifications about the middle of the fifth century. In its final form, the octagonal church formed the core of a very large complex (7,000 m^2) involving a baptistery, the episcopal residence, and a substantial bath for men and women, possibly intended for general public use (fig. 112). The octagonal church was a building of considerable dimensions, befitting its status of cathedral church. Its octagonal core had a clear span of 16 meters. This core, which



112 Philippi, Octagon with Episcopion; plan

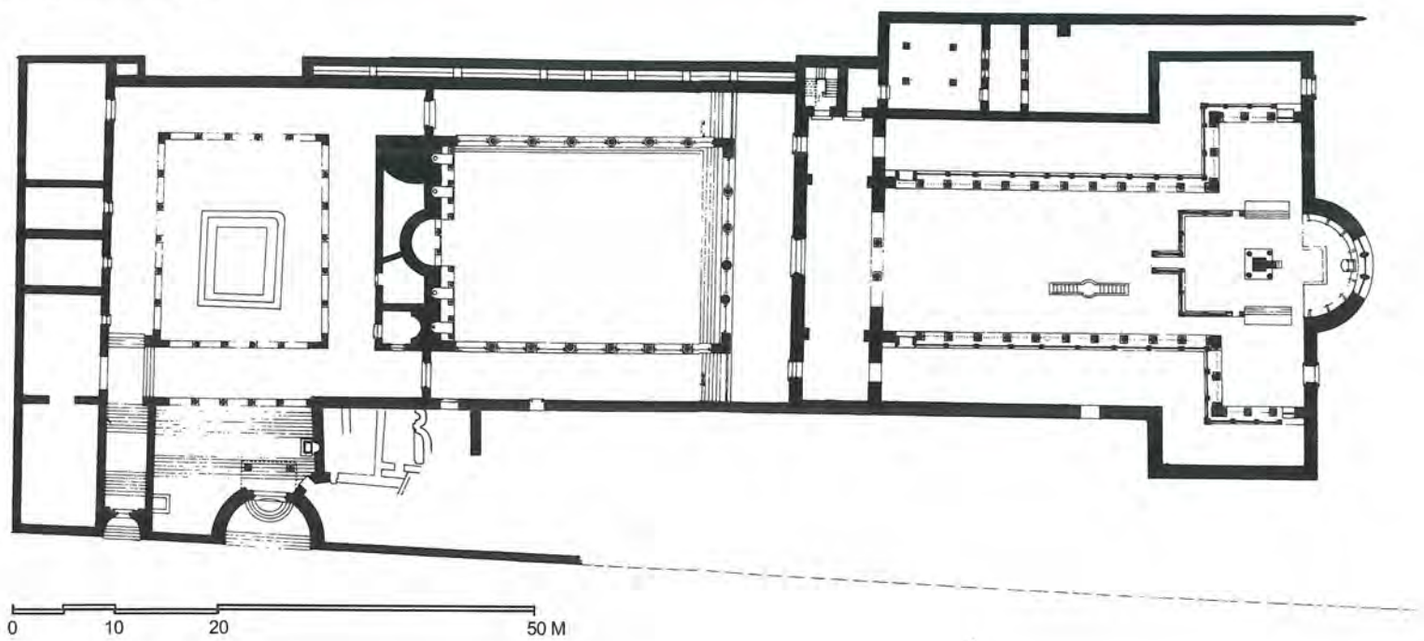
may have belonged to the first phase of the construction, was separated by freestanding columns from a concentric ambulatory, 5 meters wide (fig. 113). The entire building was inscribed into a basically square plan, the diagonal sides of the octagonal ambulatory opening into spacious, semicircular niches more than 5 meters wide, accommodated within the corners of the square. Each of these niches had a pair of doors leading into adjacent rooms, or exterior spaces. The eastern side of the square was broken through by a semicircular main apse containing a synthronon. The sanctuary was accommodated within a bay

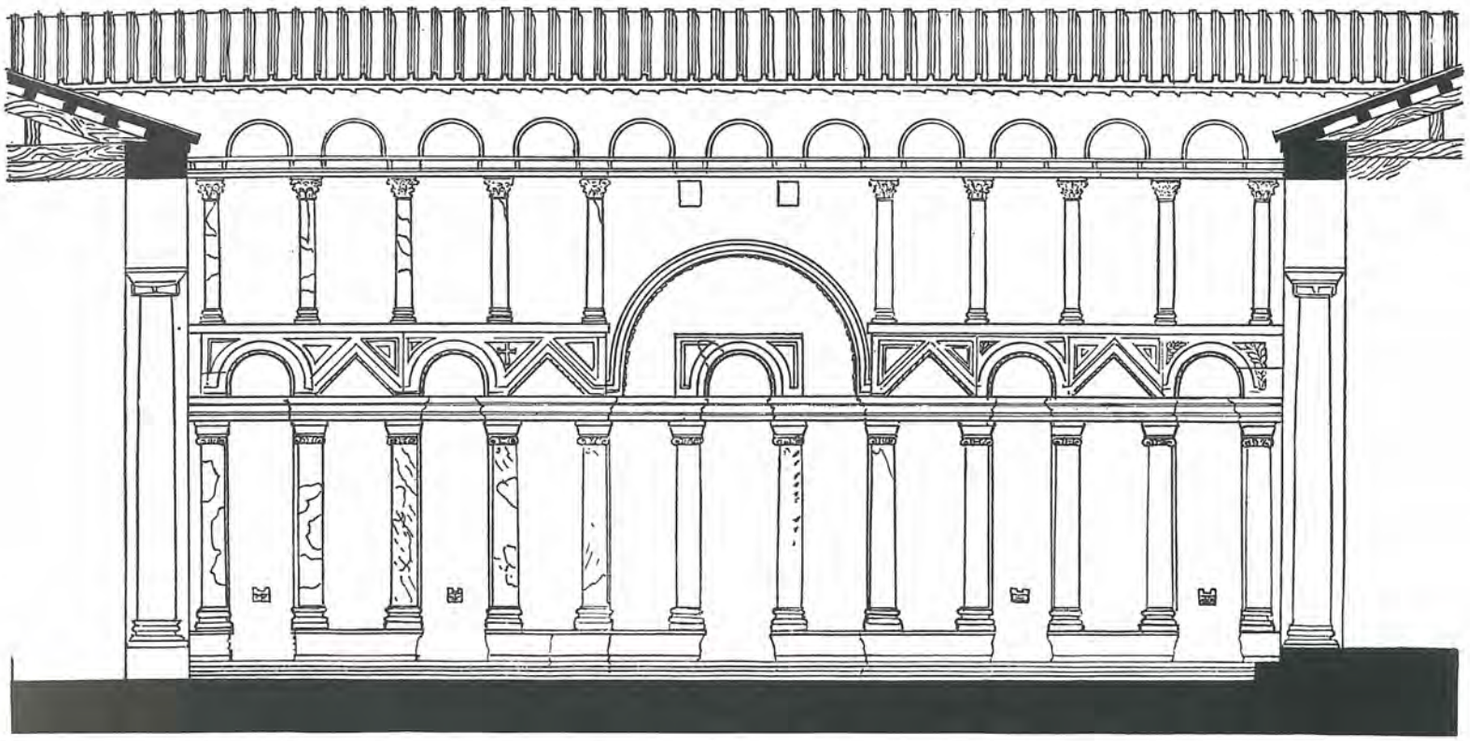


113 Philippi, Octagon; axonometric

immediately preceding the apse, which must have opened into the main space through a large arch supported by a pair of piers. These piers marked the end of the ambulatory wings on the north and south sides. Structurally, they interrupted colonnades arranged around the seven sides of the central octagon. Given these elements, it is difficult to visualize how exactly the main space would have been covered. From the structural point of view, the building has no direct parallels among the known buildings of the Balkans, or elsewhere for that matter. Other octagonal churches, such as the church of St. Nestor (?) in Thessaloniki, had massive walls defining the central space and were clearly domed. Comparable, contemporary buildings in the Holy Land, for example, tended to alternate piers and columns, in a regular manner, around the central space. The peculiar emphasis on structural lightness seen in the octagonal church at Philippi is indicative of a new experimental wave in Balkan architecture, which emerged in full force after the middle of the fifth century. More will be said about this later in this chapter. Additional unusual features also distinguish this extraordinary church. Opening to the south of the sanctuary was a small circular room, leading into a trapezoidal chamber beyond it. The two spaces added to the external volume of the building and to its general irregularity on the east side. The exact function of these two spaces is not known, though undoubtedly they had some liturgical function. The church is also notable for having

114 Philippi, Basilica A; plan

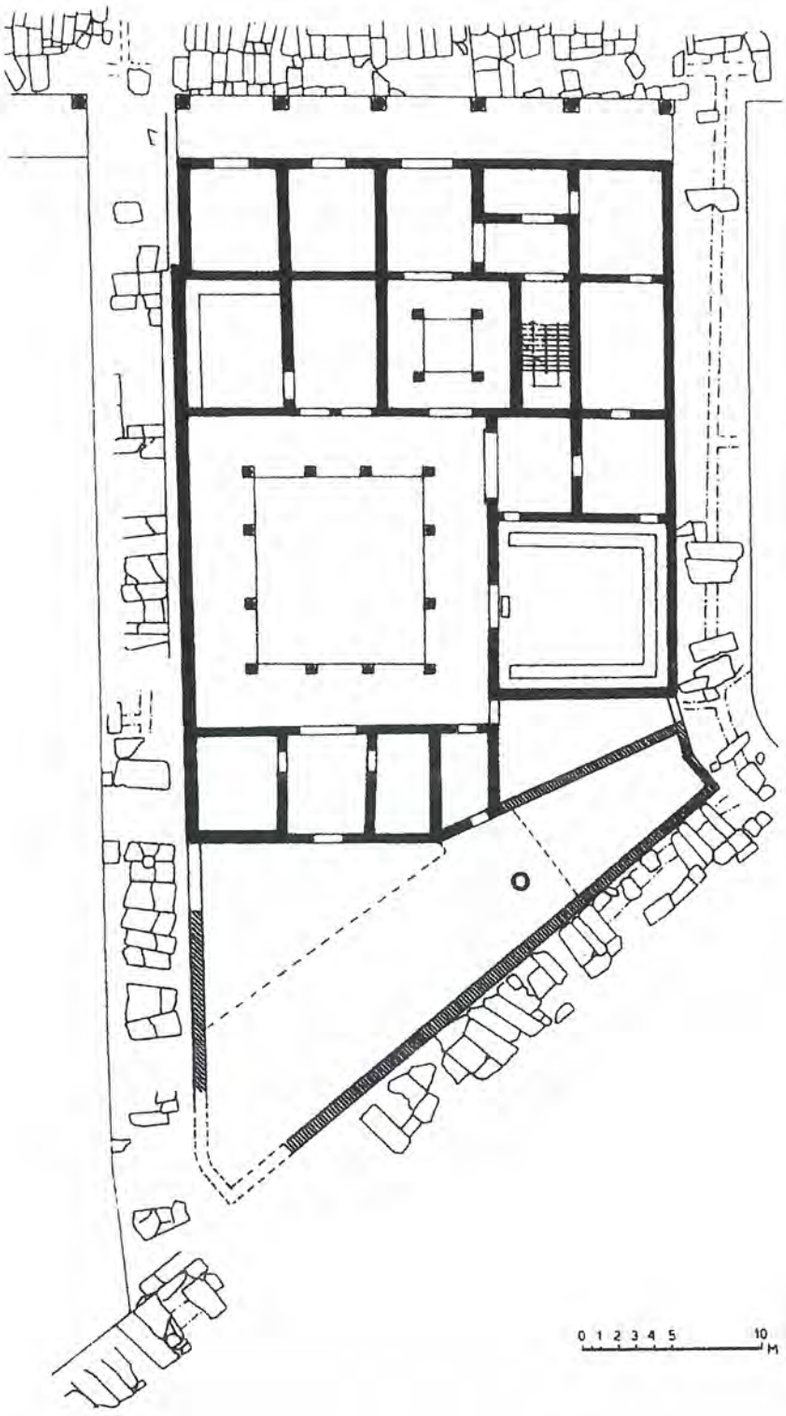




115 Philippi, Basilica A, atrium fountain; elevation reconstruction

had two ambos, one associated with the sanctuary closure wall. Especially significant in the layout of the octagonal church at Philippi was the manner in which the preexisting pagan *heroon* was incorporated into the plan. The *heroon* could not be moved, so the octagonal church had to be planned accordingly. The outcome is very revealing, since it placed the *heroon* in a square space opening directly into the ambulatory on the north side. Such a position corresponds to what emerged as one of the favorite locations for martyr shrines and important tombs in fifth- and sixth-century churches. Here we should note the placement of a tomb of unknown date into the northern apse of the octagon within the imperial palace in Thessaloniki,[102] a point that will be taken up further on in this chapter.

Before leaving the octagonal church of Philippi, some comments about its urban and architectural setting and character are in order. In its final form, the building was surrounded by a walled enclosure along its south and eastern sides. Though this created an unobstructed passage around the periphery of the building, which may have facilitated some sort of function, it was achieved by encroaching on the public space outside the building. The problem has been noted as the "narrowing of streets," in itself interpreted as part of the slow process of "urban decline."[103] Seen from another perspective, this "encroachment of the public space" might be understood as a lack of trust in the public itself. The walling in of a building, or a complex, creates the impression of a security problem. Could we be witnessing here an architectural ramification of a phenomenon that historians have long since defined as "urban unrest" or "urban violence" in late antique cities?[104] The octagonal church was preceded by an atrium, itself walled in and approached from the south through a monumental gate accentuated by its setting within an exedra, initially flanked by columns and later by piers. From the north the church was approached down a long colonnaded ceremonial walkway, resembling a section of a street some 40 meters long. This processional way was entered through a monumental columnar portico, possibly recalling the portico of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, as rebuilt *circa* 415. There is a sense of urban openness and classical monumentality in this part of the overall scheme. However, we must not overlook the fact that before reaching the atrium or the narthex, one would have had to pass through a screen wall equipped with gates that could be shut in times of need. The "public bath," too, if indeed it was public, was located in the center of the entire complex, and approached from its own walled-in courtyard. Finally, in the Episkopion, we see a residence tightly planned within a carefully defined block. The characteristic relaxed openness, typical of late



116 Philippi, Insula 4; plan

antique palatine architecture, and still notable in the episcopal palace at Stobi, seems to have been completely abandoned here. This building, by virtue of its two-storied, blocky form, containing a large number of small, tightly packed rooms, on first sight resembles a medieval *palazzo* more than a late antique *palatium*.

The north side of the ancient forum of Philippi was occupied by imposing buildings that were demolished as part of the continuing Christianization of the central part of the town during the second half of the fifth century. On a terrace above the forum, created in the aftermath of these interventions, rose a large church of unknown dedication, referred to simply as Basilica A. Laid out as a three-aisled basilica with a transept, Basilica A measures 29 × 44 meters, and thus relates in size to the Acheiropoietos in Thessaloniki (fig. 114).[105] Though the inclusion of a transept was unusual in church architecture of the period, it was certainly not unknown. The reason for its presence is a far more difficult question. The most distinctive features of Basilica A are to be found at its west side. Though preserved only in a ruinous state, enough evidence has been preserved to give us a sense of the true splendor that was often associated with fifth-century churches. The church was preceded by two narthexes and a large atrium with its own forecourt. Against the west wall of the former rose a magnificent two-storied fountain articulated in the best tradition of ancient nymphaea (fig. 115). The church complex was entered from the Via Egnatia through an imposing portal accommodated within a columned exedra, whose design would have pleased Bernini. The overall architectural language is unmistakably classical, though details reveal a late date and the Christian function of the complex. Along the north side, the basilica was built into the hillside, hence a series of rooms, including the baptistery, located there have been preserved to a considerable height. Their decoration, including marble floors, wall revetments, and paintings, reveals the high level of quality that is associated with most of the fifth-century architecture of Philippi.[106] The nave was paved with enormous slabs of Prokonnesian marble, while its colonnades employed capitals that in style and quality can be compared to the best works in Thessaloniki, and even Constantinople. The architectural elements, and possibly the artisans as well, came from Constantinople. On the basis of internal archaeological evidence scholars are inclined to date Basilica A to the very end of the fifth century. Similar qualities are shared by the nearby Basilica C, situated only some 80 meters down the Via Egnatia, to the west of Basilica A. Two cemetery basilicas that have come to light east of the city are somewhat more modest than their intramural counterparts, though they have certain interesting characteristics in common. One of these deserves particular mention. During the excavations in the eastern part of the so-called Extra-Muros Basilica large quantities of colored glass came to light. Similar finds were made at the octagonal church and at Basilica C. In the latter case the glass was found together with lead strips that appear to have been used in a manner reminiscent of the

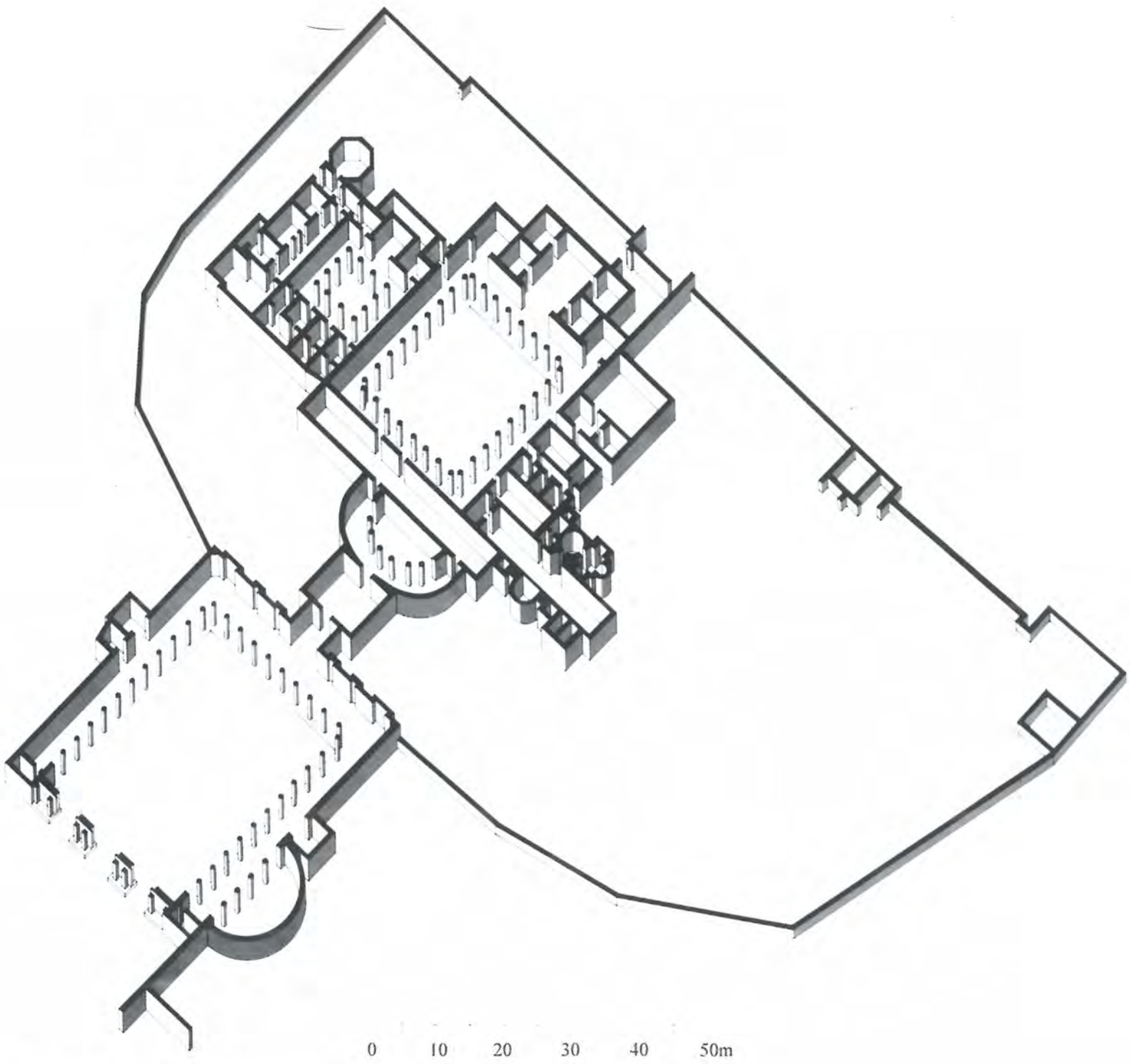
much later techniques of stained-glass production in the West.[107] The use of glass in Early Byzantine building practice has long been known. What emerges from the finds at Philippi is that such an aspect of building decoration would have apparently depended on the presence of a local workshop, bound to the place by the immovable glass kilns, sources of materials, etc. To put it in other terms, it would appear that certain artisans associated with the building trade were considerably less mobile than others. In the case of glass-makers, neither the product itself nor the means of producing it would have facilitated mobility.

Our knowledge of late antique Philippi has been significantly augmented in recent years thanks to the excavations conducted under the auspices of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki that have brought to light several residential blocks to the east of the episcopal complex and the octagonal church. In addition to contributing to our understanding of life in Philippi from the late fourth to the early seventh centuries, the houses that have come to light provide yet another angle for the comprehension of the differences between the pagan tradition and the emerging Christian needs within an existing urban framework. The residential architecture of Philippi, not unlike that in most other centers during this period, reveals that in this particular category of buildings differences were barely perceptible, if at all. The case of the so-called "Insula 4" is especially revealing (fig. 116). Built in the fourth century as a single large house, in the course of the fifth it was divided into two separate, though functionally related houses. These underwent further modifications in the sixth, before their final demise in the early seventh century. At all of the stages of their existence these houses reveal an almost rigid adherence to the ancient design principles; nothing in their architectural layout provides the slightest clue that they may actually have been occupied by the Christians rather than pagans. This was confirmed only by the nature of the small finds uncovered within the ruins of the houses in question. Changes in residential architecture, clearly, were neither abrupt, nor were they driven by the beliefs or ideological inclinations of the Philippi patrons. The established building workshops, whose members probably included adherents of both faiths, evidently continued their professional practice, essentially unaffected by the changing social climate around them.

Athens

Despite the disaster that it suffered at the hands of the invading Heruli in 267, Athens underwent a process of successful regeneration, to the degree that by *circa* 400 it had emerged as one of the more prosperous cities in the Balkans. What distinguishes Athens most, however, is not the relative degree of its prosperity, but the resilience of its ancient institutions and the unique dynamic between the surviving pagan culture and ascending Christianity that evolved there during the fifth century. Whereas in Constantinople the confrontation between the "classical past" and Christianity may have been in some sense artificially created and maintained by imperial policies and patronage of the arts, in Athens it was real. In Athens, more than in any other contemporary city of the Eastern Roman Empire, "classical survival" took on many different forms. The imperial edict of 395, requiring the closing of pagan temples, appears to have had little effect there, while the famous Academy outlived the century, to be closed only in 529. New buildings that were being built – whether public or private – showed little affinity with Christianity more than a century after it had acquired official status as the religion of the state. Such a perception, though substantiated by written sources and archaeological evidence, was unnecessarily exaggerated by earlier scholars eager to demonstrate the unique qualities of Athens. This led to some prejudicial identifications of excavated buildings, potentially setting the stage for serious mistakes in interpreting historical evidence. Thus, for example, a large early fifth-century complex excavated in the heart of the ancient Agora was long mistakenly thought of as a gymnasium, whereas in fact it was a private residence, now referred to as the "Palace of the Giants," about which more below. Another example of "romanticized viewing" of late antique Athens involved a series of private residences excavated on the lower slopes of the Acropolis. They became generically known as the "houses of philosophers," endowed with the lofty status of being linked with teachers in the famous Academy. There is no real evidence for such a sweeping generalization, and its further use should be consciously tested. Our discussion of Athens during the fifth century will begin with private residences before turning to church architecture, which also, despite the earlier held views, did make some significant inroads on the Athenian scene during this period.

For centuries the Agora was the heart of the civic life of Athens.[108] Many of its sacred public institutions and monuments were situated there. Under Roman rule, the Agora underwent a series of drastic changes that substantially altered its physical appearance, but did not eliminate the hallowed perception of it. This happened only with the Herulian sack of 267, which left the Agora, along with other parts of the ancient city, in ruins. In a very drastic move, the builders of the hastily constructed "post-Herulian" city wall left the Agora outside the newly built enclosure (see p. 17). During the first quarter of the fifth century, possibly *circa* 421, a vast private residence, now known as the "Palace of the Giants," was built.[109] Measuring nearly 150 × 120 meters, it enclosed the full length of the former Agora's south side, and filled out much of its central area (fig. 117). The



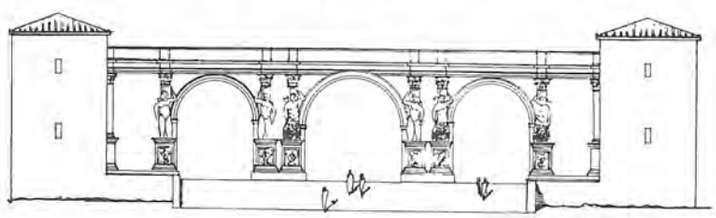
117 Athens, "Palace of the Giants"; axonometric

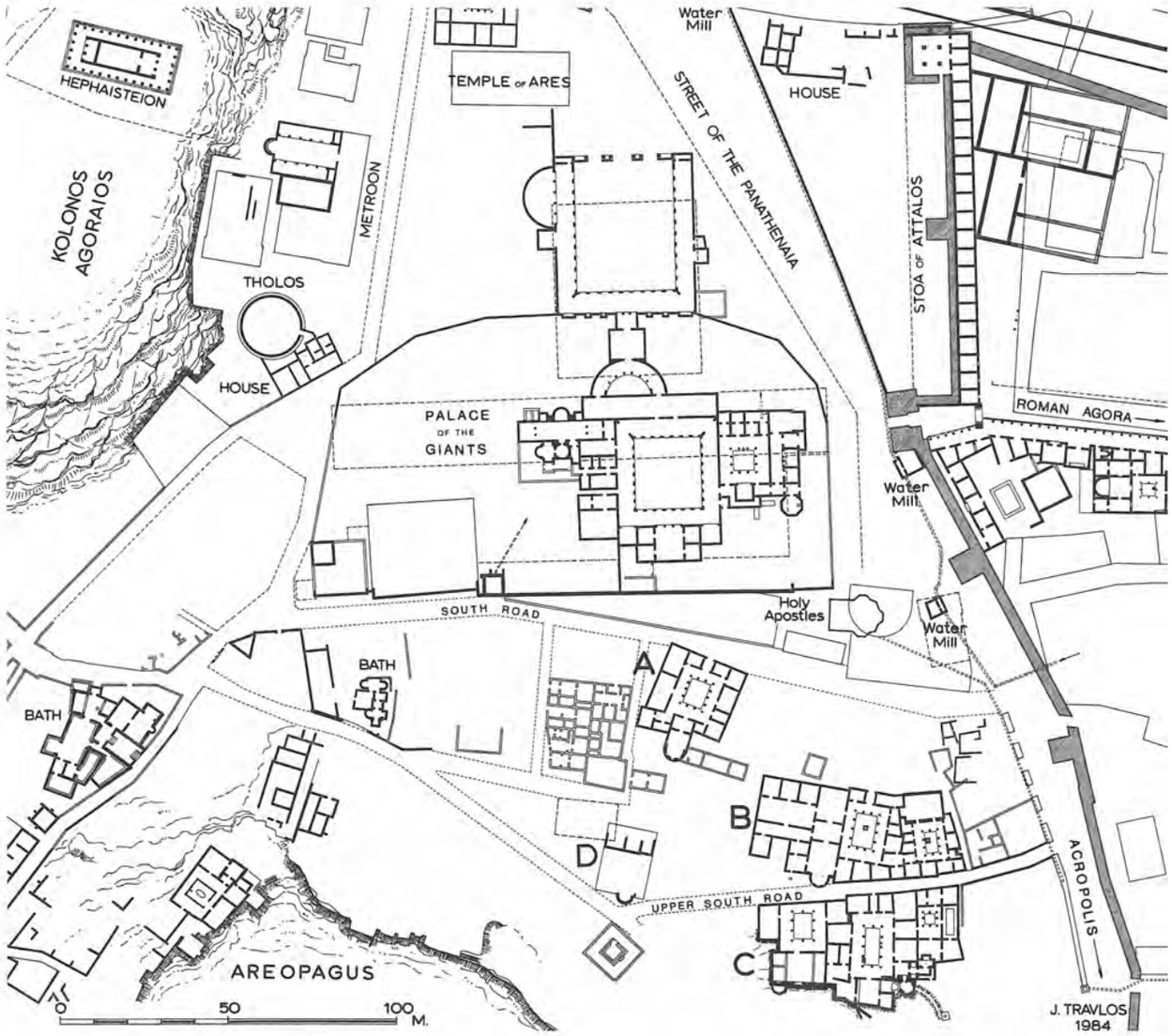
complex was planned in the best tradition of late antique palatine architecture, with rooms clustered around a series of columnar peristyle courts. The complex was entered through a huge triple-arched gateway, decorated with large statues of *Giants* (hence the building's name) and *Tritons*, reused as spoils from the Roman Odeon, which stood on the same site (fig. 118). In size and in character the triple-arched gateway must have resembled a triumphal arch. Its chronologically and conceptually closest parallel must have been the Arch of Theodosius built only a few decades earlier in Constantinople (fig. 72). Placing real triumphal arches, or imitations thereof, as entrance features in front of palatine complexes had become commonplace during

the period of the Tetrarchy.[110] Beyond the entrance gate lay a huge peristyle court, whose function, at least in part, must have been public, no doubt the location of the various ceremonial activities involving the occupant of the palace and the general public. Further on, and axially related to this court, lay a square room – probably the vestibule of the palace. A similar spatial sequence has been encountered already in our discussion of the Diocletian's palace at Split (pp. 32–36). As at Split, the axis passed through the vestibule. Here, however, the similarity between the two complexes ends. At the "Palace of the Giants" guests would have found themselves in a semicircular court with a corresponding semicircular colonnade. Turned away from the vestibule, this space was evidently designed to divide the incoming traffic: to the left or to the right of a long rectangular hall whose shape recalls that of narthexes in early basilicas. From the left side one would have proceeded into the ceremonial wing of the palace complex. This was distinguished by the presence of a large peristyle, at the back of which a symmetrical battery of rooms was grouped around a central room, the largest in the entire complex. Though lacking the conventional apse, this was undoubtedly the audience hall. It was accompanied by two pairs of square rooms, directly communicating with it, in an arrangement that we have seen in a number of palatine complexes (e.g., Abritus, Rhegion, etc.). The audience hall, in this case, faces north, a disposition that it shares with most rooms of the type in Athenian residences of this period. The same disposition was noted in conjunction with the residences at Stobi. It is possible that climatic or other local factors may have played a role in this choice. In most of the other cases, audience halls tended to face south, that is, the opposite direction to what we see here. To the east and the west of the formal wing of the palace were clusters of other rooms. To the east, organized around another smaller peristyle court, appears to have been the strictly private wing of the residence. To the west, and close to the main entrance, we recognize a bath, strategically located, and also following the planning conventions that we have already alluded to (e.g., Baths of Zeuxippos and the baths of the Palace of Lausos in Constantinople).[111] The entire palace complex, with the exception of the public entrance peristyle court, was enclosed by an irregular wall. This wall clearly defined the property line, since it enclosed an area considerably larger than that covered by the buildings themselves. Surely, the enclosed space would have been given over to cultivated gardens, in keeping with the late antique palatine tradition. The presence of a walled enclosure, on the other hand, is yet another reminder of security needs, as was encountered in the discussion of the octagonal church at Philippi. Before closing our discussion of the "Palace of the Giants," we must consider the central question – that of its ownership. By virtue of its size and complexity, this residence stands in a class of its own. Not only is it unique in the Athenian context, but it also has very few parallels anywhere that would not be associated with imperial patronage. On account of its size and its location – on the site of the Agora – the original excavators interpreted this building, somewhat hastily, as a gymnasium. The identification stuck, and was used in the literature until relatively recently.[112] The latest research has succeeded in identifying the original owner of this palace as Eudocia, wife of Emperor Theodosius II.[113] Eudocia was an Athenian by birth, who had strong ties with both the pagan and Christian establishments in the city, at a time when a particular relationship between these two camps maintained an uneasy balance.

It was the presence of a patron of Eudocia's stature, along with the general prosperity of Athens during the first decades of the fifth century, that must have contributed to a type of rigorous "urban renewal." Striking evidence for this renewal has emerged through the archeological explorations carried out in the vicinity of the Agora in the past few decades.[114] This development involves a series of private residences – comparable in size and character to those of contemporary Stobi – related to a network of irregular streets and city blocks (fig. 119). These residences, owing to the lack of precise information and on account of the already described prejudicial views about Athens, were summarily labeled "houses of philosophers," their ownership associated with teachers at the famous Academy.[115] Thanks to the new interpretation of the "Palace of the Giants" as a residence, it is possible to view the entire "neighborhood" in a different light. The cluster of private residences of wealthy Athenians that arose in the vicinity of the palatial residence, probably belonging to a member of the imperial family, may be compared to the contemporary situation in the vicinity of the Great Palace in Constantinople, in principle if not in form. The relative proximity of the luxury residences of court officials, Antiochos and Lausos, as well as their relationship to the urban fabric of Constantinople, seem to have close conceptual parallels in the Athenian development. Though the architecture of the individual residences cannot be compared, their close clustering in the immediate vicinity of the "Palace of the Giants," as well as their relationship to the Panathenaic Road, may be linked to the

118 Athens, "Palace of the Giants", gateway; elevation reconstruction

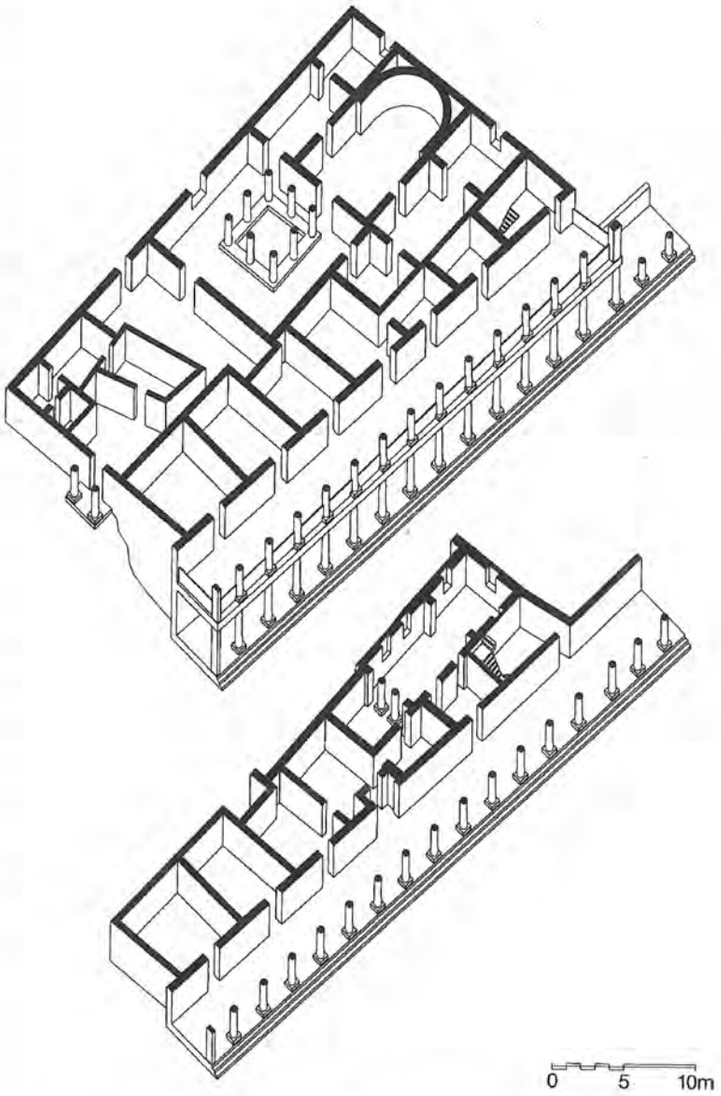




119 Athens, Residential quarter south of Agora; plan

Constantinopolitan model. Among the individual dwellings located in this area, one should note "House #56" and the "House of Sculptures." Both are sizable complexes incorporating two interior courtyards with a series of rooms organized around them. House #56 also displays an apsidal hall (audience room), flanked by a familiar cluster of smaller rectangular chambers communicating directly with the main hall. The House of Sculptures, in addition to boasting a very sumptuous private bath, is noted for its collection of statuary, believed to have been deliberately "hidden" by its "philosopher" owner following the closing of the Academy at the orders of Emperor Justinian in 529. Considering the number of widely scattered private sculptural collections (Mediana, Philippi, Stobi, in addition to the ones known to have existed in Constantinople) and their fate, this could be viewed as part of the general spread and intensification of Christian intolerance toward the pagan past. This notion would hold regardless whether the actual owner of this residence was one of the "philosophers" associated with the Academy or not. The remains of another residence of comparable stature were discovered in the relative proximity, but within the post-Herulian walls. Located to the east of the Library of Partenios, on internal evidence this building has been associated with a high magistrate, or a prefect. Destroyed during the Slavic invasion *circa* 580, this residence was restored several times before its final demise in the early years of the eighth century.[116] Its architectural solution is notable for its ingeniously flexible rela-

tion to the existing topographical constraints – a colonnaded road linking the ancient Agora with the so-called Roman Agora on the north side and a rocky outcrop to the south (fig. 119). Without major modifications to either of the preexisting conditions, the architect of this residence relied on highly organized and symmetrical, as well as completely irregular, planning to accomplish his goals. The main part of the house is on an upper level, resting on a terrace created by the rocky outcrop to the south. Its principal features include an essentially square peristyle court related to a basilican apsed hall, flanked by two pairs of nearly symmetrical rooms. The hall, clearly the main room of the house, was linked to two of the subsidiary rooms in a familiar manner. This, the formal part of the house, was entered from the upper story of a colonnaded portico along the main road fronting the house. The remaining space between the "formal" part of the house and the portico – which are not parallel in their layouts – was filled by a series of irregular rooms on both stories. The lower ones were found to have communicated with the portico, and were presumably shops. The upper rooms have been reconstructed with the same kind of relationship to the upper story of the colonnaded portico. This seems doubtful, for these rooms in all likelihood belonged to the house, and did not have a public function. One final residence, the partial remains of which were discovered on Makriyanni Street, completes the picture of the residential architecture of Athens during the fifth century.[117] On account of its typological similarities with the residences excavated south of the Agora, this building too was initially labeled a "philosophical school." In its disposition, involving a basilican hall with two symmetrical pairs of rectangular rooms, we recognize a standard system of design for opulent residences of this period. Fifth-century Athens, as was also noted in conjunction with Constantinople, abounded with private and semi-private baths. Among those that have come to light, a particularly noteworthy example was found near the Olympeion.[118]



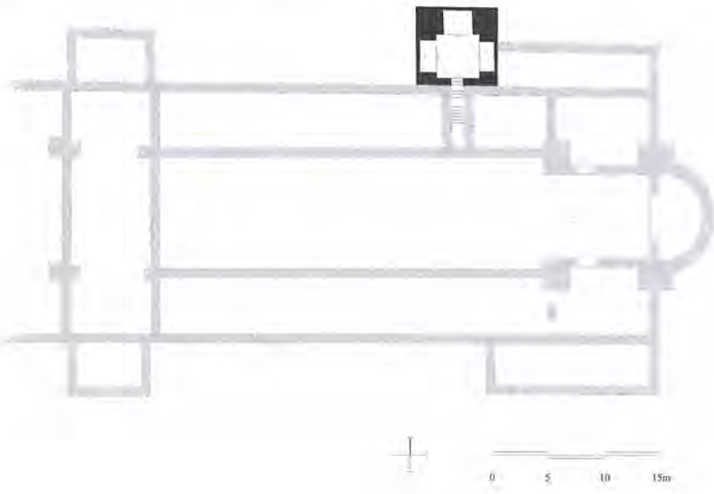
120 Athens, Residence E of Library of Partenios, upper and lower levels; axonometric

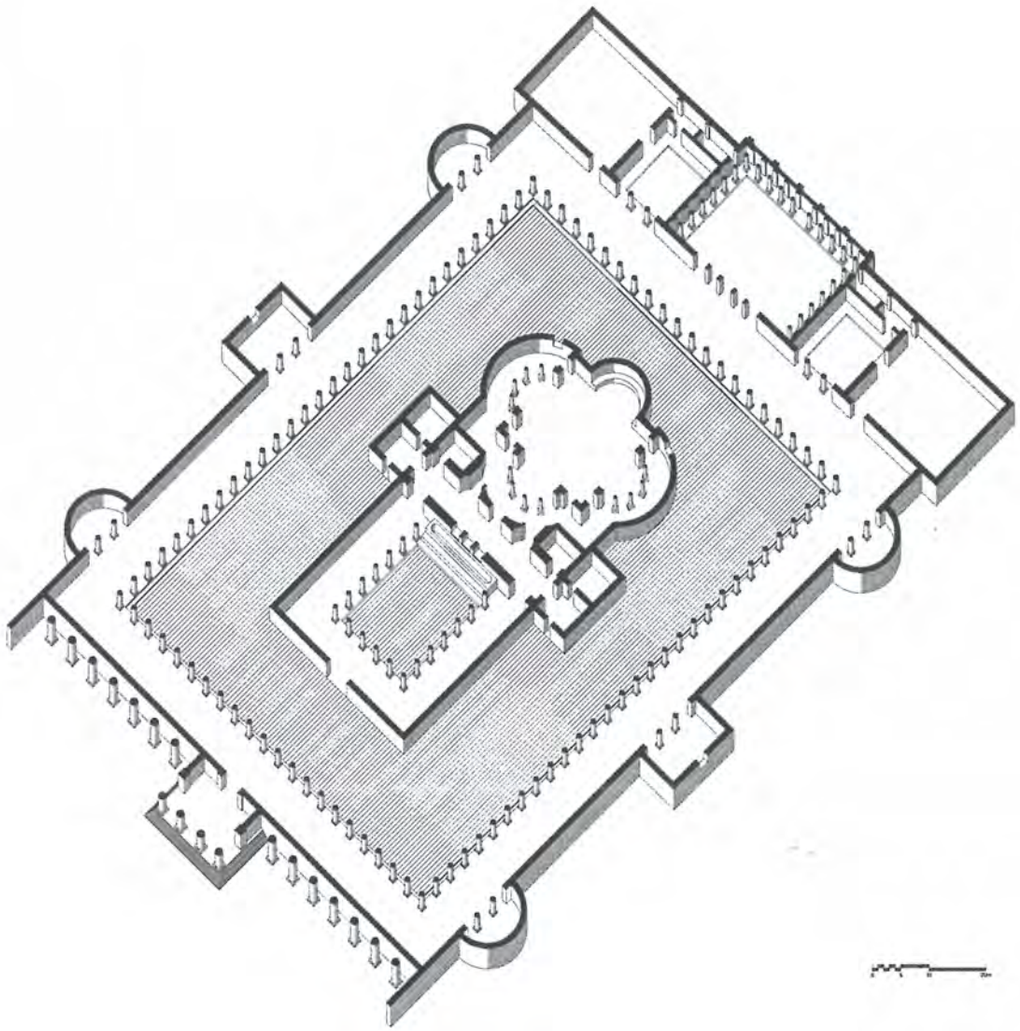
Christianity, though present from the time of the Apostle Paul's visit to Athens in AD 53, was extremely slow in gaining a firm foothold in the city. Confronted by a powerful pagan community whose activities were reinforced by such distinguished institutions as the Academy, the Church initially had to satisfy itself with a second place in the city's affairs. Despite strong inroads made in the course of the fifth century, the final establishment of the Church as the undisputed factor in the city's affairs had to wait until Justinian's closure of the Academy in 539. Several earlier anti-pagan measures, which took the form of imperial edicts, including the one in 435 banning the use of temples, failed to eradicate paganism decisively. The building activity of the Church, as was also the case in Rome, was first seen around the fringes of the city. Among the first churches was the outstanding basilica dedicated to a local martyr, St. Leonidas, built *circa* 400 on the Ilissos island, close to the site of the saint's tomb in the shadow of the great platform on which stood the unfinished remains of the Temple of Olympian Zeus and not far from the ancient Stadium. Referred to as the "Ilissos Basilica," the church is noted for its mosaics and other forms of lavish decoration, but its main importance lies in its architecture. Three-aisled in plan, preceded by a narthex and measuring 67 meters in overall length and 25 meters in width, the church at first sight appears to follow the most common design principles (fig. 121). The conventional planning, however, breaks down just in front of the large semicircular apse, where a large square bay, identified by the presence of four massive piers, signals the prob-

ability that the church may have had some form of tower or dome above its sanctuary. The columnar colonnades appear to have extended beyond the western pair of these piers, effectively screening the sanctuary from what may be assumed to have been the arms of a transept. The elongated proportions of this and several other basilicas in mainland Greece, along with the tripartite division of the transept, have long since been observed and discussed as evidence of the strong influence of Milan, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the western part of Illyricum lay during this time.[119] Another feature of the Ilissos Basilica that is deserving of particular notice is the link between the church and the older underground funerary chamber – in which St. Leonidas was buried. This structure, of distinctive cruciform shape, was clearly designed to accommodate three tombs under its barrel-vaulted arms. Entered via a stair from its south side, the funerary chamber became a type of martyrium, linked directly to the northern aisle of the basilica at the time of its construction. The relationship was clearly deliberate, taking into account the position of the tomb and access to it from the church. This was but one of several alternative solutions of providing access to a martyr's shrine. Such solutions, as has been noted, became one of the more challenging aspects of church planning in the course of the fifth century.

By far the most important and most imposing church built in Athens during the early decades of the fifth century was the great tetraconch church dedicated to Megalē Panagia (the Great Panagia), within the enclosure of the erstwhile Library of Hadrian, itself incorporated within the circuit of the post-Herulian city walls (fig. 122).[120] This extraordinary building, perhaps the first church to be built within the city walls, is believed to be the first cathedral of the city.[121] The choice of site – within an open public space – located in the immediate proximity of the so-called Roman Agora, signals the rising fortunes of the Church within the conservative social framework of Athens. Both its location and the quality of its execution reveal the uniquely Athenian relationship with the past. The church, along with its atrium, was accommodated within an interior space of a pagan institution. This curious juxtaposition was certainly neither accidental nor consistent with other current practices involving the destruction, or conversion, of pagan buildings. Here, the pagan complex appears to have been fully preserved, while the Christian edifice was given a place of honor in its midst. Such a compromise solution seems to echo the moderating spirit of Eudocia, with whose patronage the building has been associated.[122] Architecturally speaking, the structure appears to have been closely linked with the slightly older church of San Lorenzo in Milan, reflecting possibly the ecclesiastical links of Athens with the See of Milan. The plan of the church was apparently the first of its kind in the Balkans (fig. 123). Measuring approximately 38 × 37 meters, it was slightly larger than the octagonal church at Philippi. Its design, however, was significantly different, and would prove far more influential on the general Balkan scene, as we shall see later on in this chapter. The core of the building consisted of a square naos measuring roughly 16 × 16 meters, with an apse 8 meters in diameter projecting from each of its four sides, forming a large tetraconch. With the exception of the eastern apse and its flanking walls, the rest of the wall enclosing the tetraconch was completely "dissolved." Its corners were formed by L-shaped piers, further perforated by arched openings, while the west, north, and south apses were defined by "screens," each consisting of four columns. Beyond the "perforated" walls of the naos lay an ambulatory space, a type of continuous "aisle" that circumvented the central space on three of its four sides. The church was preceded on the west side by an oblong narthex entered through doors at its northern and southern ends from the covered lateral porticoes of the atrium in front of the church. Axial entry into the narthex from the atrium was rendered impossible by the presence of a large fountain across the eastern wall of the atrium court. The church itself was entered from the narthex through three doors – an axial one and two flanking it situated within two deep, round niches facing the narthex. Between the narthex and the ambulatory of the church were two square spaces that accommodated stairs leading to what must have been a gallery circumventing the naos, directly corresponding to the ambulatory at ground level. Two symmetrical pairs of square rooms flanked the northern and southern ends of the narthex and the two adjacent stair spaces. The southern of this group may have functioned as the baptistery.

121 Athens, "Ilissos Basilica"; plan

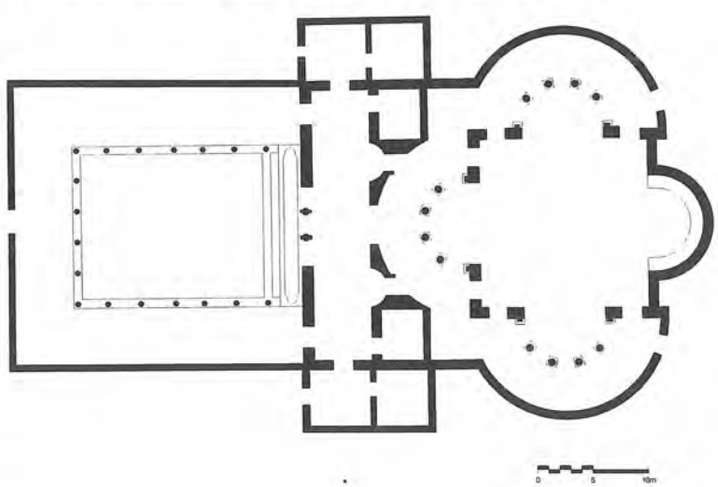




122 Athens, Tetraconch church in Library of Hadrian complex; axonometric

In sum, given our current knowledge based on archaeological evidence, Athens emerges as perhaps the most conservative among the ancient Balkan cities. Notwithstanding the size and strength of its pagan population, it underwent a process of intensive Christianization in the course of the fifth century. Given the delicate nature of such an undertaking in one of the preeminent centers of classical learning, the matter appears to have been placed into the hands of a local lady of distinction: Eudocia, whose high social standing, as a wife of Theodosius II, gave her sufficient credibility among both segments of what must have been an irreconcilably divided population to be able to act decisively. The tetraconch church, built in the courtyard of the preserved Library of Hadrian, even if proven not to be a direct product of her architectural patronage, is the most fitting monument to the spirit of her time and of the city for which it was built.

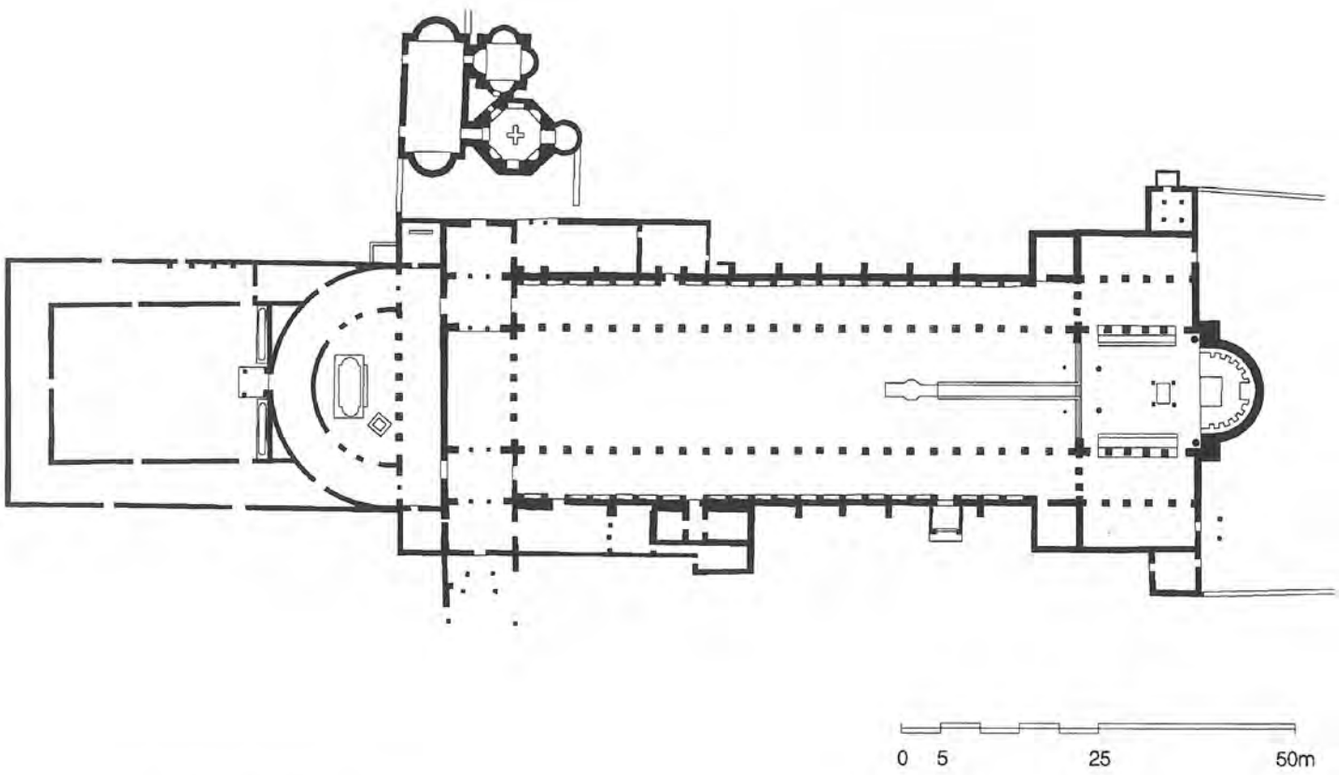
123 Athens, Tetraconch church in Library of Hadrian; plan



Corinth

Situated some 70 kilometers west of Athens, Corinth was a very different type of city. Despite the fact that in antiquity their fortunes and histories were at times closely related, the two cities evolved in very different ways. Corinth was predominantly a commercial city, whose prosperity depended on its two strategically situated ports – Kenchreai, on the east side of the isthmus linking the Peloponnesos with the mainland, and Lechaion, at the very end of the Gulf of Corinth, on the west side of the isthmus. Both ports, and the city of Corinth lost their strategic and commercial significance long before the opening of the Corinth Canal in the nineteenth century. In antiquity, however, the situation was very different, Corinth enjoying the benefits of its unique position. In late antiquity, this also proved to be the main cause of its misfortunes since it found itself in one of the most vulnerable situations, facing repeated invasions and the resulting destructions.[123] Corinth shared the fate of Athens at the hands of the Heruli in 267, when it, too, suffered major destruction. Unlike Athens, the rebuilding of its walls was delayed until *circa* 400. During the intervening century, Corinth suffered further misfortunes – two major earthquakes (in 365 and 375) and another raid, in 395–96, by the Goths under Alaric.[124] Despite these repeated setbacks, the city's population appears to have had enough resilience to become engaged repeatedly in rebuilding and repair work. The toll on the size of the overall population, however, was significant. The new city wall, as built *circa* 400, enclosed an area only one-third of the original city size. Very significantly, Corinth appears to have been substantially decentralized as an urban entity, its original city core remaining alive as but one of several urban nuclei in the general vicinity. Another one appears to have been the independently fortified acropolis known as Acrocorinth. The old city center seems to have retained some of its pagan urban character throughout the fourth century, but it also appears to have faced a much faster pace of Christianization. Following the earthquake of 375, the city's two agoras were substantially remodeled. The most telling of these undertakings appears to have been the conversion of the so-called Julian Basilica (one of two public basilicas named after Emperor Julian) into a church, possibly the city's cathedral. The conversion involved also specific architectural interventions – the replacement of a rectangular by a semicircular apse at the eastern end of the building and the introduction of three vaulted tombs in the undercroft. The introduction of a major church into the city center during the last quarter of the fourth century suggests that the process of Christianization in Corinth may have been almost half a century ahead of that in Athens. The contemporary rebuilding of the other "South Basilica" as a civic basilica, on the other hand, clearly indicates that certain traditional institutions continued to function despite the advanced process of Christianization. The appearance of other secular buildings (residences, baths, public latrines, etc.) in Corinth during the later fourth and early fifth centuries illustrates the continuing vitality of urban life in the face of rapidly deteriorating general conditions. Equally important is the fact that the main churches built by the Corinthians in the course of the fifth century lay either on the fringes of the city or outside the city walls. Two of these, both associated with cemeteries, are particularly worthy of attention. The first is the so-called Kodratos Basilica, which may have been built as early as the late fourth century, though this date has come under question. Regardless of what the ultimate dating of this church turns out to be, several facts remain. A three-aisled columnar basilica, measuring 19.5 × 37 meters, it was accompanied by a series of subsidiary rooms around its perimeters, all of which had funerary functions, judging by the tombs that they accommodated.[125] In addition, numerous tombs, including one of a local bishop, Eusthatios, have come to light below the floor of the nave, suggesting that this was a cemetery church typical of the western half of the Mediterranean world. A fragmentary inscription retrieved during the excavations mentions St. Kodratos, a local martyr, to whom the church may have been dedicated. Further associations involve the fact that Kodratos' mother was also a martyr, and was possibly also buried here, while a chapel to the south of the church features seven tombs, possibly related to another cult involving seven local martyrs. As such, the chapel would have been a type of a martyrium. Between the chapel and the south aisle of the basilica was found a special room with benches and a hypocaust heating system below its floor, indicating that it may have been intended for special visitations to the martyrs' shrine.

In many ways related to the Kodratos Basilica was the much larger Kraneion Basilica, situated near the Kenchreian Gate, just within the city walls. Measuring 23.3 × 63.2 meters, this three-aisled piered basilica has been dated by its excavators to the fifth century.[126] Its nave entered from the narthex through a tribelon (triple arcade), the church clearly belonged to the local group of churches, despite the fact that the nave was subdivided from the aisles by piers rather than columns. This may be viewed as the beginning of a later general practice, when the increasing difficulty of obtaining columns may have caused a shift to piered arcades. Notwithstanding this indicator of qualitative decline, the building appears otherwise carefully planned and executed. Its aisles terminated at the sanctuary barrier in cruciform piers that separate what appears to have been a "tripartite transept," a characteristic reminder of the "Milanese connection" of much fifth-century ecclesiastical architecture in mainland Greece. Flanking the basilica along its exterior south and north walls



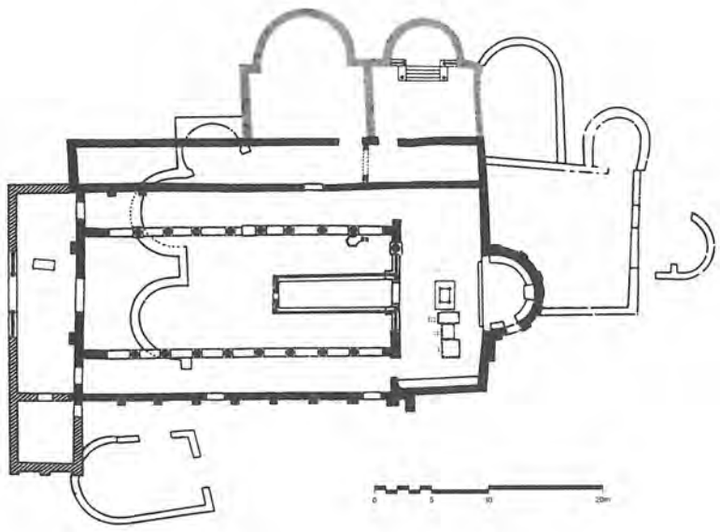
124 Corinth-Lechaion, H. Leonidas; plan

were rows of carefully planned subsidiary rooms. Most of these appear to have been built as private mausolea, a practice that also recalls Western connections. Here we should note the presence of a triconch mausoleum, larger than the rest, whose entrance was strategically placed just in front of a screen wall dividing the south aisle from the transept.

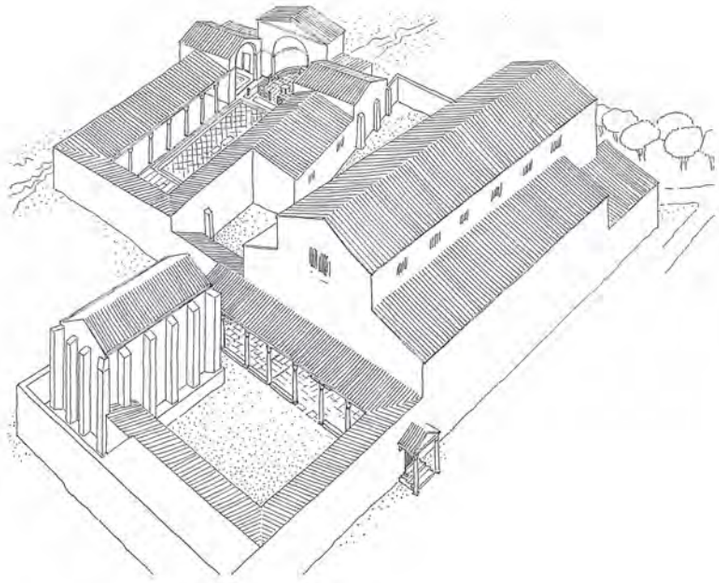
By far the largest, and the most impressive, of all Corinthian churches was the great basilica dedicated to Hagios Leonidas at Lechaion, Corinth's western port.[127] Measuring 115.55 meters in overall length, this three-aisled basilica is the longest-known early Christian basilica in the Balkans, exceeding the second basilica below the present Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (see p. 105) in length, if not in floor area (fig. 124). The church was preceded by two atria, and had a curious enclosure behind its eastern end. If all of these elements are taken into account, the complex would have had an incredible length of 223.7 meters. The giant church appears to have been built over several decades. Its main part is thought to have been constructed between 450 and 460 over the remains of an earlier church, while its completion may have occurred as late as the third decade of the sixth century. From the point of view of its overall design, the building is distinguished by its elongated proportions, its five-part transept, and a "crossing bay" that has been viewed as having been marked by a tower with a wooden roof.[128] While the western element is clearly present in the general architectural form of the building, its sculptural details were unmistakably linked to Constantinopolitan workshops. The presence of several different carving styles has been linked to different "sources of influence," while probably it should be thought of as the work of several groups of artisans, possibly employed simultaneously on this large project.

Salona

The capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, as we have seen (pp. 59–61), experienced the effects of Christianization early, in fact earlier than most other significant cities in the Balkans. In its cemeteries there arose several martyrial shrines that became foci of lay piety already in the course of the fourth century. We will explore the further development of two of these complexes that have been introduced already – those that grew around the martyr shrines of St. Domnius at Manastirine, and of St. Anastasius at the site of Marusinac. Both of these venerable

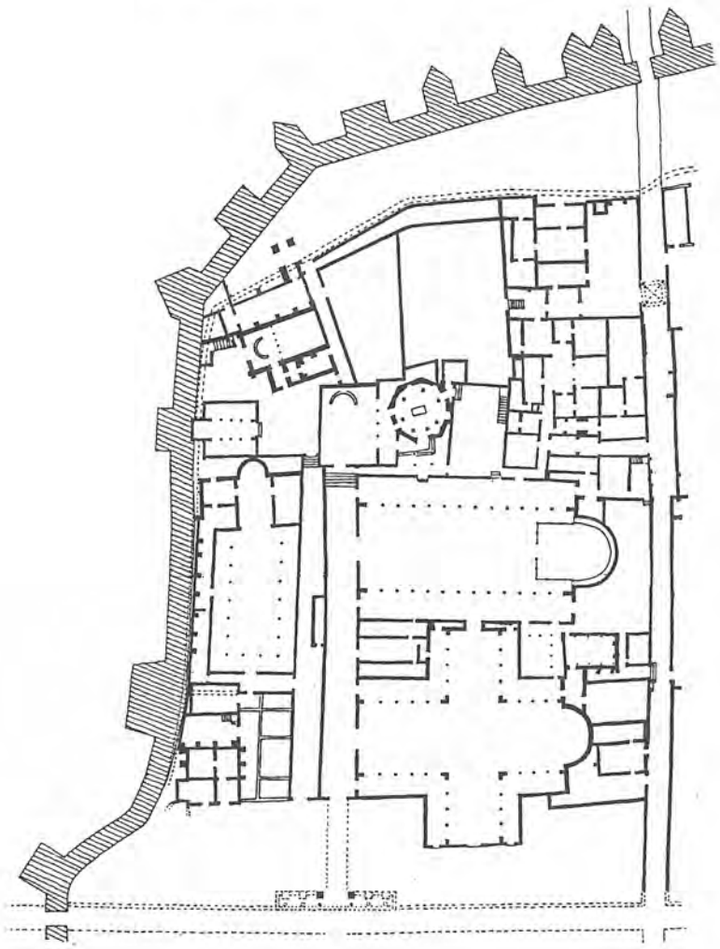


125 Salona, Manastirine, basilica; plan



126 Salona, Marusinac, complex; plan

127 Salona, Episcopal complex, plan



shrines appear to have suffered damage during the invasion of the Goths at the end of the fourth century. The complex of chapels and mausolea that arose around the shrine of St. Domnius at Manastirine was apparently completely destroyed, and above the ruins in the early fifth century rose a large cemetery basilica (fig. 125).[129] Three-aisled, the church featured a wide nave, and relatively narrow side aisles that terminated in a continuous transept with a semicircular apse at the east end of the building. The slightly irregular form of the transept appears to have followed closely the shape of the original shrine surrounding the saint's tomb. The new cemetery basilica thus became a miniature version of Old St. Peter's in Rome. The building continued to be modified, its narthex and the so-called *schola cantorum* added during the course of the sixth century. The situation at Marusinac was slightly different, though a large three-aisled cemetery basilica, dating from *circa* 426, also formed the centerpiece of that complex (fig. 126). The basilica was preceded by an irregular atrium that enclosed the Anastasius mausoleum on its north side. Thus, the basilica at Marusinac followed another Roman tradition: that of a cemetery basilica built *near* and not directly over a martyr's tomb. The conventional nature of the cemetery basilicas of Salona and their similarity to ordinary urban churches have been noted.[130] A disproportionate amount of attention has been given to the "martyrium precinct," also built *circa* 426 just to the north of the cemetery basilica of Marusinac. Its form, featuring a basilica-like layout focused on three mausolea grouped symmetrically, recalls the sanctuary of a

basilica with a preceding transept. When first analyzed, this ensemble was considered unique, and was given an unfortunate label, "basilica discoperta," by Dyggve.[131] This gave rise to considerable debate, which by now ought to be laid quietly aside. The complex is neither unique nor difficult to understand. Its colonnaded forecourt finds many parallels in the memorial architecture of the Balkans, and must be understood as a distinctly Christian adaptation of an urban form as a manner of emphasizing a ceremonial approach to a venerable site. We have noted such a use of a colonnaded approach within the complex of the octagonal church at Philippi (p. 117 and fig. 112). Another comparable precinct was uncovered just to the west of the episcopal churches built against the city wall in Salona (fig. 127), while others may be noted at Augusta Traiana. Clearly, our understanding of early Christian cemeterial architecture is just beginning to develop. The pace of progress will not be helped by arbitrary efforts at conventional classification. Invariably, such attempts in the past have led to much misguided effort with few constructive results.

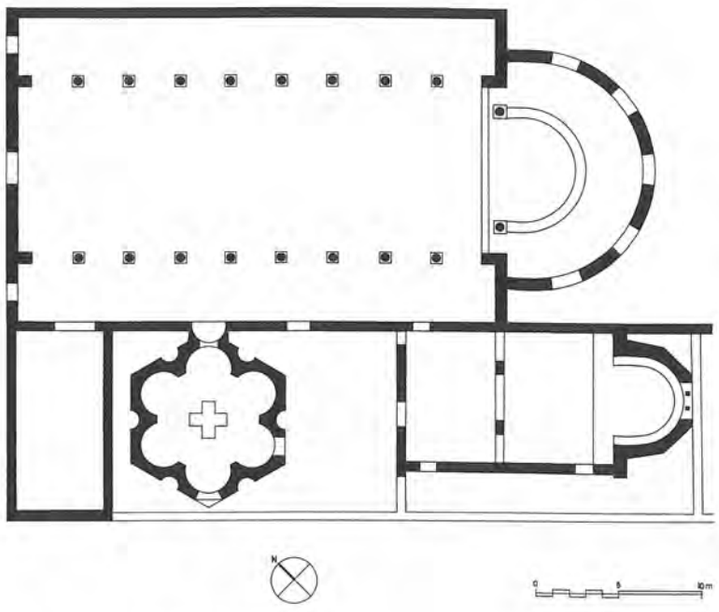
Among the fifth-century Salonitan churches we must also note the double basilicas forming the cathedral group, along with the adjacent baptistery to the north and the episcopal palace to the northeast (fig. 127).[132] The basilicas also belong to the early fifth-century rebuilding of Salona, following the Gothic raid already referred to. The phenomenon of building double churches as a cathedral group has a long history in the Adriatic region, as attested to by the cathedral of Aquileia (pp. 66–67). At Salona this involved two standard three-aisled basilicas of considerable dimensions, consistent with the size of the city, which at this time was one of the three or four largest cities in the Balkans. In the years 530–33 the southern of the two basilicas was replaced by a large cruciform church. The northern basilica was the actual cathedral church, directly linked to the baptistery, itself rebuilt, several times, and to the episcopal residence. The physical links between the baptistery, the bishop's palace, and the north basilica were given particular attention, possibly in the sixth century. These reveal a distinctive ceremonial formalism, which we have also noted in several other fifth-century complexes.[133]

Other Urban Centers

In addition to the seven major Balkan cities already discussed, there are a number of others that could be analyzed at some length. Recent years have witnessed the intensification of comprehensive archaeological research at urban settlements in several areas of the Balkans. All along, historians have been at the forefront of urban-related research, though certain areas, previously generally ignored, have attracted their attention only lately.[134] For our purposes we will make a brief note of the following urban centers that have been attracting the attention of both historians and archaeologists for some time: Iadera (Zadar), Bouthroton (Butrint), Nikopolis (in Epiros), Phthiotic Thebes (modern Nea Anchialos), Amphipolis, Dion, Herakleia Lynkestis (near modern Bitola), Diocletianopolis (modern Hissar), and Tropaeum Traiani (modern Adamclisi).

IADERA

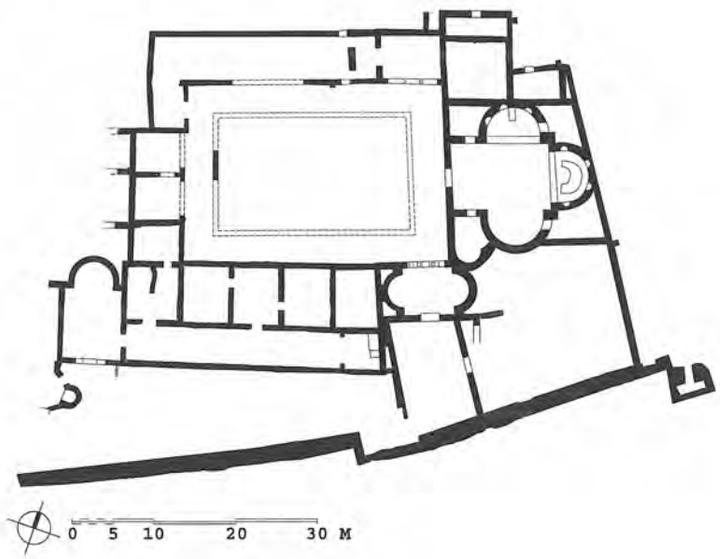
Several centers dating from the fifth century along the coast of Dalmatia provide clear evidence of Christian presence. Besides the provincial capital, Salona, the city of Iadera (modern Zadar), Croatia, was the most prominent late antique urban center. Building and sculptural remains reveal Iadera as a major Roman center already during the first century AD. Its regularly laid-out grid plan was dominated in the center by an impressive, marble-paved forum, measuring nearly 50 × 100 meters. The inroads made by Christianity affected Iadera relatively early. Already by *circa* 400, in what must have been one of the earliest instances of such Christian successes, a Christian house of worship was inserted into three contiguous *tabernae* (shops) overlooking the forum itself. This was followed within the next few decades by major construction in the area, resulting in the creation of a large episcopal center. While the original house of worship now became a subsidiary chapel or *ketechoumenion* (present-day sacristy), a large new basilica was built abutting it on the north side. By the time the complex was finished – including a diaconicon, the baptistery, and the bishop's palace – part of the former public space of the forum had been taken over by the new Christian buildings. The cathedral, a relatively large basilica, measuring 20 × 39.5 meters in plan, dominated the new complex (fig. 128). Destroyed and rebuilt subsequently on at least three occasions, the fifth-century basilica has essentially disappeared. Its fragmentary remains, discovered during the extensive archaeological investigations carried out in the building during the 1980s, have facilitated its general hypothetical reconstruction.[135] The church was a three-aisled basilica with an exceptionally wide nave (nearly three times as wide as each of the side aisles) that terminated in an unusual apse, much wider than the nave but not as wide as the basilica itself. The semicircular apse, its overall diameter 14.5 meters, featured a concentrically situated sanctuary area defined by a semicircular bench (6.5 m in diameter). Behind this bench ran an ambulatory, 3 meters wide, circumventing the entire apse and amply illuminated by five large windows. The remains of this ambulatory with its fifth-century floor mosaics were discovered below the presbytery of the medieval cathedral. The arrangement is quite unusual, but was evidently common within the town of Zadar and in the area under its immediate



128 Iadera, Cathedral complex; plan

influence.[136] The conceptual arrangement of the apse, allowing for the circumambulation of the sanctuary proper, appears to anticipate later medieval developments, where such an arrangement grew out of the need to accommodate the traffic of pilgrims. Here, the arrangement had no such function; the apse ambulatory, in fact, is not connected to the side aisles at all. Formally, the arrangement recalls some of the early cemetery churches in Rome, but it differs from them also because of the discontinuity between the ambulatory and the side aisles.

129 Buthrintos, "Triconch Palace"; plan



While the locus of the episcopal center remained in the same position, its components and their functions did change considerably over time. The baptistery of the cathedral of Iadera was situated roughly at the midpoint of its south flank. It alone survived the extensive remodeling of the cathedral in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and remained in place until its unfortunate destruction in the Second World War.[137] Hexagonal in plan, it was an impressive building, measuring 15 meters externally and with an interior dome span of 8.5 meters. Its six semicircular exedrae were contained within a wall mass externally defined by a hexagon whose corners coincided with the apexes of the six interior exedrae. The thick wall mass was reduced by cutting two small semicircular niches into the exterior wall between two adjacent exedrae. This sophisticated design approach recalls the work of the Renaissance architect Filippo Brunelleschi at Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, who could have known the baptistery of Iadera. Hexagonal baptisteries were not generally common, but at least two others are known from the late antique Balkans. The earlier of the two, the baptistery of the first cathedral of Thessaloniki, probably dating from *circa* 400, was discussed above (p. 105 and fig. 98). The other is a recently discovered baptistery at Sliven, Bulgaria, datable according to the excavators to the first decades of the sixth century.[138] This evidence, combined with the presence of other domed hexagonal structures in the fifth-century architecture of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Philippopolis, suggests that the type may have been at home in the Balkans, as rare as it appears to have been elsewhere.[139] Of particular relevance is the comparison with the fifth-century cathedral of Thessaloniki with its hexagonal baptistery. Not only are the two baptisteries typologically closely related, but also their relative position – at the midpoint of the south flank of the two cathedral churches – is identical.

BUTHRINTOS

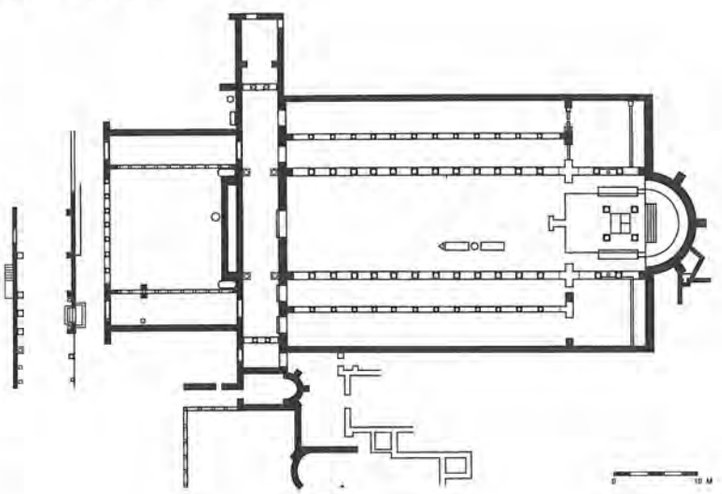
Buthrintos or Bouthroton (Butrint), Albania, was a city of some strategic significance through much of its long history. Situated at the end of the Vivari Channel that connects the Straits of Corfu in the Ionian Sea with Lake Butrint, the city itself lies approximately 2 kilometers from the seashore. Fortified already in antiquity, Butrint continued to play an important role in Early Byzantine times. Excavations conducted there in the 1930s and again in the 1990s uncovered several important buildings and, through the illumination of their individual building histories, have begun shedding light on the urban history of Butrint itself.[140] Despite major archaeological advances, the sense of an urban entity is still lacking. Furthermore, our knowledge about Christianity at Butrint prior to the sixth century is meager.

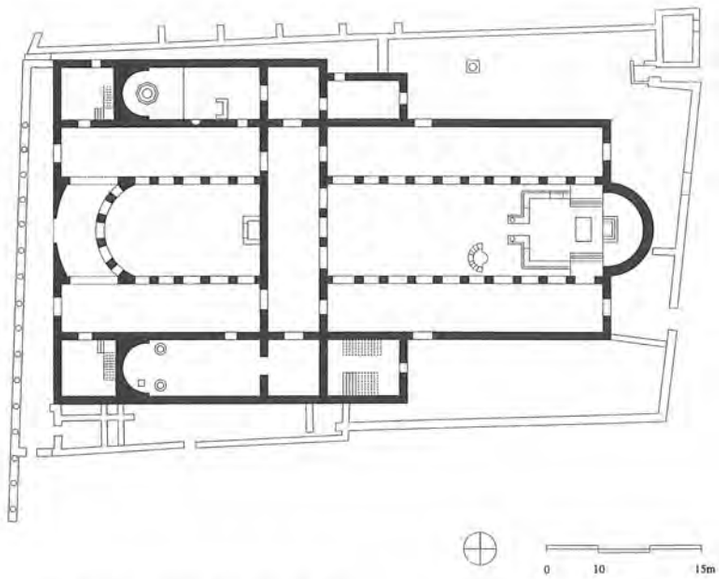
The individual public buildings, such as the theater, all date from earlier periods. The only building of significance that has emerged in some detail is the so-called Triconch Palace. Misidentified as a martyrium by the early excavators, this was clearly an upper-class residential complex, as demonstrated by the most recent excavations.[141] The "Triconch Palace" evolved in its final, monumental form in the course of the fifth century from what the excavators interpret as a large fourth-century urban *domus*. Measuring 50 × 70 meters in its final extent, the Triconch Palace included a large peristyle court (part of the earlier *domus*) and a triconch hall (22 × 18 m) at its east end, as well as many other subsidiary rooms and corridors (fig. 129). The triconch hall, the main part a rectangular space (8 × 17 m), had three semicircular apses. The corner spaces between the apses were occupied by four small, irregularly shaped subsidiary rooms, clearly functionally related to the main space. We have encountered such an arrangement in earlier examples of secular architecture, on the basis of which we can assume that what must have been a form of normative planning in the fifth century was followed here closely. Because no decorative features, either on the floor or on the walls of this hall, were discovered, it is assumed that the building may never have been completed according to the original owner's expectations. By the mid-sixth century the complex was abandoned, its ruinous remains used for burials and as rubbish dumps.

NIKOPOLIS

Founded after the Battle of Actium in 30 BC, Nikopolis (the "City of Victory") in Epiros, Greece, reached its apogee in Roman imperial times, and subsequently underwent gradual decline.[142] Efforts by emperors, such as Julian in 362, did little to reverse the trend. Suffering devastation during a Vandal raid in 474–75, the city's fortunes improved subsequently. Its walls were rebuilt, enclosing a much smaller area than in Roman times. Even so, the Early Byzantine city had a floor area of 18 hectares. The construction of new city walls may have happened already under Emperor Zeno (474–91), though major repairs may have occurred under Justinian I, apparently after another serious attack, this time by the Ostrogoths in 551. Featuring square and semi-cylindrical towers, the city walls of Nikopolis resemble those of Constantinople in design and building technique, despite the fact that they postdate them by nearly eight decades.[143] So far five large basilican churches have come to light through archaeological excavations. The largest of these – Basilica B – is evidently the oldest, and appears to have set a design standard that was adhered to in the construction of other churches over the following century and a half (fig. 130). The five-aisled basilica, associated with the patronage of a bishop called Alkison, was fairly large, measuring 32 × 57 meters in plan. Preceded by an atrium measuring 25 × 21 meters, the church is not entered axially. The entire west wall of the atrium court is occupied by a fountain, an arrangement comparable to examples we have seen in other locations (Thessaloniki, Philippi, Athens). At the east end of the basilica was a wide transept subdivided into three by means of columnar screens aligned with the nave colonnades. Thus a tripartite transept was created, whose arrangement recalls Western church planning. Links with Milan were correctly rejected by Pallas, but ties with Rome, through jurisdictional channels, make this comparison explicable. The arrangement of the sanctuary of Basilica B also reveals idiosyncrasies that recur in other basilicas built in Nikopolis during the following century or so. The large round apse, buttressed externally by three radially placed spurs, was provided with a single round bench atop a raised platform made accessible by a short flight of stairs from the altar area. The sanctuary filled almost the entire central part of the tripartite transept. Separated from the surrounding area by low parapets, it contained a pair of straight steps for seating in the eastern half of the north and south sides of the enclosure. These were used by clergy participating in the liturgy, in much the same way as the synthronon arrangement in Constantinople and areas under its sway. The altar stood directly on axis, in the middle of the space separating the two tiers of seats. Other churches in Nikopolis were all built in the sixth century. Notwithstanding their differences in scale and in the quality of their architectural sculpture and mosaics, these basilicas show remarkably close adherence to the design principles established by Basilica B.

130 Nikopolis, Basilica B; plan



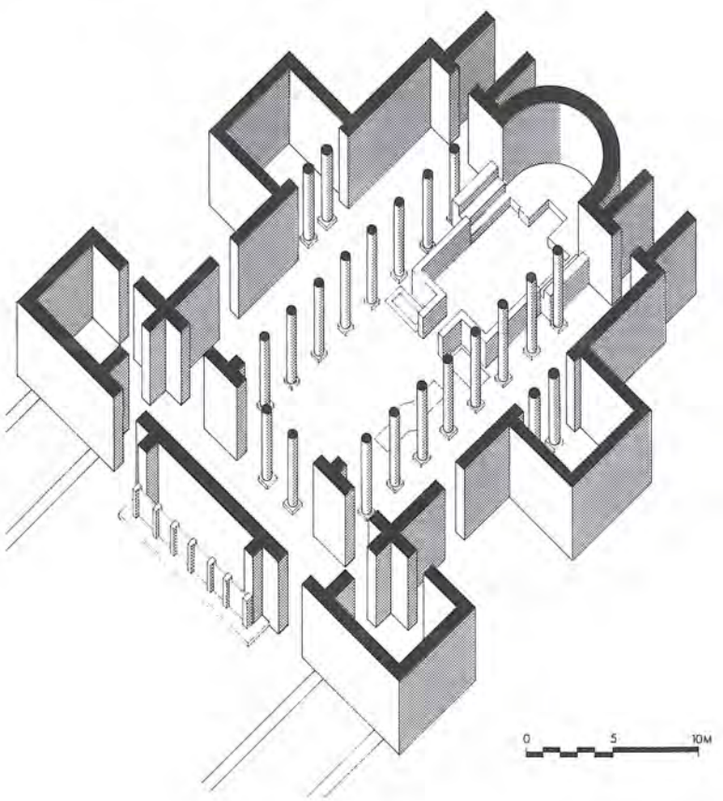


131 Phthiotic Thebes, Basilica A; plan

PHTHIOTIC THEBES

The late antique Phthiotic Thebes (modern Nea Anchialos in Thessaly, Greece) was a relatively small city with an area of roughly 1.75 hectares within its fortified enclosure.[144] In its fifth- and sixth-century stages of development, it displays the dramatic effects of Christianization on its older urban scheme. Its orderly grid of streets and city blocks was cut across by a seemingly arbitrary line of late fortification walls, its churches and other related buildings visibly laid out without regard for the older street pattern. Everything seems to suggest an urban situation of shrinking fortunes and a drastically reduced population. Even so, within a relatively small fortified area, seven basilicas, three of them quite large, have come to light, and another two just outside the city walls. The largest of the churches is the so-called Basilica C, associated with a bishop by the name of Peter.[145] Its overall dimensions are impressive – 25.6 meters in width and 78.3 meters in length – as are the preserved aspects of its decoration: floor mosaics, marble capitals, pieces of church furniture, and numerous small finds. The church, the third on the site, has been dated by Pallas to the reign of Anastasios I (491–518). Much of the work in this phase constituted a remodeling of the building as initially built, probably around the middle of the fifth century. The plan of Basilica A, probably dedicated to St. Demetrius, displays an unusual layout of its atrium and the surrounding rooms (fig. 131). Rigidly symmetrical, the atrium has three covered porticoes. The westernmost of these is curved, and it faces a font attached to the solid exterior wall of the narthex. The church is thus entered only through the side aisles, which were separated from the nave by raised stylobates, indicating a liturgical separation of the congregation from the clergy, also noted in Thessaloniki, but not in Constantinople.[146] The narthex of the church is as wide as the atrium. Beyond its walls project two square rooms that communicate directly with it. A similar pair of rooms, aligned with the exterior atrium wall, was accessible from the western part of the atrium. Between these square rooms, along the northern and southern flanks of the atrium, were situated two apsidal rooms, their apses facing west. The northern of these contained a font and was clearly a baptistery; the southern was most probably a diaconicon, where gifts brought by the congregation were received. The highly orderly general planning scheme reveals a new attitude toward design. The various subsidiary rooms no longer appear arbitrarily abutted against the building flanks; they are now subordinated to a rigorous planning scheme, which suggests integral planning of the basilica along with all of its subsidiary components. Because of these planning characteristics, it would be important to know the exact date of Basilica A, though, unfortunately, no firm date exists. The church is commonly dated to the last quarter of the fifth century. It may be noted in passing that church planning involving the symmetrical ordering of subsidiary chambers around the building core makes its appearance during the later fifth century, as the example of the church of the Theotokos on Mount.Garizim, dated precisely to 484, illus-

132 Phthiotic Thebes, Basilica D; axonometric

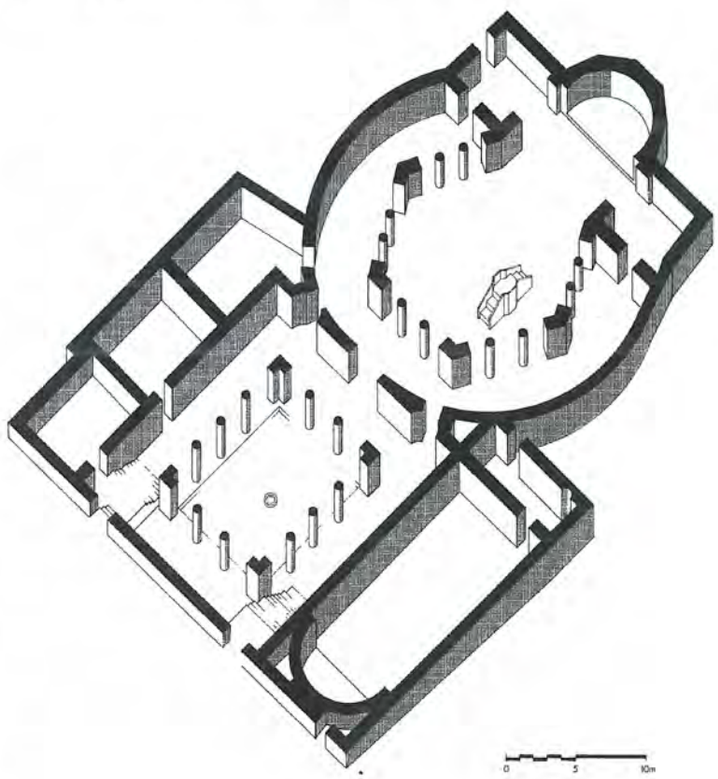


trates.[147] A comparable sense of deliberate integral planning characterizes also the cemetery church known as Basilica D, situated outside the walls of Phthiotic Thebes (fig. 132). Here a three-aisled basilica again terminates in a semicircular apse, and is approached through an atrium whose east wall (at the same time the west wall of the narthex) is given over to a large fountain, thus preempting an axial entry into the church. The narthex and the church are flanked by a series of squarish rooms symmetrically disposed around the main axis. Particularly noteworthy are the two rooms situated roughly at the midpoint of the aisles opening to the interior of the building through columnar screens. Identified as "low transepts," these chambers held tombs of some distinction and clearly played a significant role in the extra-liturgical functions of this cemetery basilica. The same appears to have been the case with the two additional funereal chambers symmetrically flanking the main apse. These two chambers relate to a pair of doors in the eastern wall of the building that in many urban basilicas would have been used as additional entrances probably related to certain liturgical functions. This, for example, was the case in Basilica A discussed above. At the same time, we must note that Basilica D, despite its extramural location and its funereal functions, was fully equipped for liturgical services. Its eastern end, in addition to an altar in the usual position, had flanking tiers of seats for the clergy. The spacious sanctuary enclosure projected deeply into the nave, while a large ambo occupied the common position to the south and in front of the entrance into the bema.

AMPHIPOLIS

Among the late antique cities of Macedonia, Amphipolis, Greece, is a type of an anomaly. The city was founded in the fifth century BC as an Athenian colony. Despite the fact that it continued to live and grow under the Romans, and subsequently within the framework of the Christianized Roman Empire, next to nothing is known about its urban history or fabric.[148] Both the historical sources and the archaeological results have thus far remained mute on the subject. On the other hand, despite such a dearth of general information about the city, archaeology has yielded the remains of as many as five churches with remarkable floor mosaics and architectural sculpture. These finds suggest that the city must have had a considerable population, and that it was relatively prosperous during the fifth century, when most of these buildings were built and decorated. Four of the five excavated churches are standard three-aisled basilicas with internally and externally semicircular apses. The fifth, dated to *circa* 500, is the so-called Centralized Church, which clearly belongs to a class of its own (fig. 133). Measuring only 27 meters in length and 24 meters in overall width, it falls into the category of medium-sized churches. Its main architectural characteristics are its hexagonal central space with a span of 12.5 meters, contained within the circular outer wall of an ambulatory. The central core is separated from the ambulatory by a system of angled brick piers and intervening pairs of columns, except on the east side, where the central space extends directly into the sanctuary proper, terminating in a projecting apse. The church also had a gallery, whose plan must have repeated the essential characteristics of the ground plan. At the eastern extremities of the ambulatory, and adjacent to the sanctuary, we find two nearly square chambers. These communicated with the ambulatory through small doors. By virtue of their location and functional isolation, they recall the later so-called pastophories, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. The excavators have wisely avoided the use of this term, but have ascribed an equally problematic name – *mutatorium* – to the northern of the two rooms. Unfortunately, little can be said about their actual function. Architecturally, however, they are significant for two reasons. First, as was the case with Basilica A and Basilica D at Phthiotic Thebes, this church illustrates a tendency toward orderly planning, the building being laid out axially, with various components, or groups of components, planned in a roughly symmetrical fashion. Second, the eastern end of the building illustrates the disappearance of exterior doors in the eastern wall of the church, sug-

133 Amphipolis, Centralized Church; axonometric



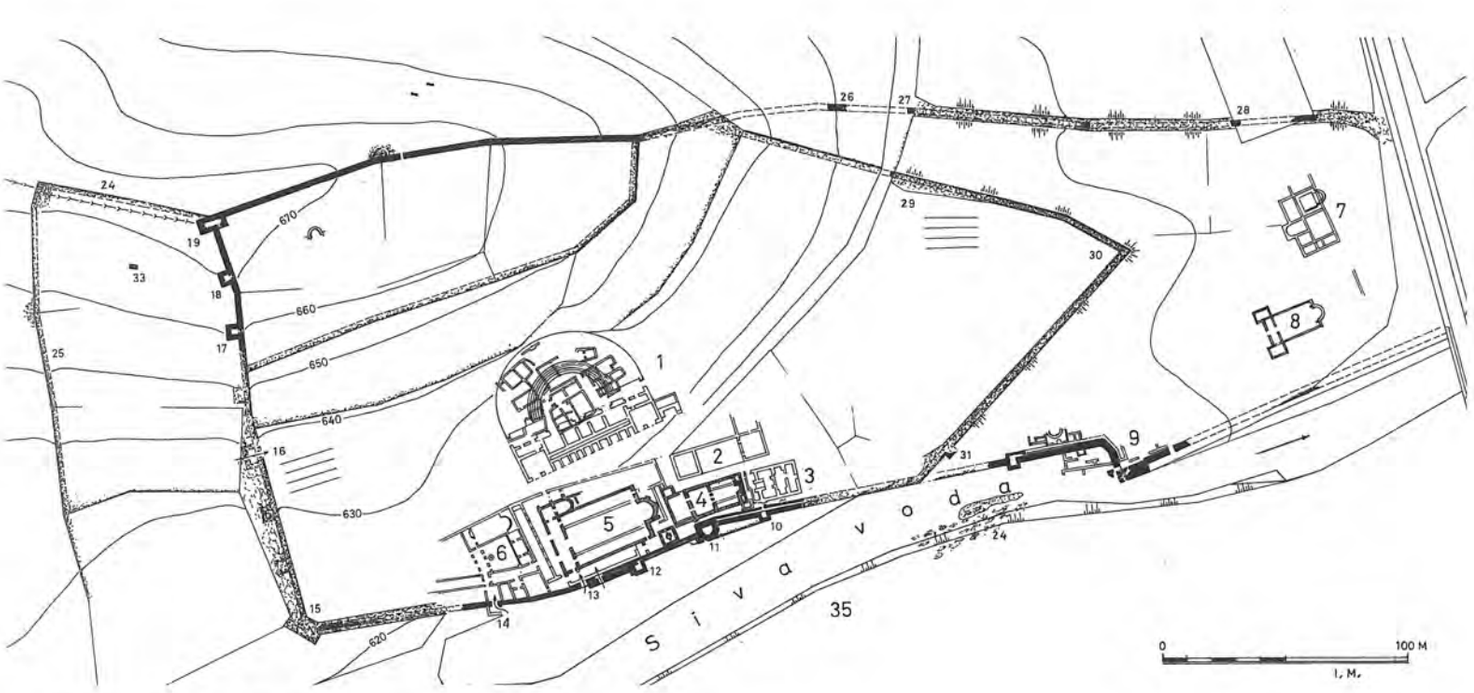
gesting that, liturgically speaking, such a planning arrangement was no longer mandatory. Both of these characteristics, along with the spatial solution involving a core and an ambulatory interacting through columnar screens on two levels, lavish floor decoration, and marble wall facing, indicate the beginnings of a type of architecture that came into full fashion during the reign of Justinian I (527–65).

DION

Fifth-century prosperity is evident in several other cities in the provinces of Macedonia and Macedonia Secunda, among them Dion and Herakleia Lynkestis. Both can trace their history back to the period of the Macedonian kingdom. Dion's archaeological finds have confirmed its importance during the Macedonian era.[149] At the same time, archaeology has also revealed a period of unsuspected prosperity during the late antique period. Large private residences, public facilities, and churches reveal that Dion enjoyed considerable prosperity during the fourth and especially the fifth centuries. A large dodecagonal building situated at the intersection of the principal avenues excavated in the 1990s has not yet been published. Measuring at least 15 meters in span, with an ambulatory approximately 5 meters wide, the building had a central core separated from the ambulatory by freestanding columns in a manner comparable to that seen in the octagonal church at Philippi. The building was entered through a double-apsed vestibule on the south and a sigma forecourt on the east side. In all respects, this architecture appears to belong to the fifth century. There is no indication, however, that it was built as a church, nor that it was converted into one. Its monumental character, therefore, signals two things. First, considerable attention was still being given to urban amenities other than those that were strictly ecclesiastical in nature, and second, the architectural characteristics of such public architecture had many features in common with ecclesiastical architecture of this period. The all-too-common tendency among architectural historians to view the ecclesiastical and the secular architectural domains as distinct and separate is not only a mistake, but it has also led to many serious misconceptions and misinterpretations. These must be consciously overcome, if clearer notions about the architecture of the period are to be developed. We must be reminded that in the course of the fifth century the status of the Church as an inseparable partner of the state in the Eastern Empire was fully consolidated and that Church authorities were as engaged in building secular buildings as they were in the building of churches. The reverse argument also holds true for high-ranking state officials. In this context, the publication of the dodecagonal building at Dion will constitute a major contribution to our growing and changing knowledge about late antique architecture in general. Moreover, this building will add significantly to the growing perception of the Balkans as having been a major stage of architectural activity in the late antique world. Before concluding our remarks about Dion, we should also add a few observations about Basilica B, situated just to the north of the dodecagonal building. In its original form, the church was dated to the fourth, or the first half of the fifth century.[150] Its initial layout indicates that it was planned without regard to the preexisting orthogonal system of streets. The church was a three-aisled basilica with a narthex, extended southward to include a triconch baptistery. At some later point, possibly around the year 500, the original basilica was destroyed and replaced by a new one, whose floor was raised 2.5 meters above the original floor. The new building was extended eastward by approximately 5 meters. A new apse was constructed, while the space prolongation in front of the apse became a new sanctuary, flanked, as in the case of Basilica D at Amphipolis, by two symmetrical subsidiary chambers. The reconstruction of the church also involved major structural changes resulting in the building being vaulted, as opposed to covered by a timber roof, as was the case during its earlier incarnation.[151] The vaulting was supported on pairs of massive piers (2 × 3 m in plan) protruding into and dividing the nave into four equal bays. Such structural transformations of damaged or destroyed churches, involving the introduction of piers instead of columns and vaulting in place of lighter, timber roofing, have been noted as a widespread phenomenon throughout the Byzantine world from around the turn of the sixth century.[152] In its reconstructed form, Basilica B was preceded by an irregular atrium whose location more closely respected the original layout of streets and, therefore, deviated from the axis of the church. The complex was entered through a monumental door that led into the south atrium portico. Against the west side of the atrium was a group of rectangular rooms, constituting the baptistery. The central room accommodated the font, while the other two rooms must have served related functions, connected as they were, through doors, to the central room. Judging by the scope of these interventions, and by the fact that the town acquired another sizable basilica just outside the city walls, most likely in the sixth century, Dion must have enjoyed relative economic prosperity during this period.

HERAKLEIA LYNKESTIS

Much more exposed to danger, and more directly affected by barbarian invasions, was Herakleia Lynkestis (near modern Bitola, FYROM), one of the northernmost of the cities to survive through the fifth century. Strategically situated between the fertile Pelagonian plain and the region of Lynkestae, Herakleia



134 Herakleia Lynkestis, City plan

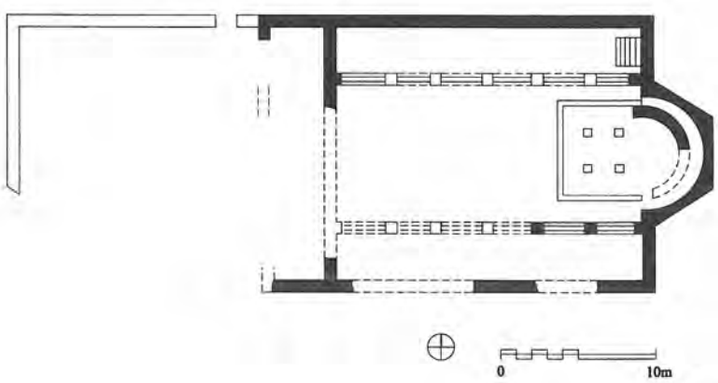
was founded by Philip II of Macedon (*reg* 359–336 BC). Like Dion, Herakleia had its period of late antique flowering, which began around the middle of the fourth century, when the city became an episcopal see.[153] It appears to have undergone a complete rebuilding following a disaster around 300. Shrunken in size and measuring 8 hectares in area, it was enclosed within a new circuit of walls at that time (fig. 134). The extent of destruction suffered by the ancient city around 300 apparently facilitated a much quicker pace in Christianization than in most other Balkan cities we have discussed. Thus, unlike what we have encountered elsewhere, the city's first Episcopal Basilica, as built around the middle of the fourth century, was apparently constructed on the site of an urban basilica next to the ancient forum. A comparable development in Corinth, we will recall, did not take place before *circa* 400. A second-century portico, featuring a series of statues of local public officials and pagan religious figures, was also remodeled around that time. A series of mud-brick walls were also erected as partitions, while a marble statue of a high priest ended face-down as building material within the foundations of one of these walls. The three-aisled basilica was of moderate dimensions, measuring 16 × 34 meters. Immediately behind it to the east, and just south of the portico, lay a second church, the so-called Small Basilica. The exact relationship between these two churches, and the two baptisteries that have also been discovered, as well as the relationship to what appears to have been the episcopal palace to the west of the main church, is too complex to be discussed here in any detail. The matter is further complicated by the fact that both churches underwent extensive remodeling over the course of the following two hundred years, each church receiving splendid new mosaic pavements, for which Herakleia has rightly been noted.

DIOCLETIANOPOLIS

Among the cities of the fifth-century province of Thrace, one of the most prosperous was present-day Hissar (Bulgaria), tentatively identified as the ancient Diocletianopolis.[154] Though as yet inadequately explored, it is nonetheless abundantly clear that this was a major Christian stronghold, with as many as eleven churches known as having been built in and around the city between the fourth century and the sixth. This fact coincides with the written evidence that identifies Diocletianopolis as an important episcopal center, especially during the fifth century. Although initially built as a Roman resort around natural mineral water springs, in time it became an important military stronghold. This is reflected in its massive fortification walls with forty-four towers, initially built around 300, but repaired and reinforced on several subsequent occasions. Substantial remains of these city walls, 3.6 meters thick and in places 12 meters high, survive. The enclosed urban area covered approximately 30 hectares. Limited archaeological excavations have brought to

light the remains of an amphitheater, two large private residences, and a long row of military barracks that were built against the southern stretch of the city wall. Most of the church buildings that have been identified thus far were situated outside the fortified enclosure, several of them clearly associated with cemeteries. Some of these are deserving of our attention, among them especially Church 3, situated just over 100 meters south of the main southern city gate (fig. 135). On account of its very distinct proportions, size, and character, this three-aisled basilica with an atrium has been correctly related to the Studios basilica in Constantinople. What seems less certain is that this building, as has been postulated, actually had two fifth-century building phases. Its three-sided apse was discovered to rest on a semicircular construction that has been interpreted as evidence for an earlier building phase. Without more detailed archaeological information and without broader knowledge of general building practices it may not be possible to form a correct judgment. Yet it appears at least plausible that the lower circular form may constitute a foundation wall upon which the exact form of the rising wall of the apse was built. Church 4, situated some 100 meters north of the northeastern corner tower, clearly did have two building phases. In fact, the older of the two was a much smaller three-aisled basilica, dated to the late fourth or early fifth century. It was replaced by a larger three-aisled basilica with a transept and an externally three-sided apse, which is dated to the second half of the fifth century, or the early sixth. Measuring roughly 18 meters × 38 meters (transept 26 m), this was a sizable church whose layout recalls some of the basilicas of mainland Greece. Such similarities bring into question certain general conclusions regarding the liturgical planning of churches based on ecclesiastic jurisdictional affiliations. Further problems regarding the extremely rich material from Diocletianopolis arise from the fact that the dating of its monuments is extremely tenuous. Because of the large number of churches that have been uncovered, scholars have resorted to a "logical" – and potentially thoroughly misleading – method of dating involving a relative chronology on the basis of typological or other changes known from elsewhere. Thus, for example, a sixth-century date for Church 6, a three-aisled basilica with two rectangular chambers flanking its sanctuary, has been deemed "appropriate," while Church 9, a cemetery basilica with two squarish chambers with small apses flanking the sanctuary, is said to be "obviously sixth-century."[155] At the same time, the fact that the two basilicas had externally rounded apses, presumably superseded by three-sided or polygonal ones after the second half of the fifth century, has been ignored in the same context. These brief comments are merely intended to alert us to the need to exercise extreme caution in drawing certain types of general conclusions on the basis of the abundant, but imprecisely evaluated evidence at our disposal. Such caution notwithstanding, the quantity and size of buildings built in Diocletianopolos during the first two centuries of Christianity bespeaks the role played by the organized Church in this central Balkan locale.

135 Diocletianopolis, Church 3; plan



TROPAEUM TRAIANI

A comparable phenomenon may be observed as far north as Tropaeum Traiani (now Adamclisi, in the Romanian province of Dobruja). The Roman town, as rebuilt by Constantine I in 316, included, as we have seen, a church, possibly the cathedral, built close to the city walls (see pp. 49–50). Thus Christianity may have been given a head start in this peripheral settlement. Even so, it was not until the fifth century, as was the case in so many other urban centers, that the proliferation of churches began to occur. By the sixth century, when the estimated population of Tropaeum Traiani numbered 5,000, the city boasted five churches, four of them within the city walls and all of them of considerable size.[156] With the exception of the older cathedral, three of the newer churches were located very prominently, along the Via Principalis. Two of them, in fact, occupied the most important locations in the city, near the civic basilica that had been built under Constantine I. Both of these churches share many characteristics with the ones at Diocletianopolis that we have just discussed. One of them, the so-called Byzantine Basilica, is a three-aisled church with a transept and a crypt. The presence of the transept in this northeasternmost corner of the Balkan peninsula illustrates the spread of certain planning characteristics. These may have been the result of such factors as commercial ties and the mobility of artisans, rather than a reflection of ecclesiastical jurisdictional ties, as has so often been assumed.

* * *

Our discussion of several Balkan urban centers during the fifth century has shown quite clearly that urban life continued despite the unfavorable odds. Whether dealing with questions of direct urban survival, complete renewal, or, as was the case in some instances, new growth, this new urbanism bore the unmistakable imprint of Christianity. The Church as an institution emerged as a paramount power during this period, challenging at times, albeit mostly indirectly, the authority of the state. The state, as we have seen, faced the unending and exhausting task of containing barbarian invaders. Increasingly, in the course of the fifth century, direct confrontations were avoided and various compromise solutions were sought. Judging by the geographic spread of cities that continued to prosper during the fifth century, it is abundantly clear that the central part of the peninsula was de facto abandoned to the barbarians. Without officially recognizing this, the state was pulling back its borders to the south and east, though the exact positions of these could not and were not maintained. Such an attitude of the central government must have had a devastating effect on the morale of the general population. Seeking guarantees for their safety and well-being, people were increasingly driven away from the state, and compelled to look for alternatives elsewhere. The Church, as the only other powerful institution, became more and more involved in civic affairs, where the weaknesses of the state were most acutely felt. Occasional incidents, recorded by contemporary writers, bespeak these conditions eloquently. One of these, recorded by one Malchus, whose writings are preserved only in fragments, describes one of the many Germanic raids that in this case occurred in 479, under Theodoric the Amal, who led his troops on Thessaloniki. Having set an effective siege of the city, rumors – whether founded or not – began circulating within it, suggesting that Emperor Zeno (474–91) and his urban prefect had decided to hand the city over to Theodoric. Frightened and enraged, the citizens of Thessaloniki went on a rampage, toppling the emperor's statues, torching the prefect's palace, and threatening to lynch the prefect himself. The matter was resolved by the archbishop, who took the reins of power into his own hands, subjecting the prefect to his authority.[157] Urban and architectural developments of the fifth century, as we have seen, in the clearest possible terms reflect these realities. The growing influence of the Church on the urban scene could be gauged first and foremost by the number and size of church buildings that were being built. Equally important was the pattern of dislocation of the previous occupants of the new properties acquired by the Church. Baths and various other public amenities appear to have been the prime targets. Pagan and other non-Christian properties were also high on the list of potential candidates for expropriation. Private residences likewise, by a variety of means, passed into the hands of the Church as church building within urban areas gathered pace. The previous patterns of peripheral building predicated on the desired proximity of churches to hallowed places – tombs of martyrs, cemeteries, etc. – gave way to a more centripetal force, facilitated by the changing attitudes toward relics and toward the dead in general. The virtually universal ancient custom of prohibiting burials within the city limits came to an end around 400. Although the shift to the new custom was not nearly as dramatic, or as quick, as it may seem, its effects were direct and permanent. Relics themselves, treated as the most treasured possessions, continued to gain importance as stories of their miracles spread. Ultimately, the Church, which wittingly or unwittingly took upon itself the role of the protector of people, increasingly became dependent on the promotion of the miraculous activities of the saints for its own benefit. Access to relics became a paramount planning issue, as new church architecture, responding to the increasingly more complex programs, began to evolve.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Having dealt with the urban context of fifth-century architecture in the Balkans, our attention will next turn to various architectural themes, particularly related to fortified and ecclesiastical architecture. A number of other architectural issues, both isolated and general, have already been touched upon in our extensive discussion of individual Balkan cities. Our aim here will be to highlight only those additional themes that stand out as having had a particular impact on the development of architecture in the course of the fifth century.

Fortified Residential and Ecclesiastical Complexes

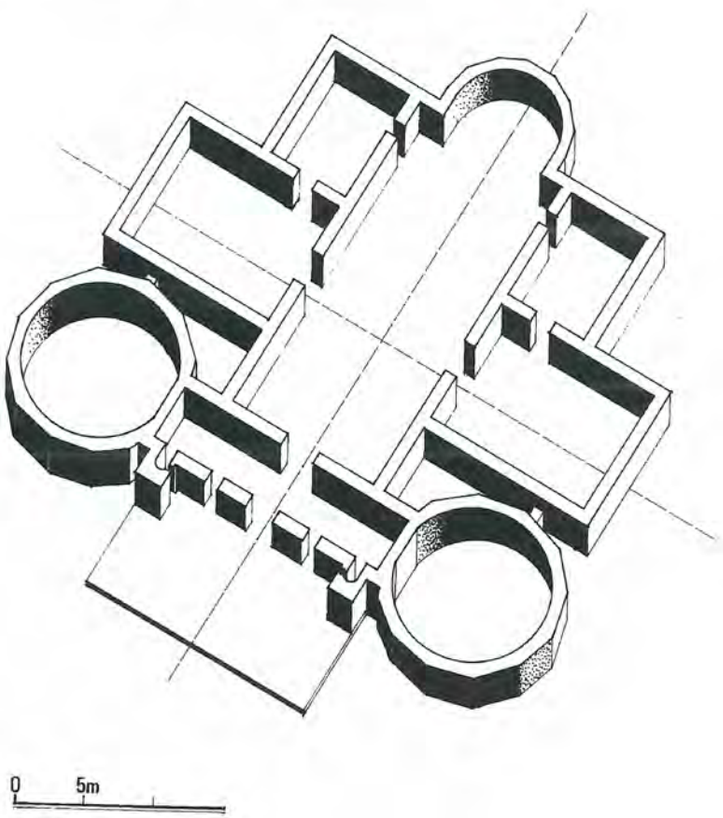
A distinctive category of buildings combining military with other functions made its appearance during the fifth century. This phenomenon is best understood in the context of the changing policies of the state vis-à-vis the barbarian invasions. Unwilling, or unable, to stem the tide, the empire abandoned its general program of territorial defenses. Instead, responsibility in matters pertaining to security and protection increasingly passed into private hands. Thus, characteristic forms of fortification architecture quite commonly began to appear in conjunction with residential, ecclesiastical, and monastic buildings, while fortification architecture in its own right underwent a

major decline. At times, these forms had a distinctly symbolic significance, but most often they were built with strictly military intent in mind.

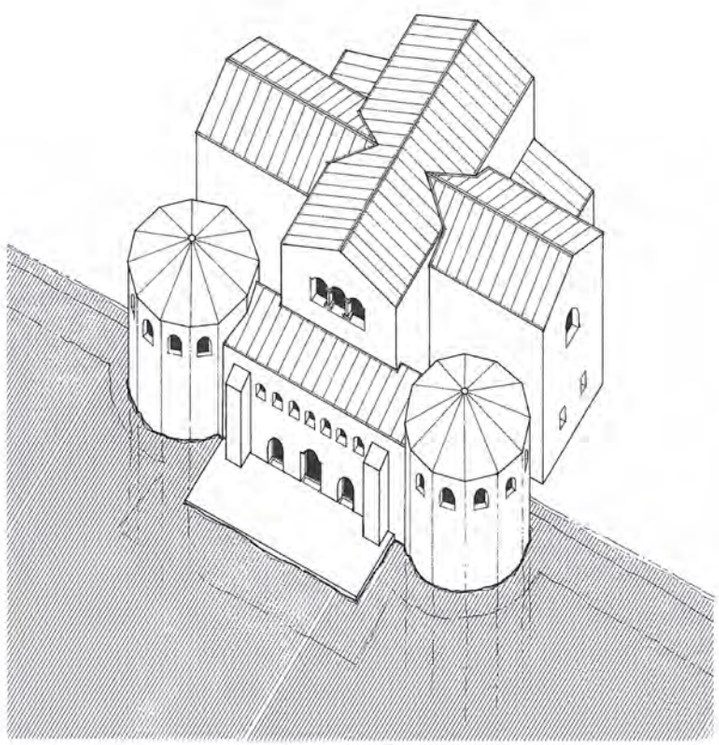
One of the most impressive examples of the use of military forms symbolically is that of the villa complex at Polače, on the island of Mljet (ancient Meleda), Croatia. The impressive seaside ruins of this complex have been studied on several occasions. Recent scholarship has identified a large complex of buildings, including two churches, sprawled over 300 meters of coastline, and has attributed it to the reign of two usurper emperors, Marcellinus and Julius Nepotus, who ruled Dalmatia from 455 to 475.[158] The main part of this villa complex was a large basilican hall terminated by a single, wide apse. Measuring 12 × 32 meters, this hall clearly belongs to the category of late antique audience halls, several of which have already been discussed (figs. 136A and B). The hall was flanked by a constellation of two symmetrical pairs of rooms accessible from the hall by separate doors. Such an arrangement was likewise formulaic, and has been seen in a number of other Balkan examples, such as those at Rhegion (fig. 84) and in Stobi (fig. 110), to mention but two. The most striking aspect of this building, however, was its main façade facing the harbor. Here two massive cylindrical towers, measuring 13 meters in external diameter, symmetrically flank the main façade, providing a visual semblance of a fortified city gate.[159] Symbolic association with a city gate was surely no accident. Though the complex lacked any other meaningful fortification features, the twin-tower city gate motif surely gave this site an urban stamp, despite its countryside location.

Equally informative, albeit in a very different context, is the recently excavated complex at Louloudies, near ancient Pydna, on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf in Greece.[160] The complex is remarkable for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the set of known historical circumstances in which it came into being. In 479 the ancient city of Pydna, along with several other Macedonian cities, was handed over to the Goths by the Emperor Zeno. Refusing to live in a city governed by Goths, under the leadership of their bishop the residents of Pydna moved to a new location 8 kilometers to the south, where

136A Polače, Villa; axonometric reconstruction



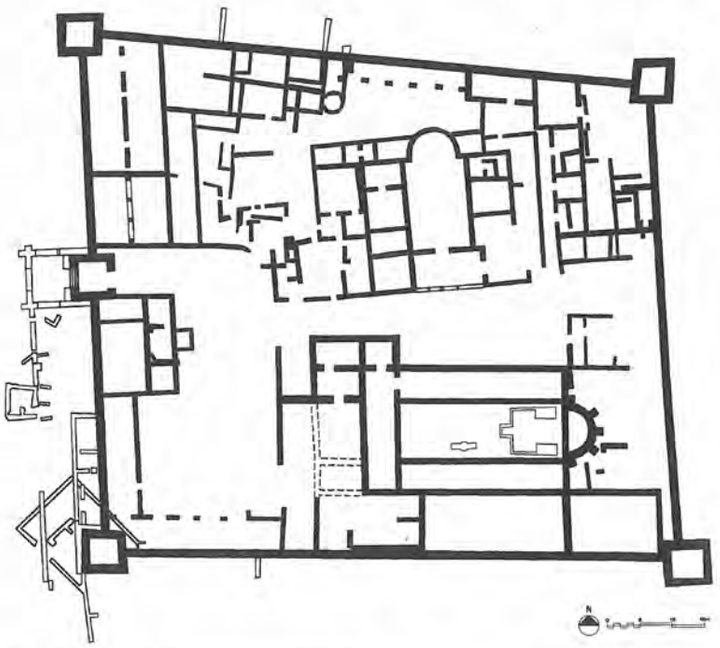
136B Polače, Villa; axonometric reconstruction



the bishop ordered the construction of a small fortified settlement. Measuring 80 × 90 meters, or 0.72 hectares in area, the fortified enclosure closely resembled the "miniature cities" discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 (fig. 137). The almost regular enclosure was protected by walls with four projecting square corner towers and a single fortified gate, on the west side. Dominated by a sizeable three-aisled basilica, the complex featured also the bishop's residence and residential quarters for workers, as well as various industrial buildings, attesting to the lifestyle in this small fifth-century "urban" establishment. The bishop's residence featured a fairly large, single-aisled basilican audience hall, measuring 9 × 19 meters, with a large apse on the north side and its entrance facing the church to the south. The hall and its accompanying rooms had lavish floor mosaics, as did the basilican church, although these are not as well preserved. All indications suggest that the complex was on a par with the finest fifth-century achievements. Its architecture, architectural sculpture, and mosaics attest to the fact that the bishop of Pydna was able to procure some of the best artisans available at the time, despite the adverse circumstances under which his new "city" was being built. The highest quality of carving suggests that the artisans that executed the "Theodosian" capitals found at the site may have come from Thessaloniki, or possibly from Corinth, the two centers whose standards may be compared to the level of craftsmanship in evidence here.

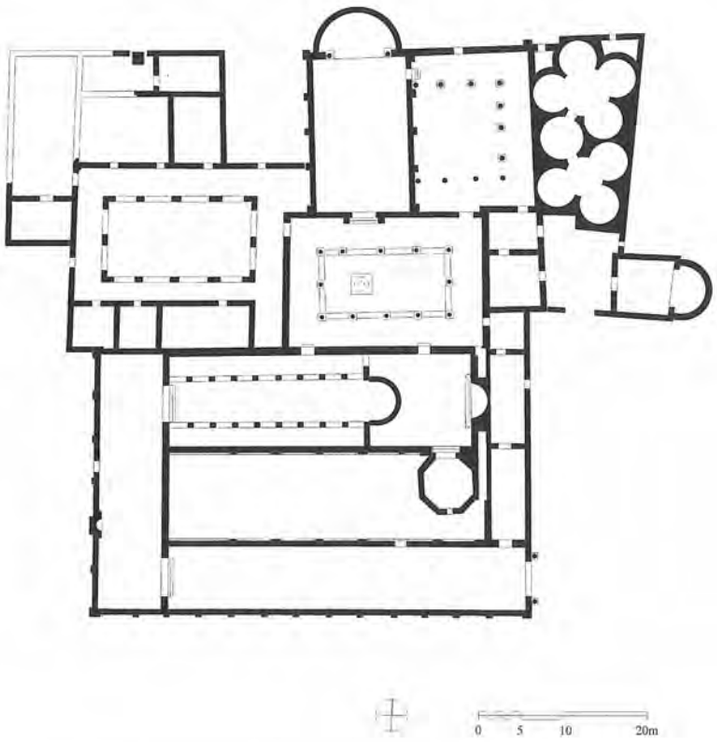
The complexes at Polače and Louloudies illustrate the ways in which high-level local authorities responded to their immediate needs. Their private accommodations continue the standards of high-style living influenced by imperial models, but funded by the private wealth that was in evidence in the region from the fourth century on. At the same time, the two complexes, in their differing ways, demonstrate the concern of the same local authorities for their own safety. Instead of counting on imperial armies to safeguard larger territories on which their properties stood, they financed their own fortifications. Even if those, as was the case at Polače, were little more than symbolic gestures, their messages revealed a common language.

Another, related phenomenon that may be noted in this context is the reuse of older fortified enclosures for new purposes, the choice of the location clearly having been informed by the defensive potential of the surviving fortifications. An example of this type of functional conversion may be seen in the excavated remains of a complex at Mogorjelo, near Čapljina, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Here we see a fortified *villa rustica* from the period of the Tetrarchy that was abandoned, changing hands by the fifth century. It was at this time that the complex acquired an ecclesiastical function. Noteworthy is the appearance of a pair of medium-sized basilicas built over the ruins of the residential wing of the fourth-century villa. On account of their orientation requirements, these basilicas were built at a 45° angle with respect to the older walls, thus ignoring the original orthogonal planning order within the walls. The northern, larger of the two churches measured 14 × 18 meters in plan.[161] Its long naos was flanked by separate rooms arranged in rows resembling side aisles. On the north side, one of its smaller, square rooms was occupied by a font. Although by this time performance of the rite of baptism was no longer an exclusive privilege of bishops, there are reasons to suspect that this may have been an episcopal center, conceptually similar to what we saw at Louloudies.



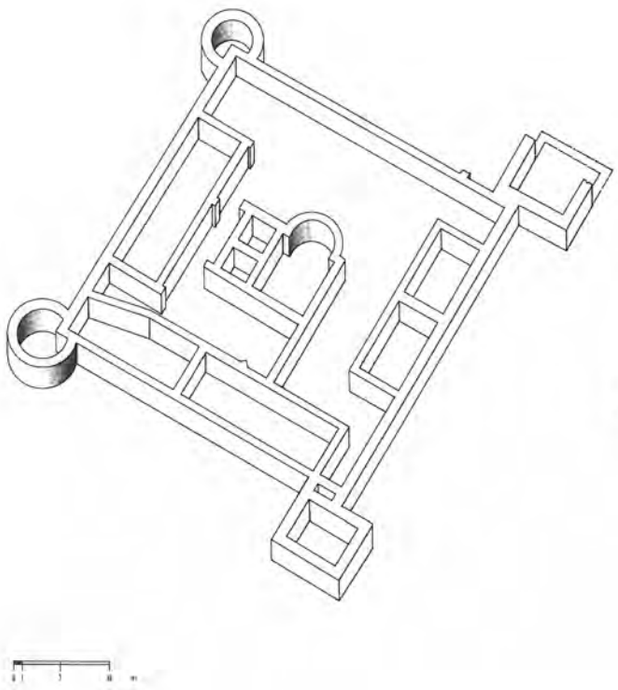
137 Louloudies, Episcopal complex; plan

Similar, but even more impressive was the conversion of the imperial villa at Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia) into an ecclesiastical center, possibly also an episcopal one. Here, within the northern of the two long entrance halls of Galerius' residential complex, a three-aisled basilica was inserted relatively early, but certainly not before 400 (fig. 138).[162] The church, whose interior dimensions of 11 × 27 meters make it a medium-sized basilica, evidently consisted of a nave subdivided from the side aisles by columnar arcades, each consisting of eight columns, and a round apse at the east end. The transversal hall of the original entrance complex of Galerius' residence apparently served as the oversized narthex. The original excavator believed that the church was built at the time when the palace was still standing and, therefore, possibly still in use. The conceptual layout of the basilica in relationship to the palace with its characteristic audience hall finds its closest parallels at Louloudies. Given



138 Romuliana, Imperial residence and episcopal basilica; plan

139 Orlandovci, Villa; axonometric



also the fact that the entire church with the adjacent residence was standing within a heavily fortified enclosure, it is tempting to think of this arrangement as yet another fortified episcopal center, as in the case of Mogorjelo, created within preexisting fortifications.

The category of buildings under examination potentially includes many examples whose precise functions are debated. Often resembling military establishments in planning and size alike, complexes in this category not uncommonly lack other archaeological indicators that would permit accurate determination of their precise original function. Thus, a complex such as that of Orlandovci, near Sofia, Bulgaria, could be interpreted as a villa, a monastery, or a military camp.[163] The complex, measuring 31 × 34 meters, features two round and two rectangular projecting corner towers (fig. 139). The main buildings were built against the fortification walls, with the exception of a cluster of rooms including an apsed hall, which was situated in the center. The controversy regarding its function – an audience hall or a church – is at the core of the dilemma regarding the interpretation of the complex in general terms.

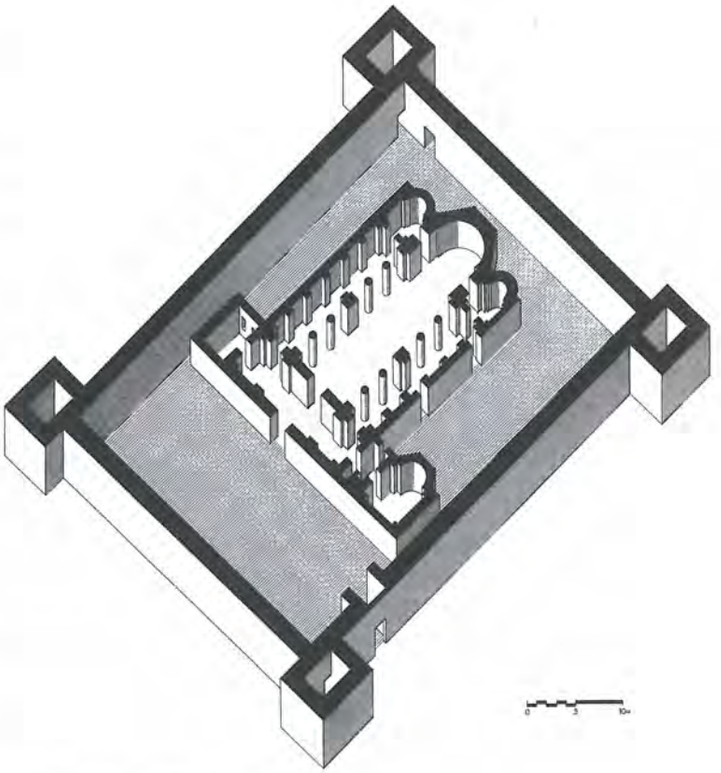
A dilemma of a different nature persists in conjunction with another fortified fifth-century complex, where a general ecclesiastical nature is not in question. This complex is known only by its modern name and location as Elenskata Bazilika at Pirdop, also in Bulgaria (fig. 140). Initially built in the fifth century as a large three-aisled basilica (17 × 37 m) with columnar arcades, the church was modified and vaulted during the sixth century. From the outset, it was enclosed by a relatively small fort of the *tetrapyrgion* type, measuring merely 35 × 52 meters. While it is clear that the fortress was built in relationship to the church, it is unclear what the principal function of the church may have been. While its size and character bespeak an architectural demeanor normally associated with urban centers, the size of the enclosure precludes the possibility of a miniature settlement of the kind we saw at Louloudies as ever having existed alongside this church. In fact, the space seems too small to have accommodated any other significant buildings, such as an episcopal residence. Firm archaeological data lacking, the basilica at Pirdop, whether once an episcopal church of an unknown settlement somewhere in the vicinity, or part of some equally intangible monastic establishment, must be emphasized here as a church whose security was ensured by the construction of a small fortress around it.

The enclosure of the monastery of Daphni, near Athens, is renowned for its eleventh-century church. The monastery, however, was contained within a very large fortified enclosure, measuring roughly 93 × 100 meters, whose date has become a subject of dispute (fig. 141). Dated in earlier scholarship to the

fifth century, the complex has recently been associated with Middle Byzantine monastic building activity.[164] In terms of its general architectural character, and as a phenomenon, the complex appears to be more at home within the context of the examples presently under discussion. While the issue cannot be fully resolved here, the reader should be aware of this type of controversy pertaining to the dating of the material.

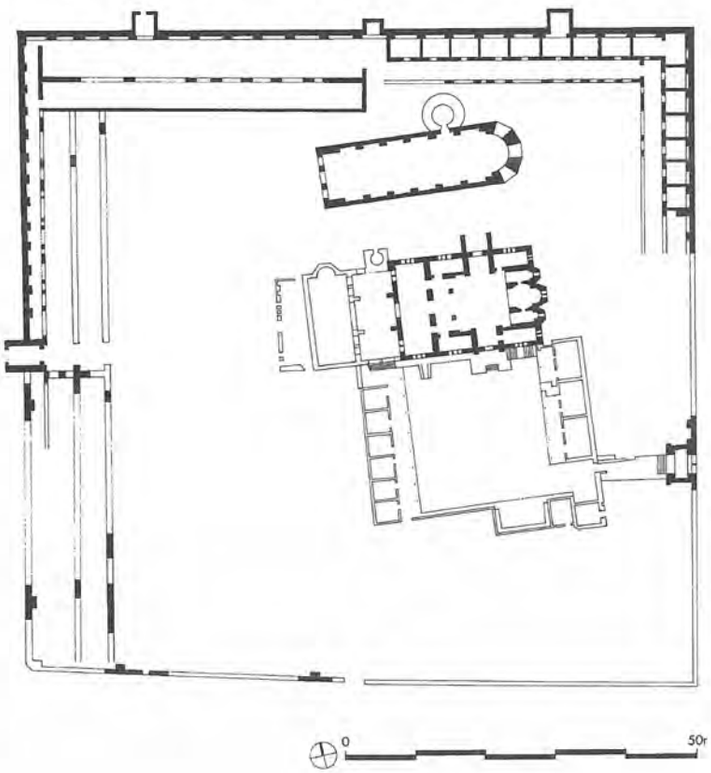
As the last example of the impact of fortification architecture on other building types under the prevailing circumstances of the fifth century, we must refer to the church at Dzhenevar Tepe, near Varna, Bulgaria.[165] The massive remains of this impressive monument have been noted for their important contribution to our knowledge of early Christianity in the easternmost part of the Balkan peninsula. Architecturally, this was a fairly large building, measuring 25 × 29 meters in plan, consisting of a single aisle terminating in an apse and preceded by a narthex (fig. 142). At the corners of this single-aisled structure stood four integrally built massive projecting compartments, above which must have risen four towers. Two spiral stairs, embedded in the wall mass behind the apse, must have led to the upper stories of these towers. The position and the character of these stairs are most unusual for church architecture of this period. Combined with the building technique, consisting of alternating bands of several courses of small stones with bands of several brick courses, these features point to the fortification architecture of Constantinople as the most closely related class of building. The four-towered church at Dzhenevar Tepe must have been built in the countryside near an important city. Its design, resembling a *tetrapyrgion* fort, bespeaks the troubled times during which the church was built.

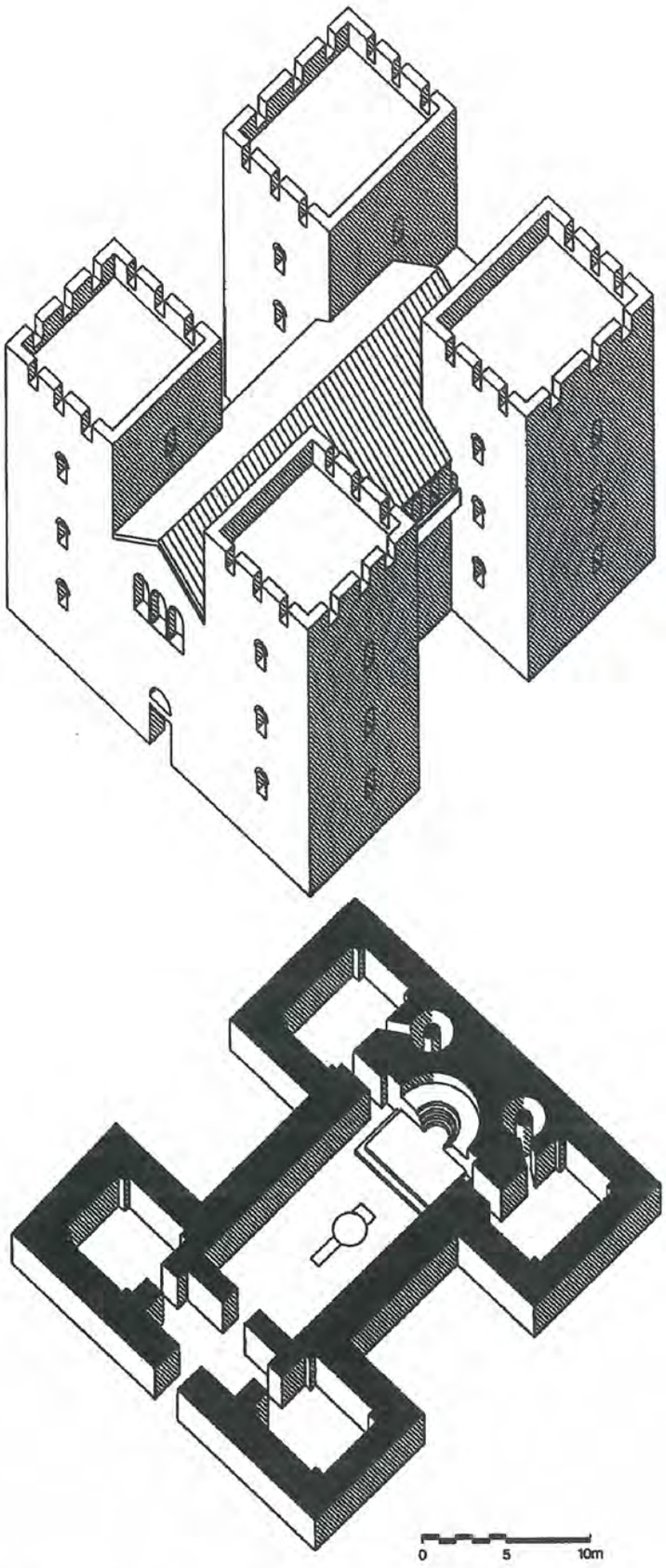
In an age characterized by continuing major invasions and potential threats, the decline in the volume of military architecture appears as a major paradox. This is accentuated by the fact that the general volume of construction in the fifth century could be labeled a "boom" rather than a "decline." What we have seen from the preceding discussion was that during the fifth century the state seems to have passed the responsibility for security to others. On the one hand, the Church as an institution appears to have played an increasingly important role in building up public morale through an emphasis on the miraculous powers of its saints now engaged in military activities, such as defending cities. On the other hand, an increasing number of patrons, secular as well as ecclesiastical, confronted with dire realities, were compelled to take the responsibility of defending themselves and their properties into their own hands. The result was the appearance of an entirely new genre of semi-military architecture, in which elements of fortification architecture were juxtaposed with other, known architectural types.



140 Pirdop, Elenskata bazilika; axonometric

141 Daphni, Monastery enclosure; plan





142 Dzenevar Tepe, Church; axonometric

Monasteries

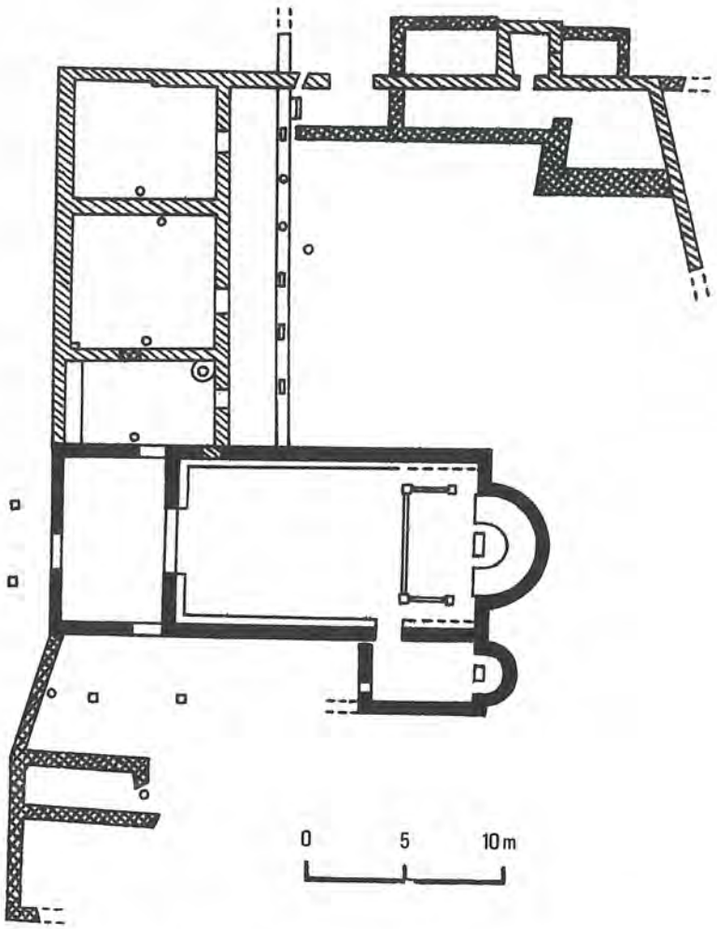
The beginnings of monasticism in the Balkans is a poorly documented subject, from the point of view of both written sources and archaeological evidence. Although one might think that the general difficulties experienced with the spread of Christianity in the Balkans would have provided a special challenge for the growth of monasticism, there are few indicators that such developments in fact occurred. Recently, scholars have attempted to address this issue, but the picture that emerges is still murky and will require much further work.[166] When the first organized monastic establishments in the Balkans began to appear is impossible to establish with certainty. There is no doubt, however, that by *circa* 400 monasticism had taken root, modest in its spread as it may then have been. By the second half of the fifth century monasticism had become a substantial force, especially in urban centers, most notably in Constantinople, though our knowledge of these matters is based almost exclusively on written evidence.

The methodological inadequacies of archaeology related to monastic sites are being overcome very slowly. Monastic architecture in its earliest phases exhibits very little that can be described as "standard." Monastic complexes often resulted from the conversion of earlier private residences, most frequently villas. Under such circumstances it is commonly very difficult to distinguish a residential complex from a monastery. The question of what makes such a conversion verifiable continues to be a matter of debate. The presence of a "church" building within a complex is the most common means whereby a complex may be determined as having been taken over by the Church, but would it have been necessarily monastic? On the other hand, parts of an opulent late antique villa, notably its audience hall and *triclinium*, commonly had the form of a single-cell apsed room, as we have seen in many instances. Such rooms could, and occasionally did, become converted into churches, but there was evidently no rule regarding this matter. Nor, apparently did the orientation of monastic churches follow what seems to have been common practice for non-monastic churches.[167] Only reliably excavated content within the debris of a given site, if properly interpreted, can provide firm evidence of monastic habitation. Several fifth-century monastic complexes in the Balkan hinterlands have been studied archaeologically, though their results cannot be deemed equally conclusive. For our purposes we will examine only a few representative examples.

Recent excavations at the site of Slava Rusa, near Ibida, Romania, in the region of the lower Danube, have brought to light a fifth-century monastery with some early sixth-century additions.[168] The monastic enclosure, measuring barely 18 × 25 meters, was defined by an enclosing wall, and was dominated

by a church (6 × 12 m) with a lateral chapel at its northeast corner and an abutting chamber along its southern flank. The monastery also included a small freestanding chapel, possibly added somewhat later. Other small rooms abutting the enclosure wall defy identification, but they cannot be confused with the layouts typical of late antique villas. The monastic complex of Slava Rusa, then, may be thought of as coming closest to what one might consider an early "monastic architectural paradigm" in the Balkans.

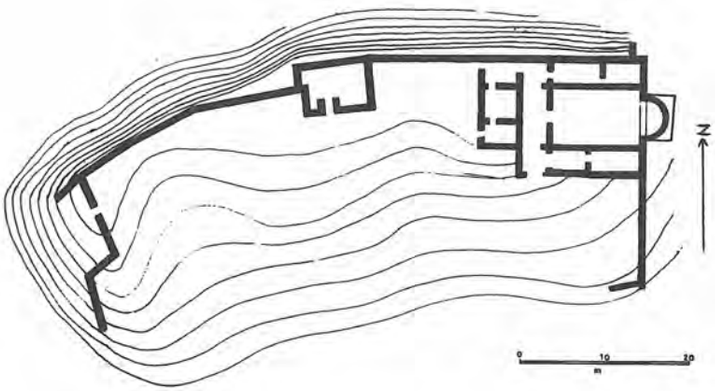
Situated on the northern foothills of the Rhodope Mountains, some 20 kilometers south of Pazardjik, Bulgaria, the remains of a small fifth-century monastery are known by the name of the nearby village as Isperihovo.[169] Not fully excavated, the complex includes a sizeable single-aisled basilican church measuring 10 × 25 meters in plan (fig. 143). Preceded by a narthex and adjoined by an apsed, single-aisled baptistery along its south flank, the church had a sanctuary enclosure projecting into the naos and a synthronon within its apse. The church, as was the case with a number of other monastic churches, had low built-in benches lining its outer walls along the north, south, and west sides. The narthex of the church abutted what appears to have been a monastic enclosure. Against the north flank of the narthex, a rectangular room appears to have taken over the role of the baptistery at some later point. Two other relatively large rooms abut this new baptistery, forming the western flank of the complex. Other, smaller, irregular rooms appear to have followed the layout of the circuit wall on the north and south sides, creating a sense of a courtyard dominated by the church building. Rough construction with the use of mud mortar and the discovery of woodworking and agricultural tools and household pottery point strongly toward a monastic habitation. Differences in the quality of construction have led the excavators to interpret the complex as having grown around a preexisting church that could be dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, the rest of the complex possibly being built as late as the sixth century. Differences in the quality of construction need not be seen as indicators of a "later date." The function of a given building, more likely, would have determined the choice of materials and the means of construction. Surely a church would have been given more attention than a cattle shed or a bakery! Thus, a fifth-century date for Isperihovo seems more likely, relating it to Slava Rusa and several other complexes in the Balkans that have some of the same characteristics. We should refer here particularly to the complex at Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia), where the imperial residence, as we have seen, was converted in the fifth century into an ecclesiastical complex, possibly an episcopal center. In the vicinity of the big three-aisled basilica the excavators discovered a baptistery and a large number of rooms serving a variety of functions, all also built into the ruined remains of the



143 Isperihovo, Monastery; plan

imperial residence. Built in poor construction technique, and containing evidence of industrial and agricultural use, these "buildings" were associated with barbarian invaders, possibly even the Slavs and the Avars, as late as the later sixth century. Given the fact that their layout suggests that these crudely built structures followed the outlines of the late antique complex and that they were organized around the basilica, they appear to have formed a kind of open court dominated by the church building. On this basis, as well as what was seen at Isperihovo, one is inclined to suggest that this, too, may have been a monastic establishment. Given also our preliminary understanding of the apparent links between the new episcopal sees and monastic establishments in the Balkans, the case of Romuliana emerges in a new light, possibly offering further insights into the distinctive forms of early monasticism in the Balkans.

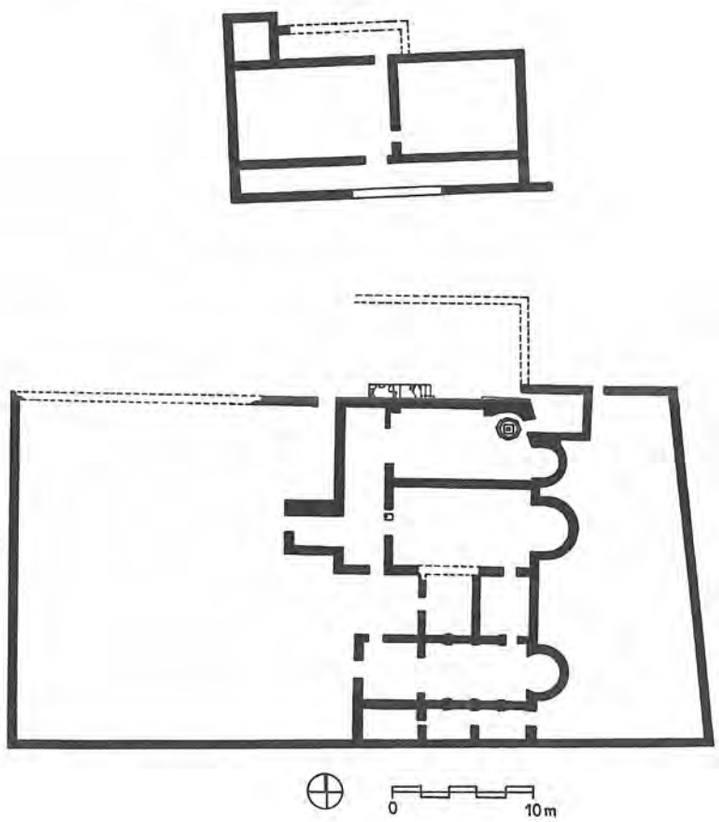
The monastic examples discussed thus far have been predominantly from the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula. The accumulating evidence about early monasticism in the western half of the peninsula suggests considerable similarities in the



144 Lepenica, Monastery; plan

general pattern of development. Small monastic settlements seem to have existed on the Dalmatian coast, especially on the numerous islands that must have provided both seclusion and a special challenge for monastic pioneers.[170] The same pattern evidently also prevailed in the hinterlands. At Lepenica, just west of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, atop a steep hill survive the remains of a lightly fortified enclosure, dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, and labeled by the excavators as a *refugium* (fig. 144). Measuring 30 × 70 meters in its overall dimensions, this complex, despite its lightly fortified nature and strategic location, suggests itself as another monastic establishment. Within its walls, at the extreme northeast corner of the enclosure, was situated a medium-sized church with several subsidiary rooms, whose remains have been archaeologically explored. The church, a single-aisled basilica with an apse, was flanked on each of its long sides by a pair of longitudinal rooms whose size and arrangement match what could have been the lateral aisles of the basilica. Preceding the church with its flanking rooms was a narthex, whose width corresponds to that of the lateral chambers. The overall dimensions of the plan of the church with its flanking rooms and narthex are 15 × 17.5 meters. In front of the narthex, but apparently not directly accessible from it, were two additional rectangular rooms, one of which contained a font and clearly served as the baptistery of the complex. The excavated remains included another relatively small structure at roughly the midpoint of the northern enclosure wall overlooking the ravine directly below it. No other rooms or buildings were uncovered. It should be noted that the entire southern flank of the complex has not been explored, leaving open many questions regarding its disposition and actual function.

145 Žitomislići, Monastery; plan



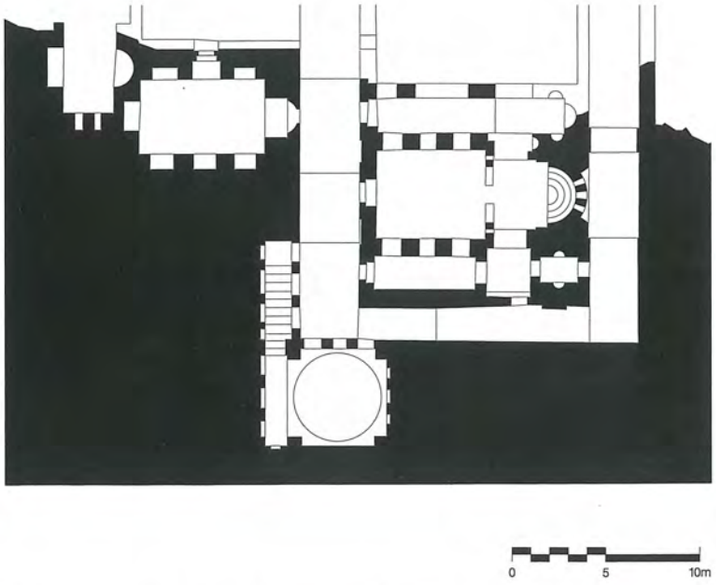
A much larger and more representative monastic complex has been unearthed at Žitomislići, Bosnia and Herzegovina.[171] Situated near the ancient city of Narona with its episcopal seat, the fifth- to sixth-century monastery has been interpreted as having been linked to the local ecclesiastical system. In its dimensions (24 × 47 m in plan), if not in its character, this complex may be compared to that at Romuliana, discussed above (fig. 145). The main enclosure in this case includes the main church building, a single-aisled basilica with a narthex, measuring 7 × 15 meters in plan. Its narthex extends northward linking it to a separate hall, slightly narrower than the basilica, but of the same length, which was conceived as the baptistery. Subsequently modified by the addition of an apse, this room never changed its original function. To the south, two rectangular rooms link the main church to another single-aisled church, the presumed oldest building in the complex. Used for funerary purposes and apparently vaulted, this building differed from the rest of the architecture of the complex. The complex of church buildings and related spaces fills in roughly one-third of the enclosed space. A larger open space was left in front of the churches, and a smaller one immediately behind the apses. The exact function of these two courtyards remains unknown, but they have been interpreted as "characteristic" of monastic architecture of this period. Some 15 meters to the north and

outside the walled enclosure are situated the remains of a large rectangular, two-roomed building, probably a monastery hospice.

The excavated remains of a thirteenth-century monastery now referred to as Studenica Hvostanska, near the village of Studenica, in the region of Kosovo, have revealed the existence of a large fifth- to sixth-century monastic complex on the same site.[172] Situated on a relatively flat plateau, the monastery must have dominated the surrounding countryside. Although the excavations were by no means conclusive, some interesting information about the earliest monastic complex has been revealed. This included a three-aisled basilican church, measuring roughly 17 × 38 meters in plan. Preceding the church was a narthex with flanking rectangular chambers, and in front of these an atrium. To the north, and parallel to the main basilica, stood a small independent chapel linked to the church by its own narthex and a portico. The remains of the main church were substantially destroyed by the construction of a medieval church on the site, itself a victim of subsequent destruction. The basilica has been dated to the fifth century. The best-preserved component of the early monastery was a hypogeum (burial crypt) at the northern edge of the complex. The rectangular crypt was barrel-vaulted and internally subdivided by two diaphragm arches supported by wall pilasters. In its floor were discovered twenty-four carefully spaced and built burial troughs. None of the burials was preserved, since the crypt had been thoroughly plundered at some earlier point in its history. Burial hypogea of this type were rare, though not unknown in the Balkans during the fifth century. This well-built, monumental hypogeum suggests that the monastery was a prosperous establishment at the time of its construction. There is some controversy as to the date of its building, the excavators opting for the sixth century. If the massive fortification wall that was built over part of this tomb is of sixth-century date, as seems to be likely, then the hypogeum should have been built in the fifth century, when this monastic compound appears to have reached its apogee. Unfortunately, the complicated sequence of fortification walls, of which there seem to have been at least two different ones, was not resolved by the excavators, along with many other crucial questions pertaining to this important monastic site in the central Balkans.

The fifth- to sixth-century ecclesiastical complex excavated below medieval remains on Trapezitsa Hill at T'rnovo (possibly ancient Zikideva), Bulgaria, has recently been interpreted as a monastery associated with an episcopal complex.[173] Begun in the fifth century with a single-cell church, measuring 10.5 × 27.85 meters in plan, as its main feature, the complex was enlarged, probably in the sixth century. A large, three-aisled basilica (18.5 × 35 m) replaced the single-aisled church, and a monumental residential building upon massive substructures at the edge of a steep incline expanded the complex to the southeast. Monumental as this complex would have been, in character and size it would have matched the one at Studenica Hvostanska. The appearance of such large and impressive complexes in the heartland of the Balkans indicates the emphasis that the Church must have been placing on gaining a firmer foothold in these areas. Monks, on the other hand, would have provided an invaluable service as champions of the faith within urban centers. From these they could have more readily reached out to the "unclaimed" territories of the surrounding countryside.

A very different monastic establishment from the two we have just discussed is the little-known complex that has survived at Midye (ancient Salmydessos), Turkey, on the coast of the Black Sea, some 100 kilometers northwest of Constantinople and approximately 25 kilometers due east of Bizye.[174] The monastery complex, measuring 24 × 30 meters in plan, was almost entirely carved into the living bedrock (fig. 146). In its general character and in the particular aspects of its architectural and decorative forms it shows strong influence from Asia Minor. It would appear that the monks and artisans (possibly the same individuals) must have come from Asia Minor and settled at the site sometime at the very end of the fifth century or at the outset of the sixth. The complex, now missing its northern façade, was first recorded in a better state of preservation. Even in its present form, it reveals certain sophisticated ideas in planning and the articulation of space and architectural form. The main part of the complex is a relatively small basilican church, measuring only 11.5 × 12 meters in plan. Its naos is subdivided from the side aisles by means of three massive piers on each side, supporting an "arcade" that "carries" a barrel vault over the main space (fig. 147). At the easternmost piers there originally arose a screen, separating the naos from the sanctuary. The main space of the naos was nearly square in plan (5 × 6 m). The deep sanctuary was generously open toward the side aisles, whose eastern ends terminated in miniscule chapels without direct linkage to the main sanctuary. The main apse contained a four-step synthronon and windows that opened into an ambulatory that passed behind and around the church, effectively separating it from the bedrock. Only vestiges remain of the large room that once abutted the church on the north side and may have served as the monastic refectory. Aligned with the west "wall" of the church, the two structures were preceded by a common narthex. The narthex, perpendicular to the exterior façade, was completely open at that end. At the opposite, southern end the narthex led to a two-storied square chamber that contained the other focus of the monastery – the *hagiasma* of the Sacred Spring. The latter was on a lower level reached by a separate flight of stairs. Its central feature, no longer preserved, was situated in the geometric center of the chamber, the ceiling above which was carved in the shape



146 Salmydessos, Rock-cut monastery; plan

of a saucer dome "carried" by four corner columns with elaborate capitals, whose style recalls Byzantine capitals of *circa* 500. To the west of the narthex and accessible from it were two subsidiary chambers used for burials, presumably of the highest-ranking monks. In terms of its components, if not in the character of its layout and architectural forms, the monastery at Midye reveals affinities with the other monastic complexes that we have discussed in various parts of the Balkans.

Ecclesiastical Architecture

As has become apparent from our discussion of fifth-century urban developments in the Balkans, the main focus of building activity was on ecclesiastical architecture. Even the smallest of cities were characterized by the prominent construction of churches, whose dimensions commonly seem to have been out

147 Salmydessos, Rock-cut monastery, church interior

of proportion to the probable population size. Equally important in the context of this period was the sense of urban presence that ecclesiastical buildings acquired. No longer tucked away in remote corners of urban conglomerations, fifth-century churches appeared prominently positioned within older cities, occupying sites previously reserved for temples and secular public buildings. In addition to the rise in popularity of certain building types, notably the basilica, others also continued to be built, and new ones appear to have been introduced. Typological variety, however, betrays not merely creative fervor among fifth-century builders, but rather an increasing complexity and sophistication in the planning of buildings that accommodated an expanding range of functional needs, reflecting the growing status of the Church. Our discussion of ecclesiastical architecture, wherever possible, will attempt to reconcile an analysis of buildings on the basis of their "typology" with their functional intent. Accordingly, our main categories will include martyria, single-aisled churches with flanking compartments, basilicas with tripartite and apsed transepts, so-called aisled tetraconchs, double basilicas, and, finally, basilicas with baptisteries.

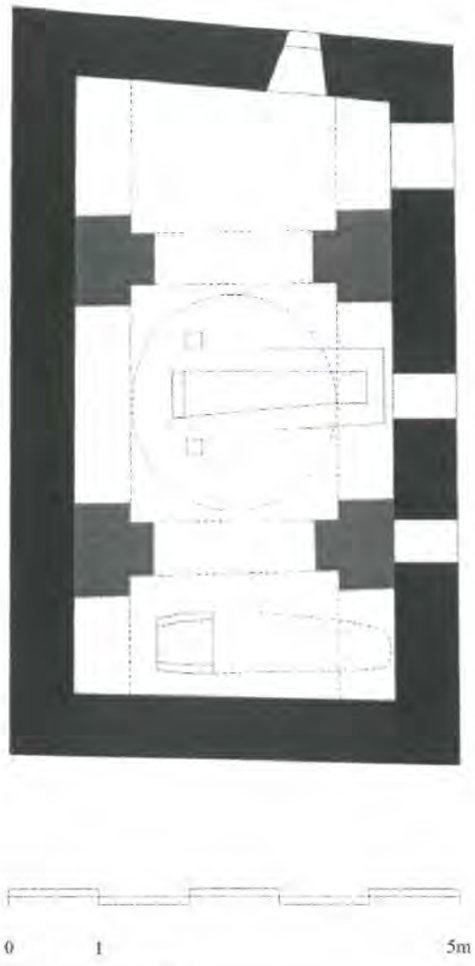
MARTYRIA

Inasmuch as the fifth century introduced new needs vis-à-vis the function and accommodation of relics, old customs and forms did not die out immediately. Long after the new custom of transferring relics had begun, the construction of martyria over the tombs of Christian martyrs was still a norm. In addition to the martyria already discussed in conjunction with the cities of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Philippi, Athens, Corinth, Salona, and Phthiotic Thebes, several others will be considered, focusing on certain common characteristics that emerged in their architecture during the course of the fifth century.

We will begin with a discussion of the development of a *memoria*, or a martyr's shrine, at the site of Majsan in Dalmatia (Croatia), whose development, from its origins in the second half of the fourth century to the sixth, illustrates some important changes. According to much later medieval sources, a local "saint" by the name of Maximus (Maksim), possibly to be associated with a Salonitan bishop by the same name who died in 346, was buried here in a small Christian cemetery situated within a compound of a private villa.[175] The original tomb, along with several other vaulted tombs, was enclosed in a rectangular, vaulted structure, measuring 7.4 × 3.5 meters, whose main axis ran north–south and whose entrance was in the east wall (fig. 148). The tomb of "St. Maximus," with standard east–west orientation, was situated in the center of this space. At a later time, probably in the fifth century, an altar was placed over the tomb of the saint. The venerable shrine became a site of burials for the privileged. To the west of the *memoria* rose a funerary portico. Later still, possibly in the sixth century, massive pilasters were added to the interior of the long walls of the shrine, defining a central square bay. This bay may have been covered by a domical vault of some sort, placed directly over the saint's tomb. A small apsed chapel may have been added to the southwest corner of the funerary portico at the same time, along with other provisions that made the complex into a monastery. The *memoria* at Majsan illustrates a characteristic adaptation of a shrine associated with a martyr's tomb into a martyrium, which subsequently became part of an ecclesiastical compound. We have already noted a similar phenomenon in the case of St. Leonidas, whose underground cruciform tomb on the Ilissos island in Athens was subsequently (*circa* 400) related to a large basilica built next to and above it (see p. 124).

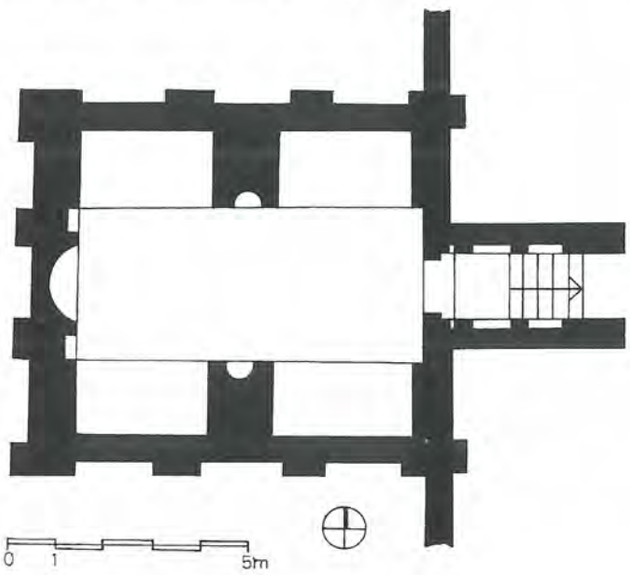
Another comparable shrine is that excavated at an early Christian cemetery (a location now known as Jagodin Mala) at Naisus (present-day Niš, Serbia). Here, the partially underground mausoleum was a complex structure consisting of two pairs of arcosolium tombs whose arches provided structural support for the longitudinal barrel vault covering the main space (fig. 149).[176] The entrance into the mausoleum was via a small stair on the east side, while a small niche was situated directly opposite the door in the west wall of the chamber. Externally, the mausoleum was articulated by a system of evenly spaced decorative pilasters, resembling those seen at the Anastasius mausoleum at Marusinac in Salona (see fig. 51). The Naisus mausoleum antedates a large cemetery basilica that was built next to it, possibly in the sixth century. The church was planned in such a way that the entrance into the mausoleum was situated on the same axis as the church from its narthex.

Another category of mausolea-martyria constitutes a series of independent freestanding structures. A distinctive sub-group of this particular category constitutes centralized buildings, perceived in earlier scholarship as prototypical, if not quintessential, types of martyria.[177] Significantly, centralized martyria are not only rare, but they also appear relatively late in the Balkans. One of the largest and most impressive among these must have been the tetraconch martyrium at Beroe – Augusta Traiana (modern Stara Zagora, Bulgaria) (fig. 150).[178] Situated some 100 meters outside the eastern city walls, the martyrium was located within a cemetery. The building consisted of a centralized tetraconch preceded by an oblong narthex on its west side. The building was 23.5 meters long and 18.5 meters wide, the conches measuring 7.2 meters (north and south) and 7.6 meters (east and west) in diameter. The building is said to have been built of broken stone and mortar, but the highest preserved section of



148 Majsan, Memoria; plan

149 Naisus, Martyrium-mausoleum at Jagodin Mala; plan



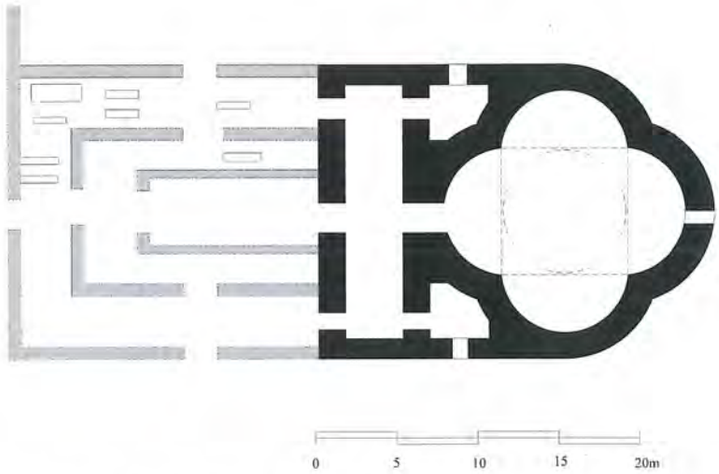
the wall is only 70 centimeters high. Since bricks were found in the debris, it is more than likely that brick was also used in the construction of the rising walls and vaulting. The narthex had three doors, the lateral ones leading into two irregular compartments flanking the western conch. These compartments may have led into the lateral conches of the main space, but this could not be archaeologically confirmed because of the poor preservation of the walls in this area. The building was preceded by an atrium with outside dimensions of 18.5 meters in width and 19.3 meters in length. The atrium, which was clearly a later addition, appears to have been conceived as a burial ground for the privileged few. Under its floors were discovered several well-preserved tombs, some carefully constructed and internally painted. The idea of a burial ground in the immediate vicinity of a martyrium, as we have seen, was a norm in the fifth century. The unusual aspect of this atrium was its apparently double covered portico, which would have increased the volume of the covered burial grounds, leaving only a small sliver of open space (10.5 × 4.6 m) in the center. Though hard evidence is lacking, archaeologists have proposed a mid- or late fourth-century date for the first phase of construction, and have interpreted the funerary atrium as belonging to a fifth-century remodeling. The early date for the original construction seems somewhat questionable. Similar uncertainty envelops a related triconch building at Akrinē (30 km northeast of Kozanē , Greece) (fig. 151).[179] Its interior space measures 12.15 meters (width) by 12.4 meters (length). The building core, as at Beroe, is preceded by an oblong narthex. The exterior wall surfaces in this case do not follow the interior forms, but have a smooth outline comparable to that seen in the "Hagiasma of Hagios Ioannis" in Thessaloniki (fig. 98 and p. 105).

A recently discovered building, perhaps a martyrium, near the eastern gate of Philippopolis (now Plovdiv, Bulgaria) is yet another important contribution to our understanding of developments in this category of architecture during the fifth century.[180] The partially excavated building was evidently a hexaconch structure with an interior diameter of 17.5 meters. Situated 150 meters outside the city gate, the building was related to an early Christian cemetery, though the excavations could not make the nature of that relationship fully known. The building apparently had a hexaconch layout, the exteriors of each of the horseshoe-shaped niches (7 m in diameter) contained within polygonal walls. Internally, between each pair of niches there was probably an engaged column supported on a square pedestal base, three of which have been recorded. The building was solidly built on a deep foundation of stone rubble mixed with ample quantities of mortar. Above these rose walls with faces of better worked stones and finally brick courses, of which only two have been preserved in one of the conchs. Given the amount of evidence at our disposal, this building falls into the category of

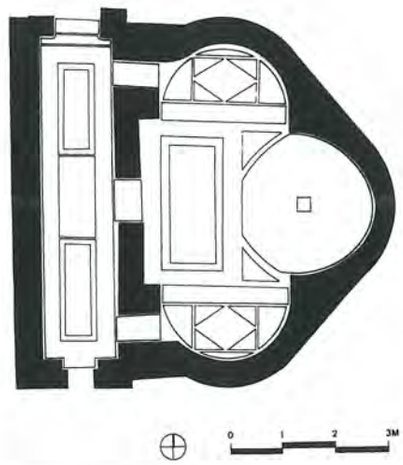
late antique rotundas whose interior conches were expressed externally. In terms of scale, architectural design, and building technique, this building finds its closest parallels in the architecture of Constantinople. The main hexaconchal hall of the Palace of Antiochos provides the closest analogy, despite obvious differences. Like that structure, the Philippopolis martyrium must have been domed. The proposed dating of the building to the mid-fifth century is in full agreement with all of the above observations. The presence of an imposing martyrium near the east gate of Philippopolis, much like the equally imposing martyrium discovered near the eastern city gate of Beroe, illustrates the status that martyrial buildings appear to have enjoyed belatedly within the central areas of the Balkans. Their appearance in the fifth century seems to correspond directly to the delayed process of Christianization in the Balkan hinterland.

Another important triconch building, in this case almost certainly a martyrium, but of a different disposition from the ones already discussed, was discovered in Bar (on the south coast of Montenegro) (fig. 152).[181] Dated to the fifth century, this triconch is characterized by a large rectangular main space, measuring 8.5 × 16 meters, with the two lateral semicircular apses resembling the main apse, and situated closer to it than to the western wall of the church. The northern of these apses contained an important tomb, possibly a martyr shrine. The relative position of the tomb is significant. We have noted similarly located tombs in a number of other examples. Its function as a type of shrine, presumably visited by pilgrims, is attested to by a door situated in its proximity.

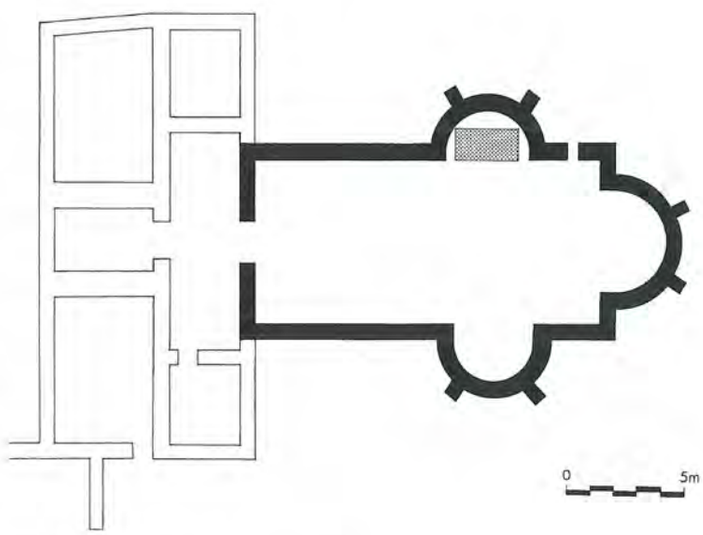
Two other buildings of uncertain function and date deserve notice in this context: a cruciform building attached to a single-aisled church at Turnovo and a freestanding cruciform building discovered below the sanctuary of the Great Basilica at Pliska. Late antique presence at Turnovo has long since been established, but the dating of the individual buildings remains imprecise. The cruciform building forms a unit with the single-aisled church, with which it shares a common portico (fig. 153).[182] Situated just below the later palace complex, the twin churches have been dated without firm evidence to the sixth or the first half of the seventh century, though a fifth-century date seems equally plausible. The cruciform building had a small double crypt in its eastern part, but insufficient physical evidence has survived to warrant classifying it as a genuine martyrium. There can be little doubt, on the other hand, about identifying a cruciform structure excavated below the sanctuary of the Great Basilica at Pliska as a martyrium. Measuring 15.5 × 15.5 meters, the building, preserved only in its foundations, was of cruciform shape inscribed in a circle, whose segments enclose the arms of the cross (fig. 154). What is acutely problematic in this case is the question of the building's date.[183] The excavators, deeply



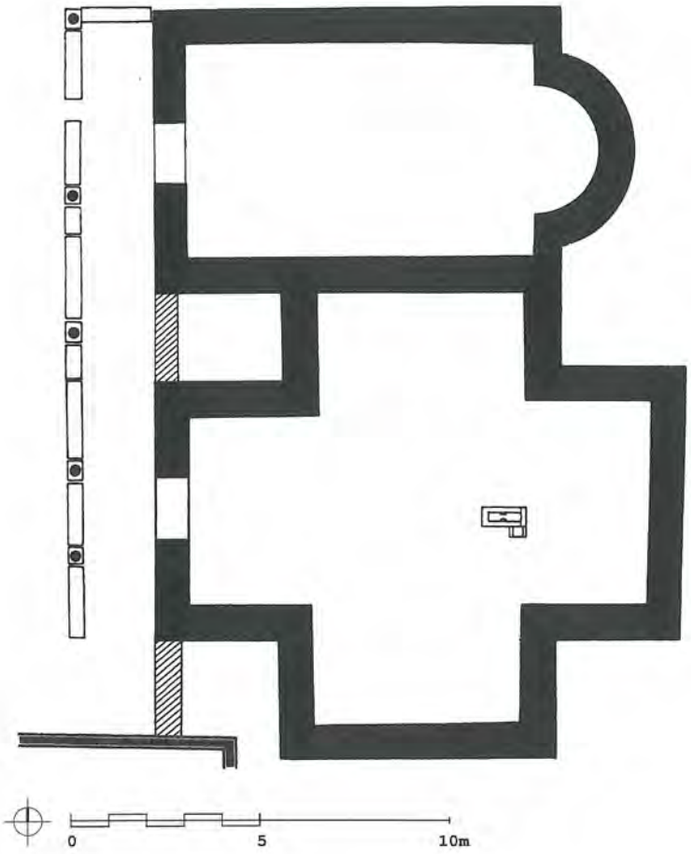
150 Beroe – Augusta Traiana, Martyrium; plan



151 Akrinē, Triconch martyrium (?); plan

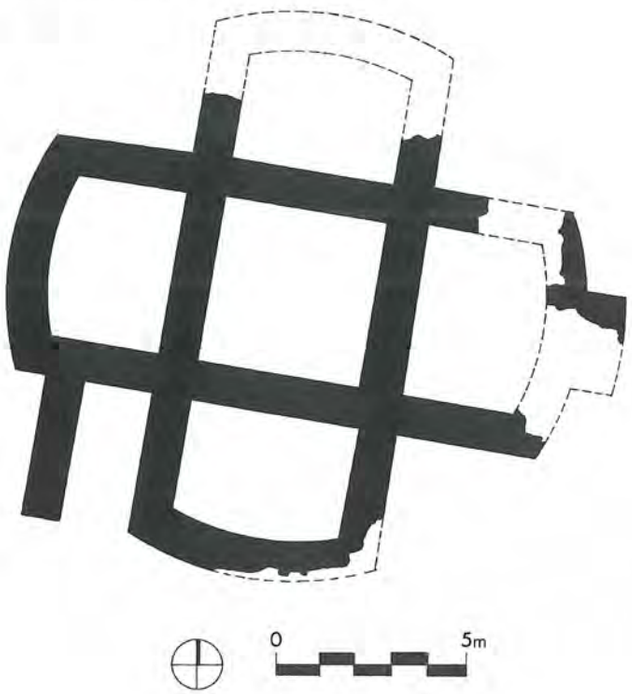


152 Bar, Martyrium; plan



153 T'rnovo, Martyrium; plan

154 Pliska, Martyrium under Great Basilica; plan



steeped in the "established" dating of the Great Basilica – about which more in Chapter 4 – have been intent on proving that the building was built by the early Bulgarians, sometime before 866 (the presumed initiation date of the Great Basilica that superseded the martyrium). According to the initial interpretation, the building was perceived to be a pagan structure, destroyed and replaced after the conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity in 864. More recently, the structure has been viewed as a Bulgarian Christian martyrium, most likely built by the khan Boris (852–89) before his conversion to Christianity in 864.[184] Thus, the building would have had to be built and destroyed within a decade, to be replaced under the same ruler, Boris, with the Great Basilica. The fact that a Christian necropolis, involving several marble sarcophagi, has been uncovered to the east of the martyrium would suggest the duration of a Christian cult in the area over a longer period of time. Most aspects of this building thus point to an early Christian date. The structure was built upon a foundation of carefully packed clay reinforced by densely placed wooden piles. Such foundations are known in late antique and even older architectural traditions. None of the rising walls has survived, but since the superstructure was so cleanly removed, it is more than likely that the building was made of large stone blocks. The functional identity of the building is made possible by the fact that a substantial platform in its southern arm appears to have functioned as a pedestal for a monumental tomb, probably that of a martyr. Thus, in this respect, too, this building would have fitted into the general pattern of early Christian martyr shrines.

From the foregoing it is clear that although relatively little is known about fifth-century martyria in the Balkans, the information about them has grown steadily in recent decades. For the subject to be studied more meaningfully and comprehensively, as it should be, future researchers will have to free themselves of many prejudicial attitudes in interpreting the nature of individual finds. Frequently employed conventions with regard to the typology and dating of buildings will have to be questioned more rigorously, as fresh data are carefully gathered. Meanwhile, we must remain satisfied with the picture presented here, as limited as it is. The phenomenon of the cult of martyrs, as has been noted, gained a significant momentum in the course of the fifth century, involving their accommodations not only in separate buildings that we identify as martyria, but within regular urban churches as well.

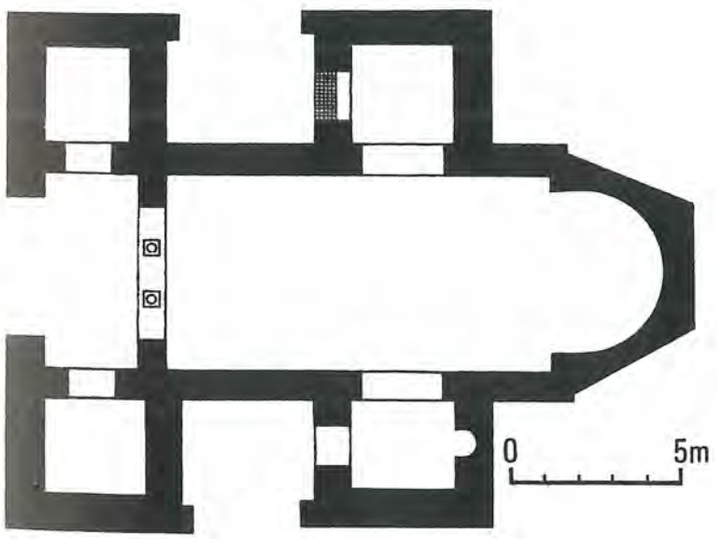
SINGLE-AISLED CHURCHES WITH FLANKING COMPARTMENTS

Closely related to the martyria discussed above is a series of relatively small single-aisled churches, featuring characteristic

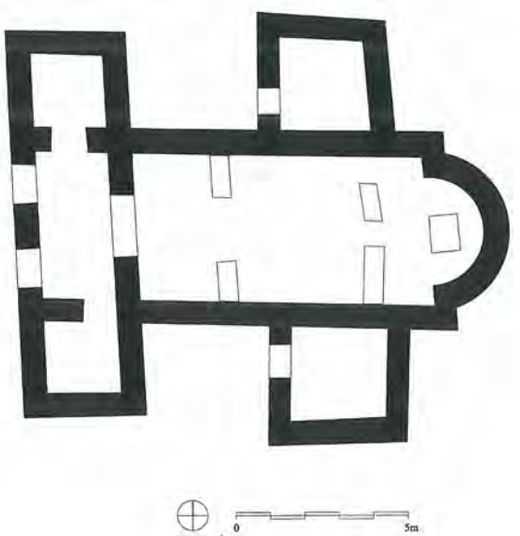
symmetrically disposed flanking chambers. Frequently viewed as flanking chapels, these compartments did not always have identifiable liturgical functions. At times, they were demonstrably intended for the accommodation of tombs, though most frequently their function has remained elusive. A particularly important aspect of this group of churches is their great geographic spread. They have been noted individually in all parts of the Balkans, but no comprehensive attention has been given to the general phenomenon.[185] We will mention only a few select examples. Two churches found in the area of central Bulgaria, near Sofia, may serve as a convenient starting point, despite their uncertain dates (fifth or sixth century). The church near the village of Ivaniãni (on the outskirts of Sofia) identifies not only the type, but at the same time illuminates the function in the clearest possible terms.[186] The church, measuring 15 × 20 meters in plan, was approached through an open porch flanked by two square chambers, possibly towers (fig. 155A). Two similar, symmetrically disposed chambers also flank the church along the south and north sides. The two chambers, widely open to the interior of the church, both had funerary crypts below them. The one on the south side was accessible directly from the naos, that on the north side only via a winding passageway from the sanctuary. The northern one is believed to have held special relics, while the southern one appears to have been a burial vault. Significantly, both of the chambers were also directly accessible from the exterior, suggesting that separate access – possibly for pilgrims – was thereby provided. A comparable situation existed in the church at Ts'rkvishte (formerly known by the Turkish name of Klise-Koi), Bulgaria.[187] Here, the lateral chambers flanking the naos are completely open and resemble the arms of a transept. As at Ivaniãni, they were equipped with separate doors providing direct access to areas that may have held tombs or shrines of some sort, but here this must remain in the realm of speculation. Similar uncertainties envelop another related monument in Bulgaria, a small cruciform church at Botevo (5 km east of ancient Ratiaria) (fig. 156).[188] Dated *circa* 500, this small church, measuring 11 × 13.5 meters, also had lateral spaces comparable to those at Ts'rkvishte. Despite the lack of a narthex and flanking chambers, the church is in no sense "unusual," as has been thought. Its cruciform plan would seem to have obscured the functional rationale necessary to explain its form, shifting, instead, the focus of previous investigations in the all-too-nebulous symbolic direction.

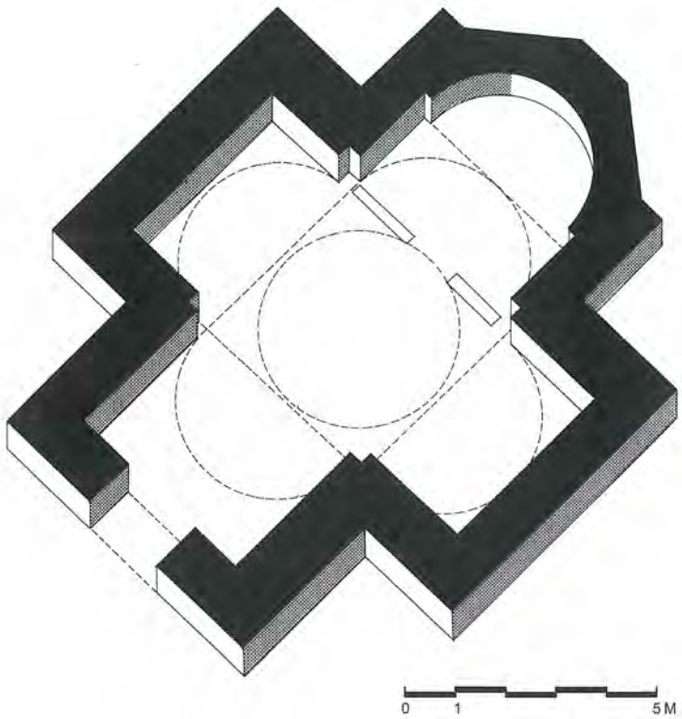
A group of related monuments in Greece and FYROM illustrates the spread and remarkable consistency of this type of planning. We will refer briefly to only two of these. The small, so-called Basilica B at Kephalos (northwest of Vonitsa, Greece), although imprecisely dated (possibly "toward the middle of the sixth century"), clearly reveals similar characteristics.[189] Measuring 13.5 × 16 meters in overall dimensions, including the narthex, the church featured a single-aisled naos terminating in a semicircular apse and flanked by two squarish chambers accessible from the naos. These were also adjacent to the doors in the north and south walls of the naos that provided access from the exterior. A comparable scheme is witnessed in the church excavated on the island of Golem Grad in Lake Prespa (FYROM).[190] The layout of this church (overall measurements 14 × 16 m) is comparable to the church at Ivaniãni, though the two side chambers may have been accessible only from the exterior (fig. 155B).

155A Ivaniãni, Church; plan

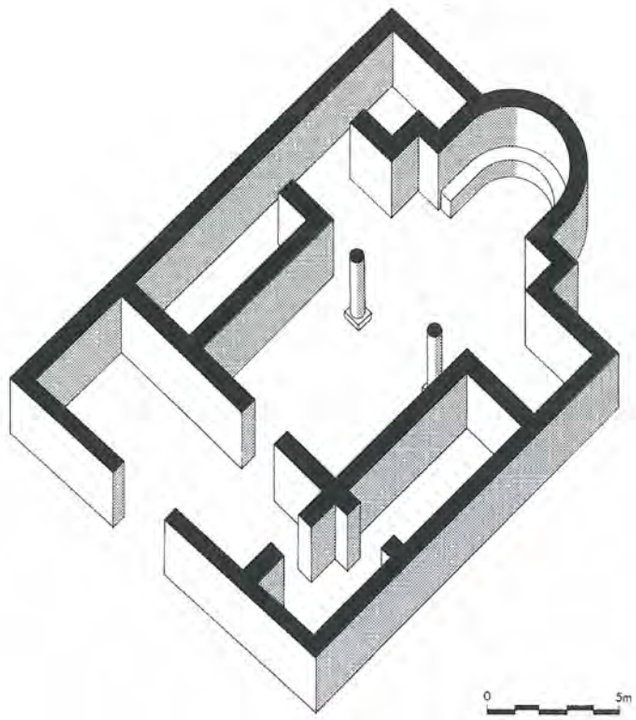


155B Golem Grad, Church; plan





156 Botevo, Cruciform church; axonometric



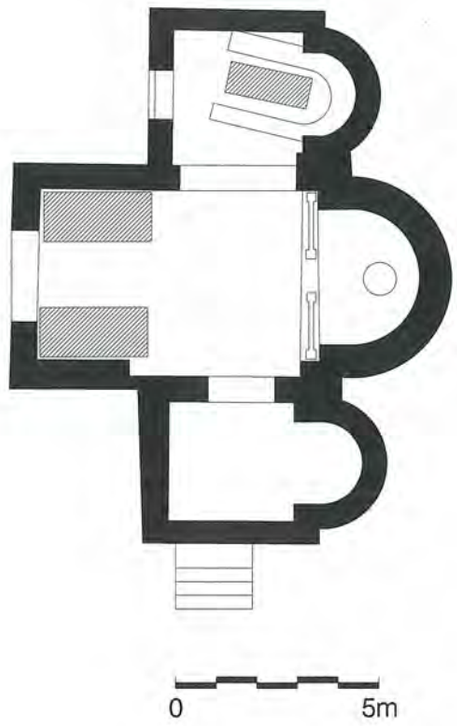
157 Oborci, Church; axonometric

This discussion of single-aisled churches with lateral chambers must also include a group in the late antique province of Dalmatia (present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). Functionally and in many respects also formally related to the churches already discussed, the monuments belonging to this group have been termed "churches with a low transept" and have been summarily dated to the middle of the sixth century.[191] This dating being debatable, we will present them here, since they seem to be related to the general phenomenon under discussion. Perhaps the oldest, and in many ways the most informative, of these monuments is the church at Oborci in central Bosnia (fig. 157).[192] Its single-aisled naos with two projecting square rooms ("low transept") recalls the disposition of the church at Ivaniani. The overall measurements of these churches (Oborci: 13.25 × 19.72 m; Ivaniani: 15 × 20 m) also correspond closely. Equally important is the fact that the church at Oborci had an underground vaulted tomb in its northern "transept wing." Access to this tomb was gained through special openings in the lateral "walls of the transept arm." The western of these was related to a long room, a type of aisle, fully separated from the naos by a wall, but accessible through a door from the narthex. This long room and its southern counterpart are the distinctive features of this as well as other churches of this western Balkan group. These spaces, in fact, occupy positions that were left open in churches such as Ivaniani and others in the eastern and southern Balkans. It is possible to speculate that climatic factors played a role in this context and that the western group of churches of this type introduced an enclosed space, where a type of external porch may have sufficed in warmer areas. Other members of the same group are the churches at Majdan (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Lovrečina (on the island of Brač, Croatia), and at Mokro Polje (near Knin, Croatia). Though different in details, they reveal common essential characteristics, as well as comparable dimensions (Majdan: 16.6 × 22.2 m, being the largest; Mokro Polje: 14.1 × 20.2 m, the smallest of the three).[193] The church at Lovrečina clearly had a funereal role. In addition to a vaulted underground tomb in its narthex, several marble sarcophagi were discovered in its vicinity. The church at Mokro Polje also had an underground vaulted tomb, this one in the south "transept arm."

Our discussion of this important group of churches will end with an example from Istria, tentatively dated to the mid-sixth century – the church of St. Catherine (Sv. Katarina), near Pola (modern Pula, Croatia). This church, situated on a small island by the same name and fronting the harbor of Pula, was excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century. It has attracted some attention in scholarship, largely because of its triapsidal form and its perceived relationship to the beginnings of the medieval architectural tradition among the Croats.[194] In plan this building is a single-aisled church, terminating in a semicir-

cular apse, with overall measurements of approximately 5.4 × 10 meters (fig. 158). The apse is screened off by a sanctuary closure, indicating that it was clearly intended for liturgical purposes. The naos of the church was flanked by a pair of squarish apsed rooms on the north and south sides, with which it communicated directly. Whether these side rooms in this case also had a liturgical function, and therefore might have served as subsidiary chapels, should not obscure the main point, that conceptually they formed the same relationship to the main church as the other examples discussed above. In this context the church of St. Catherine offers some other invaluable insights. The northern of its apsed rooms was built directly over a preexisting apsed structure (perhaps a martyr's shrine) containing a tomb. It would appear, in fact, that the presence of this structure was the *raison d'être* for the construction of the church itself. The northern room is not only carefully positioned in relation to the preexisting structure, but it was also made freely accessible both from the outside and the interior, in all likelihood for the purposes of accommodating pilgrims, now focused on a shrine within this northern chamber. Especially significant is the fact that the northern room was completely open toward the naos, as opposed to its southern counterpart, which was accessible through a door. The southern compartment itself had a barrel-vaulted undercroft, built at the same time as the church, evidently intended for future burials. Thus, in almost all respects, this arrangement at St. Catherine is comparable to that at Ivaniani. In the case of St. Catherine we know that it was built as a funerary chapel for the privileged few. The two sarcophagi discovered in the western part of the naos represent such burials. It appears that Byzantine military and civilian commanders of Istria were buried here, close to the shrine of an unknown saint.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it would appear that the accommodation of burials as well as the liturgy in the proximity of a martyr's shrine had become not only routine, but had also acquired a particular architectural solution. The popularity of this solution is evidenced by its geographical spread across the entire Balkan peninsula. It should also be noted that several among the larger churches already discussed (e.g., at Thessaloniki, the octagonal church; at Philippi; and the Ilissos basilica in Athens, among them) had important shrines placed to the north of the naos and at the midpoint of the respective buildings. This, as in the case of single-aisled churches with flanking compartments, made them more readily accessible to visiting pilgrims. We will return to other ramifications of this planning issue below.

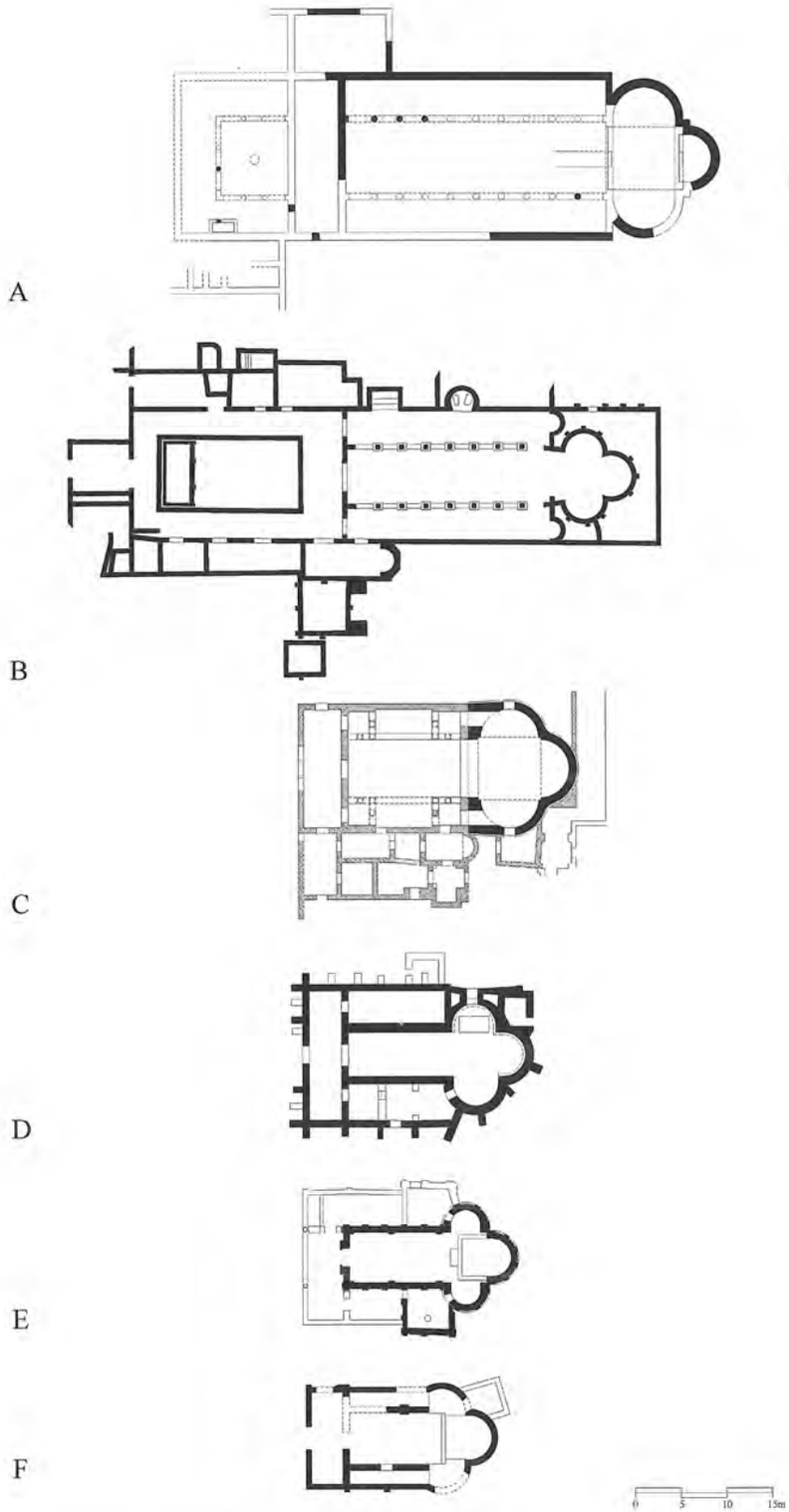


158 Pola, St. Catherine; plan

BASILICAN TRICONCH CHURCHES

The fifth century produced a number of hybrid building types in which different older church types were combined to create new ones. One such juxtaposition was that of the triconch with a basilica. Evidence suggests that a number of fourth-century triconch structures – presumably mostly martyria – were converted into the sanctuaries of larger basilican churches. One of such interesting conversions was to be seen in a cemetery church of *circa* 400 excavated at Knossos on the island of Crete (fig. 159A).[195] The appearance of this solution in such a remote area at this early date is helpful in illuminating the phenomenon in a larger Balkan context as a characteristic development of the fifth century. The phenomenon appears to be related to a larger trend toward bringing martyr cults into the context of regular church architecture. The church at Knossos was part of a huge enclosure measuring 75 meters by a possible 150 meters. The enclosure, according to the excavator, may have been a cemetery associated with the church. Unfortunately, the complex was destroyed after its excavation to make room for the new medical school of the University of Crete. The triconch, measuring 13 × 15 meters was evidently built first as a freestanding building. Around 400 a large three-aisled basilica was abutted to the west side of the triconch, only the nave communicating with its central, square space. The new building was fairly large, measuring 18 × 47 meters.

A triconch church discovered at the village of Betika, north of Pula in Istria, Croatia, reveals an architectural evolution over a period of time, from the first half of the fifth century until well



159 Basilicas with triconch sanctuaries; (A) Knossos, (B) Betika, (C) Kos, St. Gabriel, (D) Cim, (E) Bilice, (F) Založje; plans

into the sixth (fig. 159B).[196] The result shares many similarities with the Knossos church. It seems that a freestanding triconch envisioned as a martyrium and measuring 8 × 8 meters in plan was built first in an area that clearly had been inhabited in earlier times. The martyrium subsequently became the sanctuary of a three-aisled basilica preceded by a large atrium. The complex, as completed possibly after the middle of the sixth century, had an overall length of 56 meters. Relatively narrow, only 12.5 meters in width, the basilica continued to have a funerary function, predicated on the presence of the martyrium in its sanctuary. The addition of a baptistery, special funerary chapels, and other rooms illustrates the growing importance of the complex over a fairly long period. By the seventh century, and possibly even earlier, the Betika complex may have functioned as a monastery, the role it appears to have maintained well into the medieval period. It is through such contexts with demonstrable chronological continuities that the later medieval popularity of the triconch church type may have come into being.

More modest schemes, in which a triconch is juxtaposed with a single-aisled basilica, but built simultaneously, also began to appear in the Balkans in the course of the later fifth century.[197] Two examples, both in the province of Dalmatia, are of particular relevance for our discussion. The first, at Cim, near Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a memorial complex, dated by its excavator to the late fifth or early sixth century (fig. 159D).[198] The main church consists of a triconch on its west side, expanded into a long, single-aisled church. Preceded by an oblong narthex, the church is flanked by rows of rooms on its north (baptistery) and south sides. Together, the narthex and the lateral chambers form an envelope that gives the building its characteristically blocky form, broken only on its southeast and east sides, where the exterior form of the triconch is visible in part. The exterior of the building is marked by a series of strong wall buttresses on all sides. Their presence suggests that in all likelihood the building was vaulted. The overall dimensions of the church in plan are 16 × 25.5 meters. The north conch of the triconch had an ossuary built under its floor that must have contained some important remains. In the middle of the conch was a door that communicated directly with the exterior. The presence of this door ought to be linked with the ossuary. It suggests that the shrine related to the ossuary may have been made available to visiting pilgrims, so as not to make their presence an obstacle to the liturgical services within the church proper. A door in the southwest part of the south conch links it with the row of rooms on the south side and through them with the narthex, and via another door in the south wall with a tiny triconch "memoria" structure just to the south of the main church.

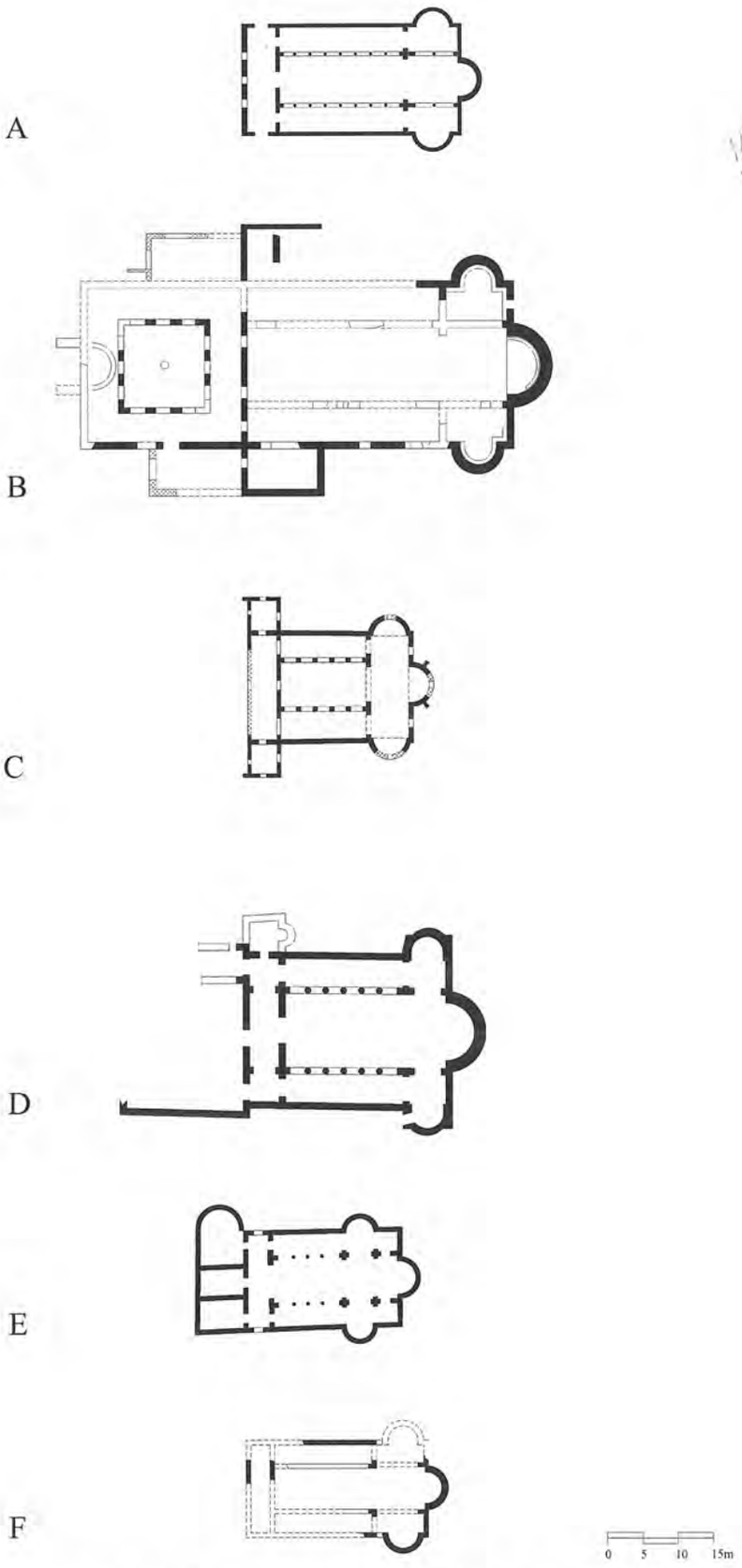
The second, related example is the triconch church at Bilice, near Šibenik, Croatia (fig. 159E).[199] Much like the church at Cim, this too was a triconch with a single-aisled church attached to its west side. The nave in this case was internally subdivided into a series of two nearly square bays by means of wall pilasters. A third comparable bay was placed within the triconch part of the church. Whether these pilasters signal the erstwhile presence of vaulting or not is difficult to tell. No more helpful in this regard are the very thin external wall pilasters, whose close spacing has no relationship to the interior system of pilasters. The church is slightly smaller than the one at Cim, its overall dimensions being 7 × 20 meters in plan. The church at Bilice had a symmetrically arranged pair of doors that led into the western part of its side conches. These doors evidently originally functioned as exterior doors, but they were evidently internalized shortly after the building was completed by the addition of two squarish chambers on the north and the south sides of the church, both provided with their own exterior doors. Much as what we saw at Cim, it was important for the lateral conches to be accessible also from the exterior, presumably because of access to any shrines that they may have accommodated.

The triconch church excavated at Založje, near Bihać, Bosnia and Herzegovina, displays further interesting relationships to this group (fig. 159F).[200] In this case the triconch east end of the church was built simultaneously with the rest of the building, but its lateral conches were curiously fused with its outer walls, so that the western parts of the conch walls seem to be missing. The narrow lateral spaces (aisles?) thus communicated directly with the side conches. One could argue that the side doors and the subsequent arrangement of rooms as seen at Bilice was here superseded by a more straightforward solution. The overall dimensions of the church at Založje – 11.5 × 24 meters – make it comparable in terms of scale to the churches at Cim and Bilice as well. Tentatively dated to the sixth century, the church at Založje appears to provide an important clue as to the degree of attention given to planning issues related to new factors such as the cult of relics. A particularly significant confirmation of such a notion comes from the church possibly dedicated to Archangelos Gabriel, near Kos on the eponymous island, Greece (fig. 159).[201] Measuring 14 × 30.5 meters in its overall dimensions, the church appears to have grown in stages, spanning the later fifth and the sixth centuries. The manner in which the triconch component is related to the rest of the church reveals a practically identical concept to what we saw at Založje. The main difference here is that the triconch appears to have been built independently at first, and was only subsequently abutted by the church. The original triconch scheme in plan and size appears to have been closely related to the triconch martyrium excavated at Akrini, near Kozani (see fig. 151). All these factors suggest that general ideas related to certain central functional issues were disseminated widely. Their appearance as far apart as Založje, in the mountainous region of central Bosnia, and Kos in the Aegean suggests links by some means. These may have occurred via sea routes, with the towns on the Dalmatian coast providing points of intermediate contact. The subject, obviously, requires much further study.

BASILICAS WITH TRIPARTITE AND APSIDAL TRANSEPTS

Among the many types of basilicas that appeared during the fifth century in the Balkans, those with eastern transepts are among the more conspicuous, if relatively rare. We have noted their appearance in certain urban centers, such as Thessaloniki (Hagios Demetrios), Philippi (Basilica A), Diocletianopolis-Hissar (Church 4), Salona (Manastirine and Marusinac), and Nikopolis (Basilica B). More often than not, such transepts are not continuous, but are broken down, usually into three spatial units. It has been suggested that basilicas with tripartite transepts may have been linked to the West through jurisdictional affiliations, but their appearance in the Balkans may have had very different functional implications than originally thought. The arms of a transept, much like the lateral chambers and apses we have examined, may have been related to the need to accommodate special shrines for displaying the relics of saints. In such positions tombs or shrines would have been made readily accessible to visitors. At the same time, their placement would have kept the visitors outside the naos, where liturgical services would have been conducted on a regular basis. A special variation on the theme of basilicas with tripartite transepts appeared in the Balkans during the fifth century, and continued into the sixth. Intimately related to basilicas with tripartite transepts, the type was observed and discussed by Pallas as related to the church architecture of Nikopolis, though not in conjunction with a pilgrimage function.[202] While the concentration of this type of church may have been in the area of Epiros, examples have been found as far afield as Kozani, in Greek Macedonia, and Synaxis in Thrace.

The dating of most of these monuments is uncertain, although all belong either to the second half of the fifth century or the first half of the sixth. One of the monuments of this group, the basilica at Dodona in Epiros, Greece, is of particular interest (fig. 160A). Its origins in this case certainly reach back into the fifth century. In its initial form the church was a middle-sized, three-aisled basilica (19 × 32 m in plan) with two projecting lateral arms, resembling a tripartite transept arrangement, and a round apse terminating the nave. The separation of the "transept arms" in this case was not as emphatic, for the nave



160 Basilicas with apsidal transepts; (A) Dōdōnē, (B) Arapaj, (C) Paramythia, (D) Synaxis, (E) Kozanē, H. Paraskevē, (F) Byllidos; plans

colonnades were extended without interruption to the east wall of the building. Yet the arms must have had a distinctive funerary function. Within each of the arms and abutting the nave colonnade was a built-in tomb, suggesting that these spaces may have functioned in a manner comparable to that of the lateral chambers in the single-aisled churches discussed earlier. The church at Dodona was substantially transformed, probably in the sixth century, when its apse and "transept arms" were suppressed and replaced by fully developed transept arms with lateral apses, as large as the new main apse. The new church was thus enlarged, its new length being 40 meters. The western part of the old church was evidently left intact, while the two tombs must have now appeared at the eastern ends of the two aisles, and just outside the new transept arms.

Related to the first phase of the basilica at Dōdōnē is the so-called Basilica A at Byllidos (now Bylis), Albania, one of several basilicas built in the city during its apogee, during the fifth and sixth centuries (fig. 160F).[203] Measuring 23 × 38 meters in plan, the Basilica at Billydos is comperable in size to the Basilica at Dōdōnē. It is the arrangement of its east end, in this case consisting of a tripartite transept whose arms project substantially beyond the width of the three-aisled main body of the church, that is of particular relevance. The arms, here separated from the sanctuary proper by a single pier supporting arcades, had doors in their eastern as well as their western wall. This suggests that these arms could be entered and exited by people (possibly pilgrims) without any potential interference with the liturgical service celebrated at the main altar within the bema enclosure.

The basilica of Arapaj, near Durres, Albania, is more closely related to the one at Dōdōnē following its expansion by the addition of an apsed transept, possibly in the sixth century (fig. 160B). The basilica at Arapaj is dated to the sixth century on the basis of its floor mosaics. We will consider it in this context on account of its relationship to the planning concept under discussion. One of the largest basilicas in this group, the church measured 28 × 60 meters in plan. Preceded by a square atrium, it apparently had no narthex. Its nave was probably originally separated from the side aisles by columns, while the arms of the tripartite, apsed transept were subdivided from the sanctuary by double columns (or piers), as opposed to the single column (or pier) found in most churches of this type. The northern transept arm was accessible from the exterior through a door in a comparable location to the doors seen at the basilica at Byllidos. This, in all likelihood, had similar functional implications.

The basilica excavated at Paramythia in Epiros, Greece, whose date is also uncertain, displays affinities with all three basilicas just discussed: at Dōdōnē, at Byllidos, and at Arapaj. It differs from the three because its transept was continuous, and not partitioned into three spatial components (fig. 160C). In this case,

the two apses, in addition to the eastern wall of the transept, also had doors linking the transept with the exterior. Although we do not know what stood within these apses, the possibility of some sort of shrine is high. A valuable confirmation comes from yet another basilica excavated at Synaxis in Thrace, Greece (fig. 160D).[204] Roughly dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, the three-aisled basilica measured 20 × 36 meters. At its east end it had two laterally projecting apses, with an interior diameter of 5 meters. The southern of the two apses contained a carefully constructed vaulted underground tomb. On its west side the apse wall accommodated an exterior door, directly related to the position of the tomb. It seems quite clear that the position of the door and that of the tomb were functionally linked, once more shedding light on the postulated circulation pattern of pilgrims, visiting a shrine of an unknown saint or a person of distinction who may have been buried in the tomb.

The appearance of lateral apses, in conjunction with transept arrangements in basilicas of the later fifth and early sixth centuries, signals what appears to have been a significant development predicated on the placement of saints' shrines with an eye to the effective accommodation of pilgrimage traffic. Two additional basilicas offer further interesting insights along these lines. The first is a basilica discovered in the village of Hagia Paraskevē near Kozanē, Greece, whose typological characteristics relate it directly to the group under discussion, while its mosaics have been dated to the third quarter of the sixth century (fig. 160E).[205] On account of the distinctive characteristics that relate it to this group it will be discussed here. While the basilica shares many characteristics with those already mentioned, it also features some interesting differences. The church, like those at Dōdōnē, Arapaj, Paramythia, and Synaxis, had two symmetrical lateral apses, but these were not in the immediate vicinity of the eastern wall of the church. In fact, a square bay, of the same width as the aisles, was inserted between the east end of the church and the apse on each of the two sides. The apses were related to another bay in the interior of the church, whose width was the same as that of the side aisles, from which it was separated by transverse arches carried on wall pilasters and on cruciform piers on the nave side. The two apses, therefore, appear to have been related to what must have resembled a tripartite transept. Indeed, if this were a tripartite transept, its location would not have been conventional, because it was not situated at the very eastern end of the church on account of the two additional bays. The location of the "transept" in this case would have been moved substantially further to the west, occupying a position closer to the center of the building than to its eastern side.

A partially excavated basilica at Thaumakos in Phthiotida, Greece, adds yet another interesting dimension to this discussion. Here, a three-aisled basilica, measuring 20 × 36 meters in plan (identical dimensions to the basilica at Synaxis), had a pair of lateral apses projecting from the exterior walls of the side aisles. The apses, much like those at Kozanē, were set back at the east end of the church. The distance in this case was 5.4 meters, thus approximately corresponding to the width of the side aisles. The much smaller diameter of the lateral apses (here only 4 m) suggests that they may not have been related to a transept-like arrangement at all, but were merely adjuncts to the side aisles. In that case, the aisles would have provided access to the hypothetical locations of shrines. Closely related, though apparently much older, would have been the Cemetery Basilica at Dēmētrias, Thessaly, Greece.[206] Measuring 19 × 31.5 meters, this was a conventional three-aisled basilica with a narthex flanked by a stair tower on the north side. In the middle of the exterior wall of the south aisle a small projecting semicircular apse with a diameter of 2 meters marked a tomb of some prominence. Dating from *circa* 400, this basilica may be perceived as a forerunner of a development that took place in the course of the fifth century, and whose implications were analyzed above.

The Cemetery Basilica at Dēmētrias and the basilica at Thaumakos provide us with additional dimensions of our architectural analysis of the functional aspect of pilgrimage shrine churches. Neither of the two churches had a transept, while the location and the character of the shrine compartments along their flanks bring us close to some of the martyria and single-aisled churches with comparable side chambers, whose characteristics and geographic spread were explored above. Bringing these phenomena together into a common context helps to illuminate some of the issues further. Looking back at one of these buildings in particular – the martyrium at Bar (fig. 152) – one is struck by the location of the tomb within its lateral apse, the relative position of the two flanking apses, and the overall conception of the relationship between the primary liturgical focus in the main apse and the subsidiary foci, and the related problem of accommodating visiting pilgrims.

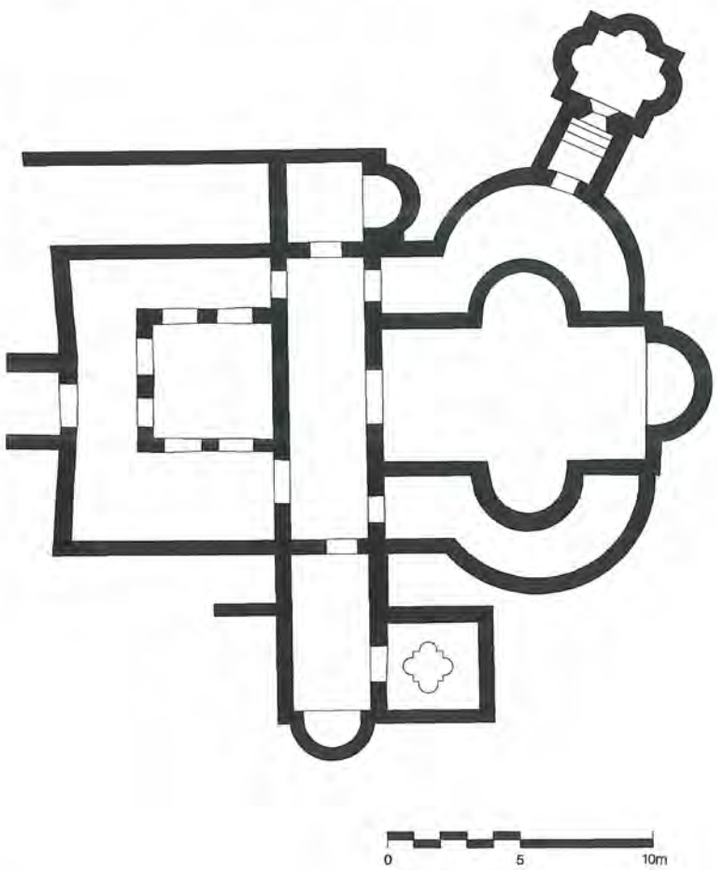
AISLED TETRACONCHS

The so-called aisled tetraconch churches have attracted the attention of scholars for some time.[207] The reason for their identification as a specific category was spurred by various other arguments that arose in conjunction with their typological recognition. In no small measure, the analysis of the type was brought into focus by the discovery and study of several such churches in the Balkans. Although the type is very widespread, both geographically and chronologically, a number of important fifth-century examples are situated on the Balkan peninsula. We will turn now to its analysis in the hope of demonstrating that

aisled tetraconchs, too, were related to the problem of displaying relics and reliquaries, and that ultimately they may be perceived as the most advanced phase of the general development that we studied above.

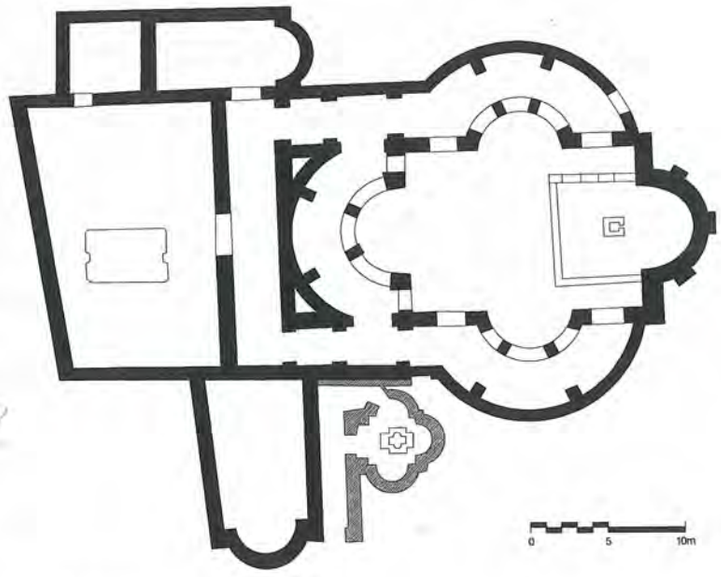
As a convenient point of departure we may turn to the building at Lin (Podgradec), on the west shore of Lake Ohrid in Albania (fig. 161).[208] Though generally considered as belonging to the "aisled tetraconch" type, it is really an aisled triconch. Its main part is a rectangular, single-aisled space, internally measuring 5 × 9.5 meters and once most certainly covered by a wooden trussed roof. From the midpoints of the lateral walls project semicircular apses, thereby creating an elongated triconch form, recalling, for example, the triconch martyrium at Bar (fig. 152). The church was excavated many years ago, but remains largely unpublished. As a result, many crucial issues pertaining to its form and articulation cannot be answered adequately. The main issue is how the central part of the church actually communicated with the ambulatory passages on the north and south sides. What is shown on published drawings are solid walls, presumably reflecting the foundation walls that have been preserved. Were the lateral apses actually perforated with columnar or piered arcades, or were they solid walls as in the case of the martyrium at Bar? Other related churches, as we shall see, have perforated lateral apses, allowing for direct communication between the naos and the ambulatory passages. This, in turn, introduces the possibility that the ambulatory in this building may have been conceived as a peripheral means of accessing any shrines that stood within the lateral apses, without interfering with the liturgical activities in the main part of the church. At the same time, such a solution would have ensured that the shrines retained their highly visible position within the main space of the church. Clearly, such a concept combines ideas related to the placement of shrines that we have explored above with a more efficient pattern of access provided by the introduction of ambulatory passages. The evidence for the employment of such a scheme is obtained from the sixth-century church of San Vitale in Ravenna.[209] The exact solution that may have been employed at Lin, at this point, remains unclear. Its basic planning ingredients, as well as related buildings to which we will turn, provide strong indications that the church at Lin may have been an early experiment in the process of solving the increasingly important issue of facilitating pilgrim access to holy shrines. The church is not dated firmly. It is assumed, on the basis of its sculptural decoration, that it may belong to the first half of the sixth century, though a late fifth-century date should not be dismissed out of hand.

161 Lin, Aisled triconch; plan



The general appearance of aisled tetraconch churches began in the Balkans as early as the first decades of the fifth century, as seen in the case of the one built in Athens, possibly under the auspices of Eudocia, the Athenian wife of Emperor Theodosius II. The case of the large aisled tetraconch at Lichnidos (now Ohrid, FYROM), excavated in the early 1970s, provides further insights into the matter (fig. 162).[210] The location of Ohrid, on a promontory on the northeastern shore of Lake Ohrid, is exactly opposite that of Lin, in Albania, overlooking the same lake, the two churches separated by merely 13 kilometers as the crow flies. Measuring 32 × 27 meters, the Ohrid church is a tetraconch and is slightly larger than the church at Lin. Its general disposition, featuring an atrium, a narthex flanked by a chapel on the north side, and a baptistery group on the south, recalls Lin in almost every respect. The tetraconch character of the Ohrid church immediately stands out, though its interior, too, is dominated by a rectangular naos, measuring 11 × 15 meters in plan. At the midpoint of the two long sides of the naos are located lateral apses. The entire arrangement is encased by ambulatory passageways on the north and the south that follow the outlines of the building core and give the building its characteristic external appearance. The arrangement is remarkably similar to that at Lin, albeit slightly larger. While at Lin the

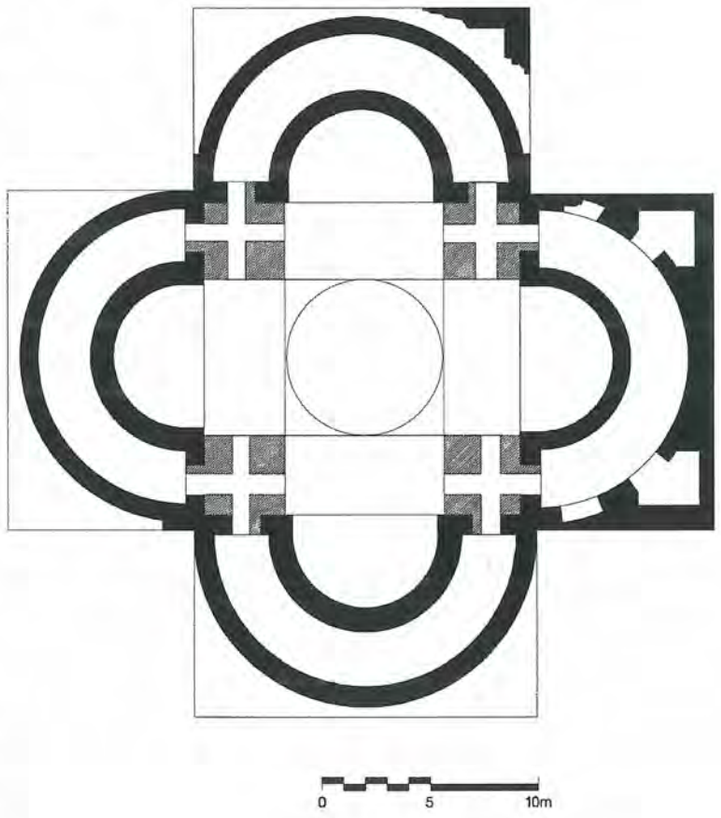
spatial relationship between the naos and the surrounding ambulatory is not known, here it is clear that the lateral apses were opened through triple arcades resting on piers. This unmistakably facilitated access from the ambulatory into the apses. It is unclear, however, what the lateral apses may have contained. Their floors were decorated with mosaic, though the southern one is substantially destroyed. The northern pavement depicts a radial pattern that combines the motif of a shell with peacock feathers. It is unclear, given our current knowledge, whether the southern apse had a full mosaic pavement, or may have accommodated some type of permanent installation. Alternatively, the side apses might have been used for displaying relics only on certain occasions on movable tables. Obviously, our knowledge of how relics were made available to the faithful is a subject that requires much further study. The excavator of the Ohrid aisled tetraconch put its date around the middle of the fifth century or in the second half of the sixth. At the same time, she views the mosaics of the church as being intimately related to the unpublished mosaics from Lin.[211] Given our observations regarding the architecture of the two monuments, both seem to belong to the same period, certainly before 500.



162 Lichnidos, Aisled tetraconch; plan

The fifth-century aisled tetraconch in Adrianople (now Edirne, Turkey) belongs to a class of its own (fig. 163). Possibly dedicated from the outset to Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), this tetraconch was built in the very center of the ancient city. A preserved nineteenth-century plan of Edirne indicates quite clearly that the church was located at what would appear to have been the intersection of the two principal roads of the late antique city, virtually in its strict geometric center.[212] Such a location, in ancient times the preferred location of the forum, would have constituted an area shunned by church builders during the fourth century and the first half of the fifth. Then, increasingly, especially during the second half of the fifth century, church construction began encroaching on the traditional forum areas, as many urban examples in the Balkans testify. The location of Hagia Sophia at Adrianople, then, was in line with the new urban approaches to the Christianization of cities in evidence during the second half of the fifth century. Situated, as it would have been, in the heart of the city, the church of Hagia Sophia, much like the tetraconch in Athens, signaled the age of the triumphant Church exerting its power through the construction of ostentatious buildings with a high degree of public visibility.

163 Adrianople, Aisled tetraconch; plan



TIMBER-ROOFED BASILICAS

By far the greatest number of churches built during the fifth century belong to the category of basilicas. Only a few of these survive, while several hundred others have been excavated in all parts of the Balkan peninsula. So pervasive was this type that not

only the study of ecclesiastical architecture, but also of architecture of this period in general, has been largely gauged by its standards.[213] This, of course, has been a major distorting mirror that we intend to avoid here. For that reason above all, but also because quite a number of urban basilican churches have already been discussed in some detail, our attention will focus only on a select number of basilicas that reveal characteristics of particular significance. The main difference between basilicas and single-aisled churches is one of scale. Generally it is assumed that aisles increase the volume of a building, and that therefore the multiplication of aisles must be understood as an indicator of a rise in congregation numbers. While there is some truth in this argument, we must be cautious in applying explanations that reduce problems to simple formulas. In dealing with the basilican churches of the fifth century we must not ignore their function – not only their principal, liturgical functions, but equally important, the special functions that lent so much variety to the problem of planning and ultimately to the physical appearance of individual buildings. No two basilicas, it should be stressed, no matter how similar they may have been in conception, were ever completely alike.

Three-aisled basilicas constitute the most common type found throughout the Balkans. An equally common planning characteristic of these basilicas was a single, axially placed apse, semicircular both inside and out. Most of the churches had the sanctuary in front of the apse, enclosed by low parapet slabs held in place by slender colonnettes; these were outfitted with curtains, which could be drawn together at certain points during the service. The dramatization of the liturgy became an important aspect. This process would continue in subsequent centuries, with an ever-increasing emphasis on the mystical aspect. A basilica was usually preceded by a narthex, and often by an atrium, usually containing a fountain. No basilica existed as a simple shed, devoid of accompanying chambers. It is from the presence of these that the greatest variety of planning solutions was derived. Some basilicas had galleries, accessible by staircases in tower-like structures, usually flanking the narthex. Galleries were more often encountered in parts under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople. Most basilicas were covered with wooden trussed roofs. Walls were relatively thin, their interior surfaces (and only occasionally the exterior ones) covered with mosaics. Floors could be paved with marble slabs, *opus sectile* panels, mosaics, or regular brick tiles, generally depending on the means of the patrons responsible for the erection of the church.

DOUBLE BASILICAS

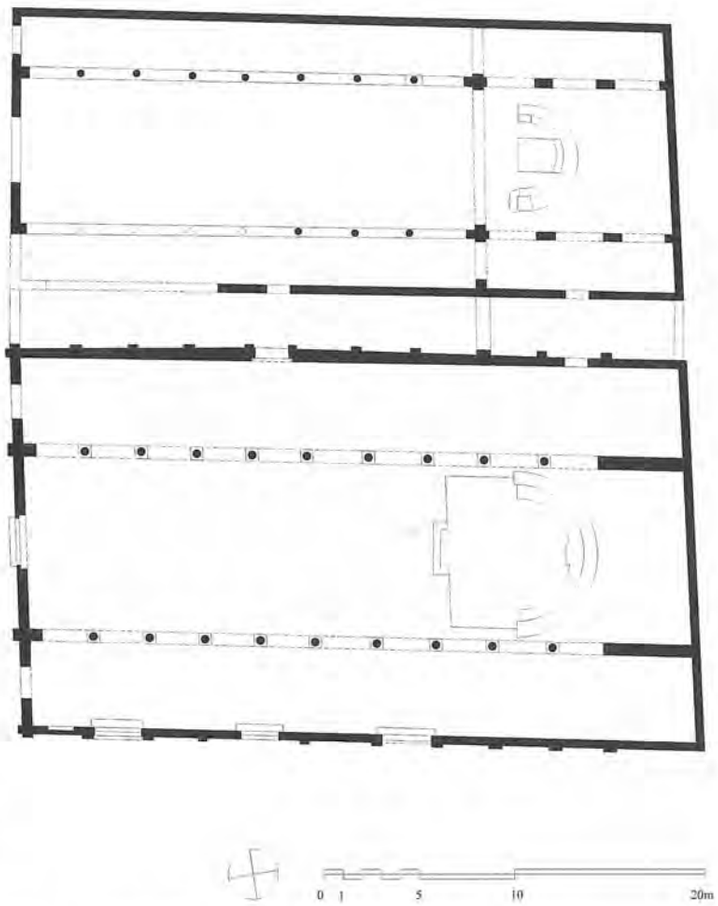
As we have seen, no basilican church appeared in isolation. In certain situations basilicas appeared in pairs, the particular constellation derived from certain functional requirements or needs. This phenomenon occurred throughout the late antique world and has been given considerable scholarly attention.[214] In the Balkan context it is notable in the northern Adriatic area, extending westward across northern Italy and eastward into the region of Carinthia (Slovenia and parts of modern Austria). Other examples have also been recorded in Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, and elsewhere, but nowhere with the kind of architectural consistency found in the northern Adriatic basin.

Archaeological excavations of the pre-Euphrasian double-cathedral complex at Parentium (modern Poreč, Croatia) have revealed the existence of a pair of almost identical three-aisled basilicas separated by a narrow corridor (fig. 164).[215] Sharing a common length of 35 meters, the southern church is considerably wider – 20 meters – as against 15 meters for the northern one. Both basilicas have relatively wide naves (9 m versus 7.5 m) that in each case extend to the flat eastern wall of the building. Instead of the usual apse, both of these churches had a low semicircular bench that took the place of the conventional apse with its synthronon. In both cases the bench was set back approximately 5 meters from the east wall, thus leaving ample room for circulation behind the clergy seats. Related to the earliest double churches at Aquileia, dating possibly from 313, themselves replaced by a pair of larger but similar basilicas in the course of the fifth century, the double cathedral of Parentium may have been influenced by the example of Aquileia, the oldest religious center of the region. The aisles of the two churches were separated from the central vessels by columnar arcades. The main deviation from this pattern may be seen in the east section of the north basilica. This part of the church, approximately 10 meters deep, was delineated from the rest of the church by a pair of cruciform piers. Lined up with the main columnar arcades, a pair of rectangular piers, presumably also supporting arches, continued to their east. Whether the presence of piers instead of columns signaled a different type of superstructure from that in the main part of the basilica is not known, but the change in the nature of the structural supports was probably not accidental, though its full significance escapes us given our current state of knowledge.

The city of Pola (modern Pula) was a major episcopal center in southern Istria, Croatia. In the fifth century, it too was embellished by the construction of a large double cathedral complex (fig. 165). Somewhat smaller than that of Aquileia, but much larger than the double cathedral group at Parentium, the Pola complex has the same essential characteristics as those two complexes. Its churches were placed side by side, with a narrow passageway between the two. In this case, the main church, fronted by a freestanding baptistery, is on the north side. Measuring 23.5 × 62 meters, it nearly matches the size of the fifth-century

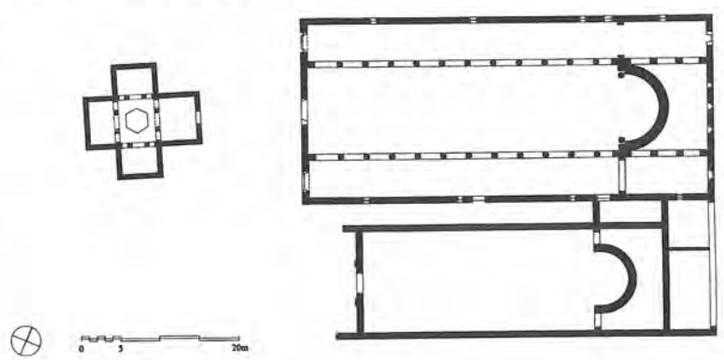
basilicas in Aquileia. The south church is single-aisled and is somewhat smaller (14 × 40 m). As in the preceding examples, the place of a regular apse is taken by a freestanding semicircular bench for the clergy with ample open space between it and the eastern (straight) wall of the church. The influence of the complex at Pola must have been strongly felt in the surrounding areas, as the case of the double church at Nesactium (Istria, Croatia) illustrates (fig. 166). Here the two churches had much smaller dimensions, but their essential form was the same. The southern church was the larger of the two, measuring 13 × 30 meters, while the northern one was smaller (only 10 × 20 m). The south church may have been a three-aisled basilica of the type seen in several previous examples. The northern church, on the other hand, was a single-aisled church accompanied by a series of lateral chambers grouped into orderly rows on both sides of the naos, so that they almost resemble side aisles. The central rectangular room on the north side contains a square baptismal font, in an arrangement that recalls several smaller single-aisled churches in Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina from this period. The two churches shared a common narthex, recalling the complex at Aquileia. The exact function of the complex at Nesactium is not known, although the possibility of it having been the seat of a bishop has been questioned.

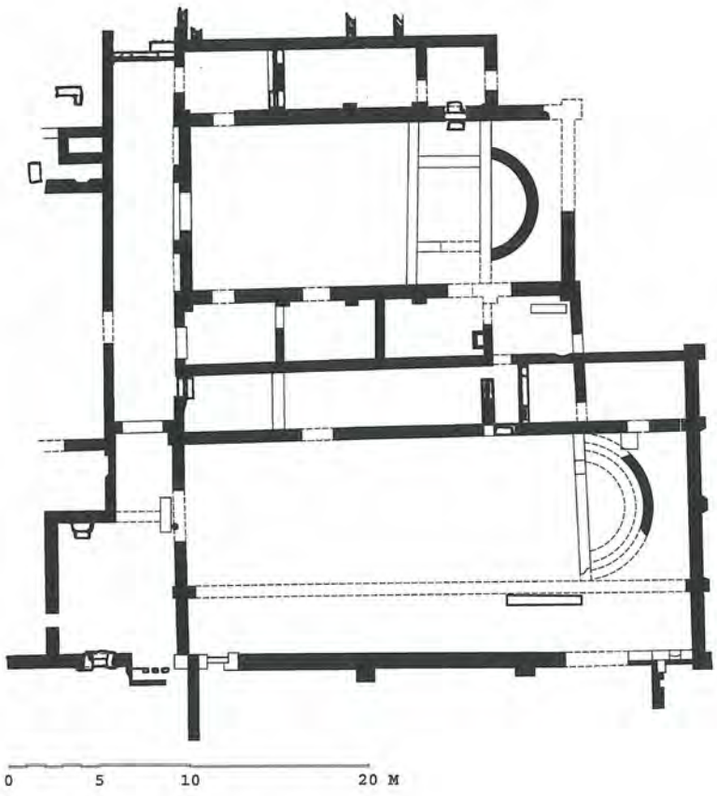
The building of double churches appeared also in Dalmatia during the fifth century. Here the churches were much smaller than the examples in the northern Adriatic basin. Furthermore, they are generally characterized by a process of evolution, rather than being products of a single building campaign.[216] One of the finer examples illustrating this process is the double church at Srima, on the Dalmatian coast of Croatia (fig. 167). Here the complex began as a single-aisled church with a group of lateral rooms organized into aisle-like rows and linked by a narthex. As in the case of the north church at Nesactium, a long rectangular room on the north side accommodated a font. The church was enlarged in the second phase by the addition of another church to the south. The overall dimensions of the new complex were merely 17 × 23.5 meters. The southern church had similar planning characteristics to its northern neighbor, with which it shared the easternmost lateral room, which undoubtedly had some sort of a liturgical function. The function of the Srima double church is not known, but in many respects it recalls the small-scale characteristics of the complex at Nesactium, whose function also remains a mystery. The complex at Srima, as well as other small-scale double churches in Dalmatia, appear to have had little to do with the contemporary monumental examples in Salona discussed earlier in this chapter. Differences are not just a matter of scale, but have to do with functional intentions. The grand episcopal complex at Salona, the largest urban center in Dalmatia and one of the largest cities in the Balkans, could be meaningfully compared to the double cathedral of Aquileia. Whether a complex such as that at Srima reflected some conscious effort to emulate a metropolitan architectural scheme, or whether its evolution was a by-product of other objectives, cannot be answered with certainty. The problem of "double



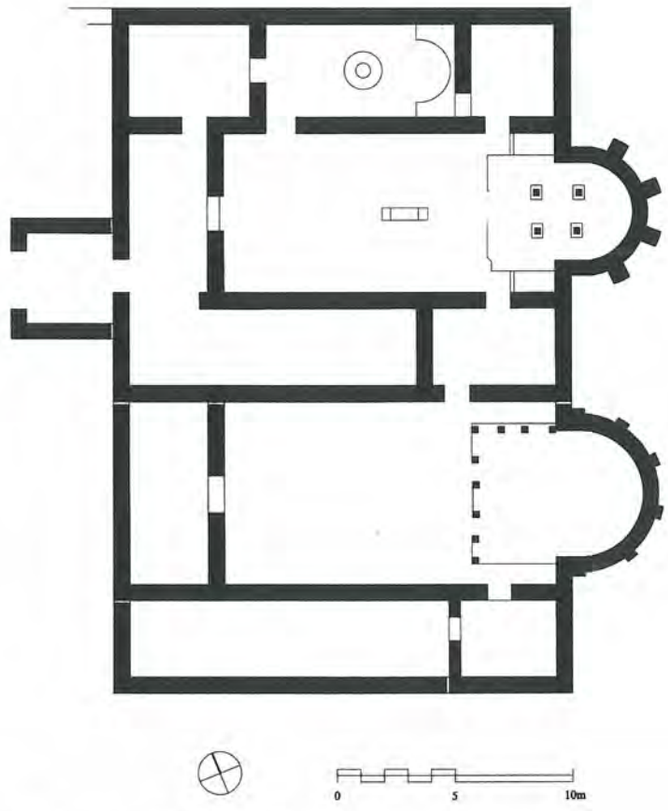
164 Parentium, Double basilica; plan

165 Pola, Double basilica; plan



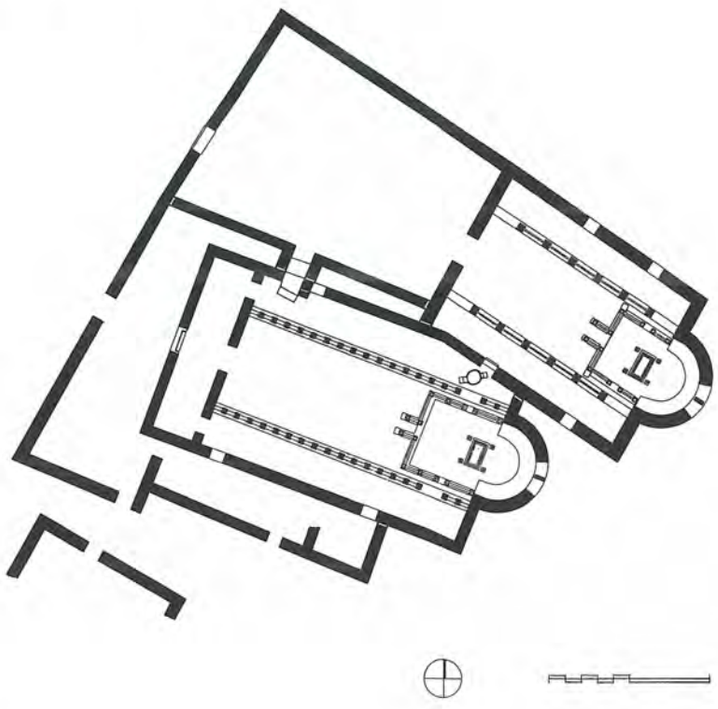


166 Nesactium, Double basilica; plan



167 Srima, Double basilica; plan

168 Alikē, Double basilica; plan



churches," as was the case with several other typological issues that we have touched on, illustrates the shortcomings, as well as the potential pitfalls, of that particular method of investigation. While it would be unwise to ignore typological relationships completely, the problem must be approached with caution, and any conclusions must be judiciously considered against a broad range of factors.

Although not unknown, examples of double churches from the fifth century in other parts of the Balkan peninsula are relatively scarce. One of the finest and most carefully studied examples is the complex of two small basilicas at Alikē, on the island of Thasos in the northern Aegean, Greece (fig. 168).[217] Here several aspects have been clearly pinpointed. The two basilicas ultimately evolved as a group in stages. Probably during the first stage, the main (south) church was built as a three-aisled basilica. Abutting it tangentially at its northeast corner another smaller, single-aisled church was built. This small "chapel," as the excavators refer to it, seems to have been the repository of relics that were subsequently transferred to a new position below the altar of another three-aisled basilica that replaced the original "chapel," essentially on the same site. Being larger than the "chapel," but constrained by the natural topography of the site, the new basilica caused the

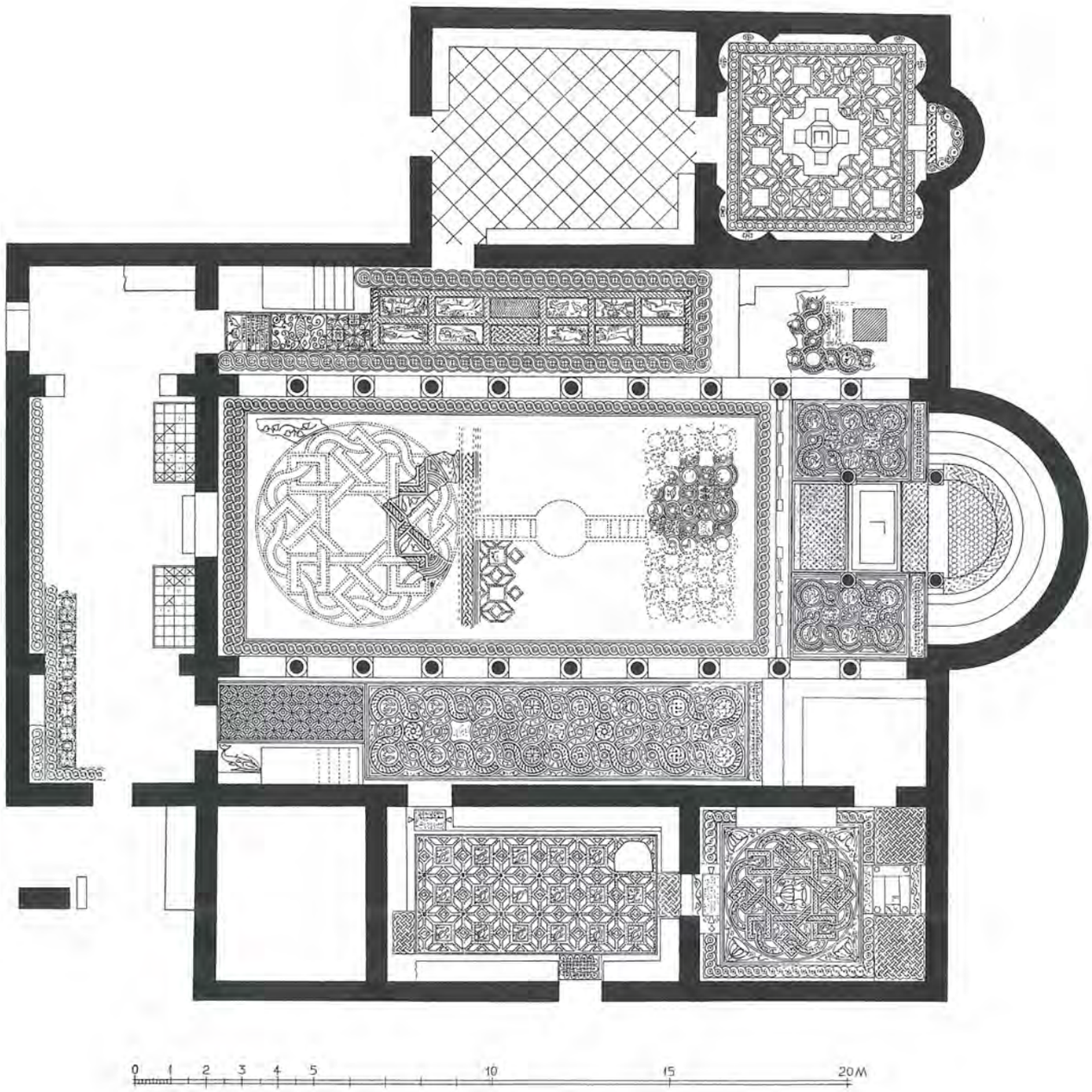
demolition of the northeast corner of the south church. A curious new complex was thus created *circa* 500. The two basilicas were joined by a single door. Within the truncated east end of the north aisle of the main basilica, a baptismal font was awkwardly set up, directly in front of the door leading to the north basilica. The north church is believed to have served primarily a funerary role, related to the presence of the important relics under its altar. Further modifications of the complex in the course of the sixth century were of lesser architectural significance. The complex at Alikē was small compared with other complexes of this kind that we have examined. The south church was 12.5 × 24.5 meters in plan, the northern one merely 11.5 × 18 meters. A fairly large courtyard, probably intended as a cemetery, was subsequently made into an atrium, a new baptistery, and other subsidiary rooms. The general funerary function of this church was evidently unaffected by these changes.

BASILICAS WITH BAPTISTERIES

As we have seen in several contexts discussed above, fifth-century churches were commonly surrounded by subsidiary structures that were often intimately related to the main building. Introduced primarily for functional reasons (storage of liturgical vessels, burials, commemoration, etc.), these elements enhanced the more complex workings of a building, but also architecturally affected the general appearance of a church as a whole. A general view of fifth-century church architecture suggests that many of these functional "addenda" eventually became standard features of church design and were integrated into architectural schemes that reveal a greater sense of compositional coherence. To some extent this also applies to the baptisteries that accompanied many churches during the fifth century, though their integration into church architecture never became a universal norm. The great emphasis on baptistery building in the course of the fifth century reflects several general significant factors. Above all, it demonstrates the determination and rigor with which the Church pursued the process of conversion among the indigenous population of the Balkans. Second, it illustrates clearly that performing the baptismal ceremony was not an exclusive prerogative of the local bishop. Often more than one church in a given city had a baptistery, but this does not necessarily indicate divisions between different Christian groups. The appearance of basilicas with baptisteries far from populated urban areas suggests that the rural population was also targeted for conversion. Monasteries played an important role in this regard. At times they were closely related to the seat of a regional bishop, whose see may have been distant from an urban settlement. The appearance of a baptistery in a monastic center, however, cannot be automatically construed as an absolute indicator that the monastery was affiliated with a bishopric. The implied vagaries of the functional relationships that we have alluded to are reflected in architectural schemes. The only thing about baptisteries that can be stated as an absolute rule is that they never appear in pairs. The incorporation of a baptistery into an architectural complex could, and invariably did, invite various responses. Many of these responses have already been noted and discussed in connection with church architecture in various urban contexts. We will examine a few additional examples of basilican churches accompanied by baptisteries in the hope of demonstrating the versatility of approaches, both from the point of view of the relative location of baptisteries and of their design.

A medium-sized basilica excavated at Pirinch Tepe, near Varna, Bulgaria (overall church dimensions 18.5 × 34 m), had two construction phases, the first of which probably occurred in the fifth century.[218] The three-aisled basilica, preceded by a narthex, was accompanied by a square baptistery located near the northeastern corner of the church and linked to it by a passageway. In the middle of the baptistery, measuring 7.5 × 7.5 meters externally, stood a cruciform font, superseded by an oval one during the subsequent rebuilding of the entire complex. A related fifth-century basilica excavated at the site of Bargala, FYROM, is of interest in several respects.[219] Here the three-aisled basilica was also medium-sized, measuring 17.5 × 34 meters, and was preceded by a narthex and an exonarthex, and accompanied by a variety of rooms on both the north and south sides built in several different phases. The history of its baptistery attached to the northeast corner of the basilica, was quite remarkable. In its original phase, according to the excavator, the baptismal font was made from a converted tomb, believed to have been that of a local martyr, whose commemoration was the *raison d'être* for the construction of the basilica in the first place. The baptistery in its first stage covered by a ciborium supported on eight columns, traces of whose bases have been preserved. This font, if it ever functioned as such, since no water supply or drainage pipes have been found, was replaced by a second one of cruciform shape and beautifully constructed. In this, the second stage of construction, the baptistery was evidently vaulted. The room, 7.5 × 13.5 meters in overall external dimensions, was linked to the basilica by a door cut through the wall leading to the eastern end of the north aisle. A series of other rooms, functionally related to the baptistery, was aligned along the outer northern wall of the basilica and in front of the baptistery, illustrating an effort to unify the planning scheme, but also some functional considerations that escape us. To its northwest the basilica abutted a complex that was probably the episcopal residence, built against the city walls.

The Aegean island of Kos, Greece, has several fifth-century basilicas accompanied by prominent baptisteries at their eastern



169 Mastichari, Basilica with baptistery; plan

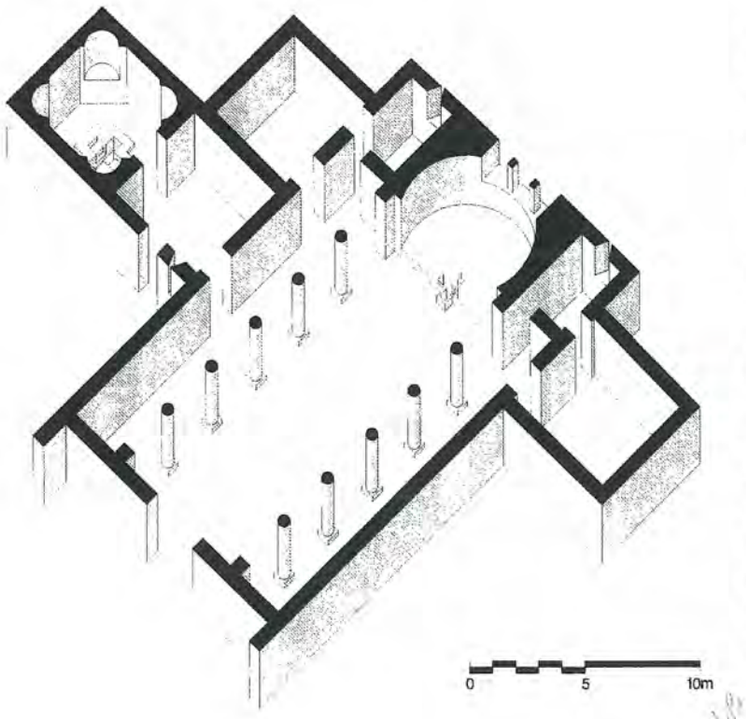
ends. The best known among these, dedicated to Hagios Ioannis (?) in the village of Mastichari, is renowned primarily for its outstanding mosaics.[220] The three-aisled basilica at Mastichari may be described as a "classic" basilica of this period. Measuring 15.5 × 30.5 meters, the church has a nave slightly wider than the double width of each of its side aisles (fig. 169). It was preceded by a narthex, and it had galleries above the narthex and the side aisles, access to which was gained via two staircases in the southwestern corner of the southern aisle and the northwestern corner of the northern. Its sanctuary, screened by parapets, contained a three-stepped synthronon within an internally and externally semicircular apse behind an altar under a four-column ciborium. Along the flanks of the main part of the basilica are rows of separate chambers with distinctive liturgical functions. Several of these rooms have low built-in benches along their walls, small tables for offerings, and splendid floor mosaics, apparently the

work of a distinctive local workshop. In the northeast corner of the complex, in a location recalling Pirinch Tepe and Bargala, the baptistery has a square plan with the overall external dimensions of 7 × 7 meters. Internally, the room was an octagon – in all likelihood domed – with four diagonally placed round niches, a small eastern absidiole, and a centrally situated cruciform font in the floor. Preceding the baptistery was a room of identical width, whose function, as evidenced by the low benches lining its walls, was to accommodate catechumens awaiting baptism. The basilica of Mastichari with its baptistery represents one of the finest examples in this category of church planning, not only on the island of Kos, but in general.

A comparable approach, with baptisteries accompanying churches along their northern flanks, incorporated into a sequence of other rooms with the aim of overall design consolidation, may be witnessed also in fifth-century Dalmatia. Although churches here were generally smaller and the detailing less accomplished, the main design objectives appear to have been identical to what we saw at Mastichari. A good example is the fifth-century basilica of Sv. Vid excavated at Narona, near Metković, Croatia.[221] The single-aisled basilica measures 11 × 29 meters in plan. Its nave terminated in an internally and externally semicircular apse and was preceded by a narthex flanked by a pair of square rooms, 5.5 meters wide. Along its flanks the basilica featured additional rooms of the same width as the square rooms flanking the narthex. The southern string of rooms was partially added and their width modified at a later time. The northern group of rooms, including a baptistery, retains its original layout. The baptistery is a square room preceded to the west by a long rectangular room, presumably for the waiting catechumens. Behind the baptistery, to the east, is another, much smaller chamber linked directly with the easternmost part of the north flank of the basilica. The baptistery contains a centrally located font. Its interior preserves the original coat of plaster decorated with painted imitations of different types of marble revetments. Despite its modest appearance and slightly smaller dimensions, the basilica at Narona displays the same planning characteristics that we saw at Mastichari and elsewhere.

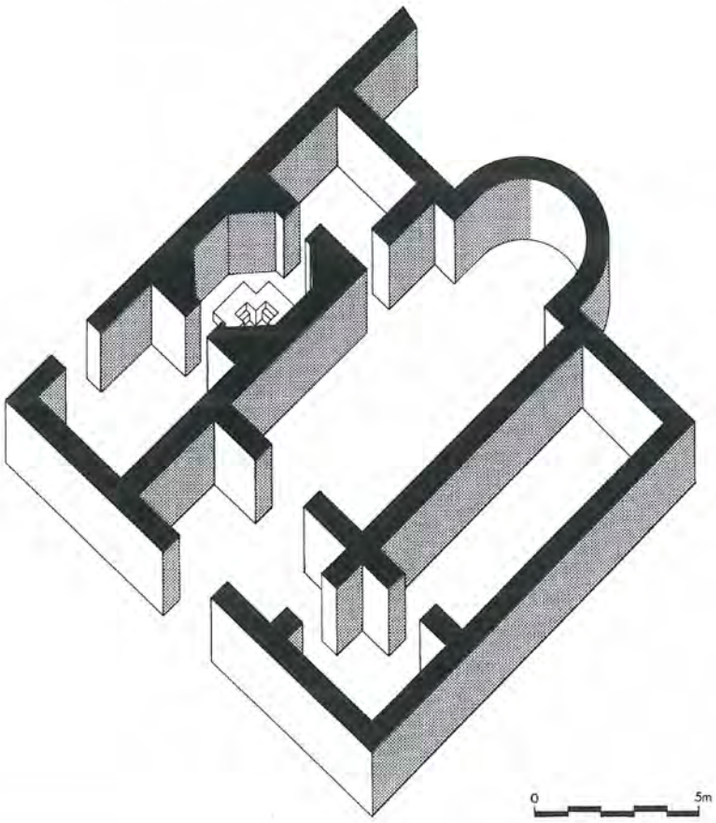
A number of other churches in the Dalmatian context reveal close affinities with the basilica at Narona, but most of them have been dated to the sixth or seventh centuries. Their dating, however, has been based on external factors and has often been repeated uncritically. The problem of the dating of a group of churches in central Dalmatia has recently been raised as an issue, and an argument for a fifth- or early sixth-century date has been presented.[222] Using this as our point of departure, we will introduce three more buildings here, suggesting that they may have been built before *circa* 500. The arrangement of the partially excavated basilica of Sv. Marija at Postira on the island of Brač, Croatia, finds its closest parallels in the basilicas at Narona and Mastichari.[223] Its width (17.5 m) places this three-aisled basilica in the category of the medium-sized basilicas that we have been examining. Its total length is unknown, for the western part of the church has not been excavated. The nave terminated in an internally and externally semicircular apse. To the north, as at Narona, a row of three chambers of the same width abutted the north wall of the basilica. The middle one of these was a baptistery. Externally square, measuring 7 × 7 meters, the baptistery was octagonal internally, with diagonally placed niches. In the middle was a cruciform floor font, the entire scheme recalling that of the baptistery of Mastichari, though executed in a far more modest way. A comparable baptistery was uncovered at the related basilica of Sv. Ivan Krstitelj (St. John the Baptist) at Povlja, only about 3 kilometers from Postira, on the island of Brač, Croatia (fig. 170).[224] Here the baptistery, measuring 6 × 6 meters, was attached to a square room of the same dimensions that abutted the basilica directly, thus making the baptistery somewhat removed from the basilica proper. In its internal disposition, however, it was an octagon with round niches on the diagonals and a centrally situated cruciform font. Both baptisteries, at Postira and at Povlja, repeat the interior planning scheme seen at Mastichari very closely. A somewhat simpler and smaller version of essentially the same scheme may be seen in the church discovered at Nerezi, near Čapljina, Bosnia and Herzegovina (fig. 171).[225] The single-aisled church measures merely 7.5 × 17.5 meters in plan. Preceded by a narthex and terminated by an internally and externally semicircular apse, the church is flanked by rows of rooms on the south and north sides resembling side aisles in dimensions and overall character. The slightly wider northern row of three rooms features a centrally positioned octagonal baptistery. Measuring 5 × 5.5 meters externally, it contains a small interior octagon (4 m in span) with a centrally placed cruciform font. The baptistery is linked to a longer rectangular room to the west, and to a small rectangular room to the east, forming a similar arrangement to Narona and Postira. The small, "compact" version of the scheme as it appears here, at Nerezi, is dated to the second half of the fifth century.

The examples of basilicas accompanied by baptisteries that we have examined thus far have featured baptisteries along the northern flank of the church, at times closer to its northeastern corner. Although the placement of baptisteries in these positions appears to have been quite popular, other positions are not uncommon. Thus baptisteries could occur at the northwestern corners of basilicas, usually flanking narthexes, as was the case at Dzenevar-Tepe. Even more common was the position of the baptistery at the southwest corner, usually linked to the narthex at that point. This seems to have become the most prevalent scheme during the sixth century, before the building of baptis-



170 Povlja, Basilica with baptistery; axonometric

171 Nerezi, Basilica with baptistery; axonometric

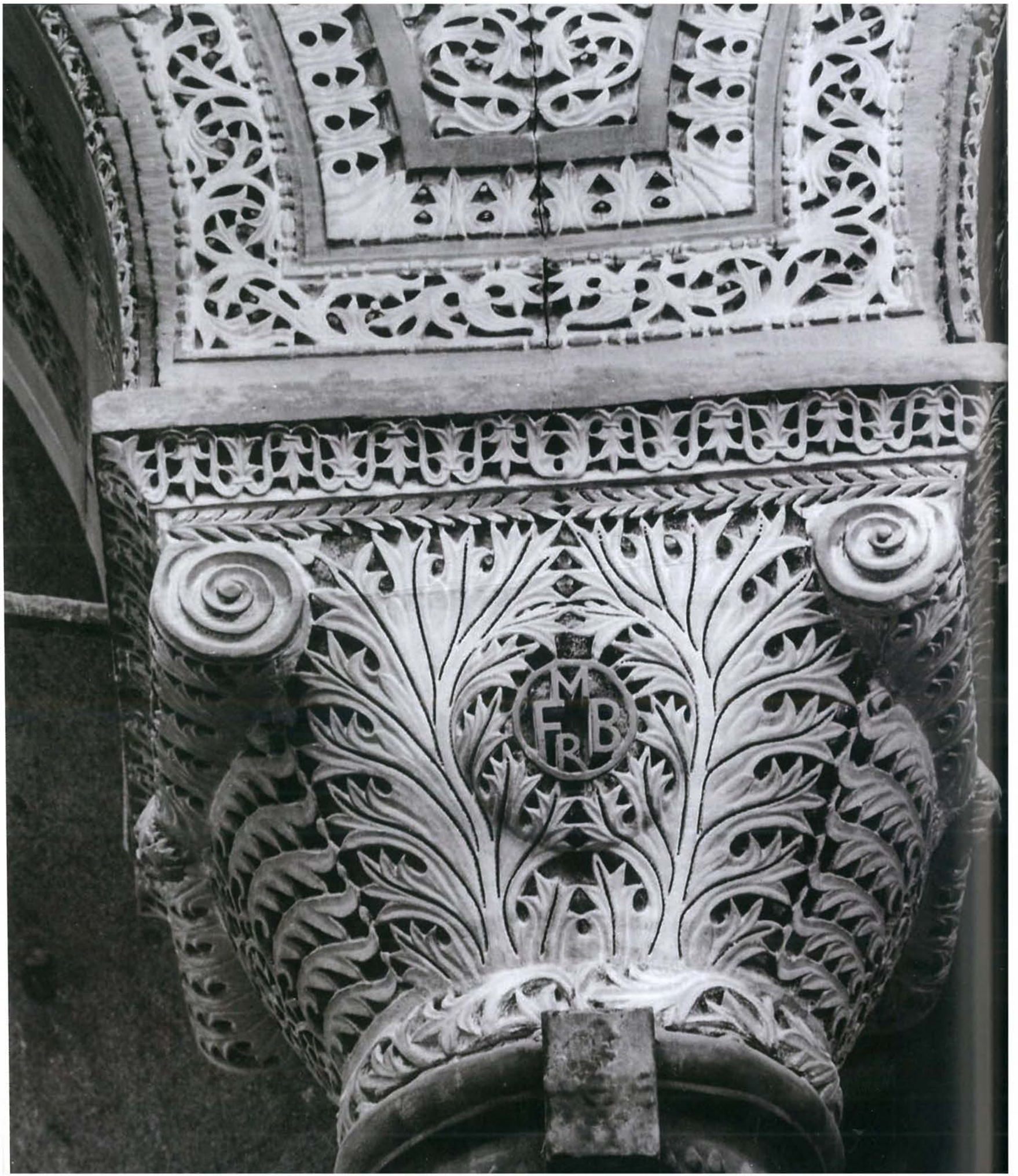


teries went completely out of fashion.[226] The latter development coincided with the disappearance of adult baptism and the introduction of infant baptism, which required much smaller physical installations.

* * *

The fifth century is marked by significant historical developments and by equally remarkable shifts in architectural production that reflect these developments in very direct terms. Confronted by mounting pressures from barbarian tribes, the empire reversed its longstanding policies regarding these persistent threats. Permanent settling, land grants, drafting into state service including the military, all became new ways of dealing with the enemy, replacing earlier, conventional methods of direct confrontation. Architecturally speaking, this meant a significant reduction in military-related construction. The concept of the *limes* fortification was completely abandoned. Defenses were largely concentrated on smaller-scale entities, such as individual cities. Increasingly, the initiative to fortify and protect citizens and properties substantially passed from the state into private hands. Fortification programs were often combined with distinctly non-military functions – monasteries, churches, private residences, etc. During the fifth century, after nearly a century of struggle, Christianity took firm root in the Balkans. Under conditions of eroding state authority, the Church progressively assumed an expanding leadership role. Taking over the urban scene completely, it also finally took control of the hinterland. Its new position in society was reflected in the volume of construction, which changed dramatically between *circa* 400 and 500. The most visible dimension of this change was the "Christianization" of cities. In architectural terms this was made manifest in the construction of a large number of monumental churches, mostly basilicas. Whereas in the preceding century monumental church construction was relegated to cemeteries and generally peripheral locations within cities, during the fifth century churches became far more visible, becoming the dominant buildings within the changing urban fabric. At times they even occupied central locations within major public spaces (e.g., Athens and Adrianople). Monumental basilicas, often excessively large for the population of the cities within which they were built, reflect at once optimism on the part of Church authorities, as well as their desire to impress the faithful by the physical size of the buildings and by the opulence of their interiors. A major corollary of these developments was also the growing cult of martyrs and their relics. This phenomenon itself drew crowds of people to churches that possessed such relics. Not uncommonly, those who came to view the relics and offer their prayers came from afar. Thus pilgrimage, inspired by the recog-

nized powers of saints' relics, which included above all healing, became an important new dimension in church planning. The overlapping of the daily liturgical functions of a church with occasional, non-liturgical ones became a major challenge to which new church architecture had to respond. Particular attention was paid, as we have seen, to the accommodation and facilitation of pilgrimage traffic, which resulted in new church types. The Church's success, particularly in rural areas, also depended on the growing monasticism. Though slow in its appearance in the Balkans, throughout the fifth century monasticism did make steady inroads. Its role, particularly in the hinterlands, often overlapped with that of the episcopal centers. Both functions were not uncommonly exposed to external threats, and experienced a need for immediate physical security. An episcopal residence, a cathedral church, a baptistery, or a monastic settlement quite frequently found itself behind common walls. Thus, it may be said that new, strictly Christian urban nuclei came into being. Superficially recalling military camps or late antique miniature sites in form, in essence they were substantially different, reflecting the changed political and religious realities of the times.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4

Restoration of the Empire

SIXTH CENTURY

The sixth century was a period of major landmarks in the history of the Christianized Roman Empire. Above all, the process of Christianization of indigenous populations, begun two centuries earlier, was in some sense completed only then. The final symbolic act in this regard is perceived to have been the closing of the Academy in Athens in 529, the last bastion of pagan classical learning. The century began with promising signs of economic, political, and cultural revival, but it ended with a weakened empire facing permanent transformation into an essentially eastern Mediterranean entity, with the final loss of control over its western provinces. In modern historiography this shift marks the beginning of what we have come to refer to as the Byzantine Empire. During the hundred years or so, between 500 and 600, the empire relived the moments of its greatest glory, but it also faced realities of utter humiliation. Having in the past successfully deflected perpetual invasions by sword, diplomacy, or treachery, it was unable to resist the latest and the most serious of these – this time by the Avars and the Slavs. Within a decade or so, by 602, the latter became the permanent, if unwanted settlers, of the Balkan peninsula.

For sixty years of the sixth century the empire was ruled by three men, all of them members of the same family from the central Balkans – Justin I (518–27), his nephew Justinian I (527–65), and the latter's nephew, Justin II (565–78). History remembers Justinian's reign as the high point of the later Roman Empire. Noted for his military reconquest of the territories previously lost to barbarian tribes, for his consolidation of the empire's legal system, and for his vast building program, Justinian I overshadows in importance his predecessors and followers.[1] Though his achievement as one of the great builders of all time cannot be doubted, its extent appears to have been substantially inflated by his official court historian, Prokopios of Caesarea, at the expense of his predecessors, notably of Anastasios I (491–518).[2] It is Anastasios I, a native of Dyrrachion, who must be given credit for the initial restoration of internal peace and economic stability, and the inauguration of an ambitious building program that laid the groundwork for the grand enterprises of Justinian I.

Significant shifts in architectural priorities in the Balkans set the sixth century apart from the fifth. Inasmuch as the building of churches continued, and even gained momentum in certain centers, the sixth century, and particularly the reign of Justinian I, witnessed a major boom in fortification construction, on a scale unprecedented since the fourth century. Nor were the changes notable only in the realm of the broadest, general priorities. Sixth-century architecture also reveals a major shift in

172 (*facing page*) Capital, Constantinople, Hagia Sophia (see fig. 216B)

LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
BELGRADE
SARAJEVO
PODGORICA
TIRANA
SKOPJE
SOFIA
BUCHAREST
ATHENS
Sava
Danube
Drina
Morava
Danube
Neretva
Maritsa
Vardar
Axios
Strymon
Evros
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SEA OF MARMARA
0
100
200
300km

Map 4

Key to Map 4

Adrianople	25	Gjuricaj	50	Madara	6	Rhodos	55
Anaplous	23	Goliamo Belovo	47	Mesembria	45	Romuliana	38
Athens	32	Gortyna	56	Mt. Vodno	16	Sadovets	30
Axiopolis	3	Gradina, Mt. Jelica	39	Nikopolis ad Istrum	20	Salona	52
Balajnac	12	Hebdomon	22	Orešac	10	Saranda	62
Begov Dab	43	Heraclea Lynkestis	19	Parentium	33	Serdica	26
Bosman	9	Izbičanj	31	Paros	53	Shumen	29
Bregovina	13	Justiniana Prima	28	Peroushtitsa	61	Sparta	46
Buthrintos	37	Kissamos	63	Philippi	27	Stenos	14
Campsa	8	Konjuh	64	Pirdop	49	Taliata	7
Constantinople	21	Kos	65	Pirinch-Tepe	44	Thessaloniki	24
Čučer	15	Kremolin	51	Pliska	4	Tomis	2
Ćurline	41	Krupište	42	Pola	34	Voden	60
Doljani	58	Kulište	11	Qafa	17	Voivoda	5
Dyrrachion	18	Kuršumlija	57	Ragusium	36		
Fulfinum	35	Letsena	54	Rakitovo	48		
Gedate	59	Long Walls of Thrace	1	Ras	40		

design experimentation. While secular architecture may be said to have led the way in creative expression during the fifth century, in the sixth century ecclesiastical architecture gradually took over the role. The sixth century also introduced the names of some great master builders – Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletos being the foremost among them. Despite a fair amount known about these two men, our general knowledge about Byzantine architects and their training, however, remains quite limited.[3]

A number of surviving buildings, along with a fair number of others that are known from archaeological excavations, present us with a reasonably good broad picture of the crucial developments in sixth-century architecture. Prokopios' general written account suggests – and the physical evidence confirms it – that the reign of Justinian I was marked by an exceptionally large volume of construction in the Balkans, as well as in other parts of the Byzantine Empire. The greatest share of building activity belonged to the category of fortification architecture. Like his fourth-century predecessors on the imperial throne, Justinian tried to consolidate and fortify the empire's frontiers, restoring old fortifications and building new ones. At the same time, he proceeded to fortify the interior of the Balkans in an unprecedented manner. Fortification outposts abounded, while existing and new cities were protected with substantial circuits of wall. It will be remembered that in the past these two approaches – fortifying of the frontier versus fortifying of the interior of the peninsula – did not coincide chronologically. Their simultaneous handling at this time reflects not only the fact that security continued to be the top priority, but also the degree of recognized urgency in the matter. The intensity with which the fortification program was conducted suggests that the ominous signs of an uncertain future may have been apparent to Justinian and his advisers long before the actual doom of the later sixth century set in.

Much of what was built has vanished without trace. Historians and archaeologists have long since accepted the fact that Prokopios' long list includes fortifications and settlements whose identities will continue to elude us. Although Justinian invested in a major way in fortification construction, his endeavors in the realm of church building were also formidable. His singularly greatest creation – the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople – alone has assured him the fame of being one of the greatest patrons of architecture of all time. For the progress of architecture as a creative discipline, Hagia Sophia, as well as scores of other churches, provides us with an extraordinary insight into the creative fervor of the age, unprecedented since the reign of Constantine I. The architectural design of the age of Justinian reveals sophisticated advances emanating from earlier trends in late antique architecture. Elaborate spatial forms, particularly experimentation with spatial volumes, with spatial layering and the daring perforation of walls, were all logical consequences of certain ideas introduced into Roman architecture already during the last decades of the third century. Success in spatial openness was made possible by important technological breakthroughs. A complete shift to thinner vaulting and domical shells made exclusively of brick – a comparatively light material – made these accomplishments feasible. Experimentation with the geometry of domes was a particularly important area. The single most challenging aspect of sixth-century architecture, bordering on what may be cautiously referred to as an "architectural revolution," was the introduction of domes into basilican churches. Although fifth-century architects had already

faced the problem, the scale and boldness of sixth-century enterprises exceeded by far any such previous achievements. In the age of the empirical method of learning, boldness of experimentation also implied major risks. The reign of Justinian was certainly marked by its high share of structural catastrophes, among which the collapse of the first dome of Hagia Sophia in 557 must have been the most spectacular. Such occurrences notwithstanding, the creative spirit embodied in the architectural design of his age, backed by strong imperial support, produced not only major monuments, but in many ways also determined the future course of development of Eastern Christian church architecture.

Last but not least, sixth-century architecture was also marked by major changes in the realm of aesthetics. On the most general level, it is characterized by its "skeletal" nature, by its great sense of openness and lightness. Piers and columns predominate as the principal bearing elements, displacing solid wall masses wherever possible. When this proved structurally unfeasible, architects relied on illusionary devices to accomplish the desired effects. Walls, as well as pier faces, were routinely concealed behind highly polished, colorful marble veneer. Their visual effect aimed at reducing the sense of massive, solid support, while creating an illusion of a "dematerialized," "heavenly" architecture. These notions were further reinforced by architectural sculpture. A new aesthetic of highly abstract patterns displaced the age-old vocabulary of natural forms based on plant motifs such as the acanthus. The new abstract, lace-like patterns, executed by deep drilling and undercutting, tended to emphasize the overall simple geometry of forms, while simultaneously denying its solid geometric properties. These, perhaps more than any other aspect of sixth-century architecture, underscored the aesthetic of dematerialization. Justinian's architects, centuries before the achievements of High Gothic, succeeded in epitomizing the expression of "spirituality" in church architecture while relying, of necessity, on strictly material means.

Unfortunately, no buildings from this period have retained anything resembling their original interior decoration and furnishings. Even the best preserved lack aspects of their original appearance. Least preserved are elements of standard church furniture and decorative mosaic programs – not necessarily figurative – that once covered all arched and vaulted surfaces of the superstructures. Their shimmering appearance, often accentuated by the diffused light that came through windows filled with small multicolored panes of glass, must have created incomparable effects. The architecture of the age of Justinian, in the final analysis, marks a definitive break with the classical tradition on all levels. Though clearly the result of an evolutionary process, this was truly the first, comprehensive aesthetic expression that may be associated exclusively with Christian culture. Neither the fact that it took two centuries to evolve fully, nor the venue where the synthesis took place – the Balkans – should by now come as a surprise to the reader.

Our discussion will first focus on military architecture, the most voluminous category of Justinian's building program. Our investigation will pursue a general understanding of the problem, without attempting any degree of comprehensive coverage. The discussion will turn next to urban developments, focusing on the main old cities first, Constantinople being of central importance in this context. The category of "new towns" will follow. In it the focus will be on the contrast between the last survivals of classical urban planning principles and the new urban forms and patterns, which anticipate true medieval developments. As in the preceding chapter, our discussion of urban developments will also consider many issues pertinent to ecclesiastical architecture, as church building became the hallmark of urban growth within the Christianized empire. The chapter will end with a consideration of various aspects of ecclesiastical architecture, an architectural domain that led the way in creative thinking during the sixth century. Once again, the Balkans will be shown to have been the area of some of the greatest architectural achievements, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Not since the days of Constantine I had there been as intensive and as comprehensive an effort to consolidate the Danube frontier and to secure the interior of the Balkan peninsula by militarily means as was carried out under Justinian I. Policies favoring negotiation, appeasement, and treachery employed by the fifth-century emperors in dealing with the different invaders gave way once more – and for the last time – to policies of direct confrontation and containment. With a far more powerful Church securely in place and the Empire relatively stable economically, Justinian inaugurated a new, major military build-up. His court historian, Prokopios, describes the imperial policy in regard to the Balkans succinctly and unequivocally:

> And wishing, as he did, to make the Ister (Danube) River the strongest possible line of first defense before them and before the whole of Europe, he distributed numerous forts along the bank of the river . . . and he placed garrisons of troops everywhere along the shore, in order to put the most rigid check upon the crossing of the barbarians there. But even after he had completed all these precautions, he was still uneasy because of the uncertainty of human plans; and since he reflected that if it should ever be possible for the enemy to break through somehow . . . he did not leave their common

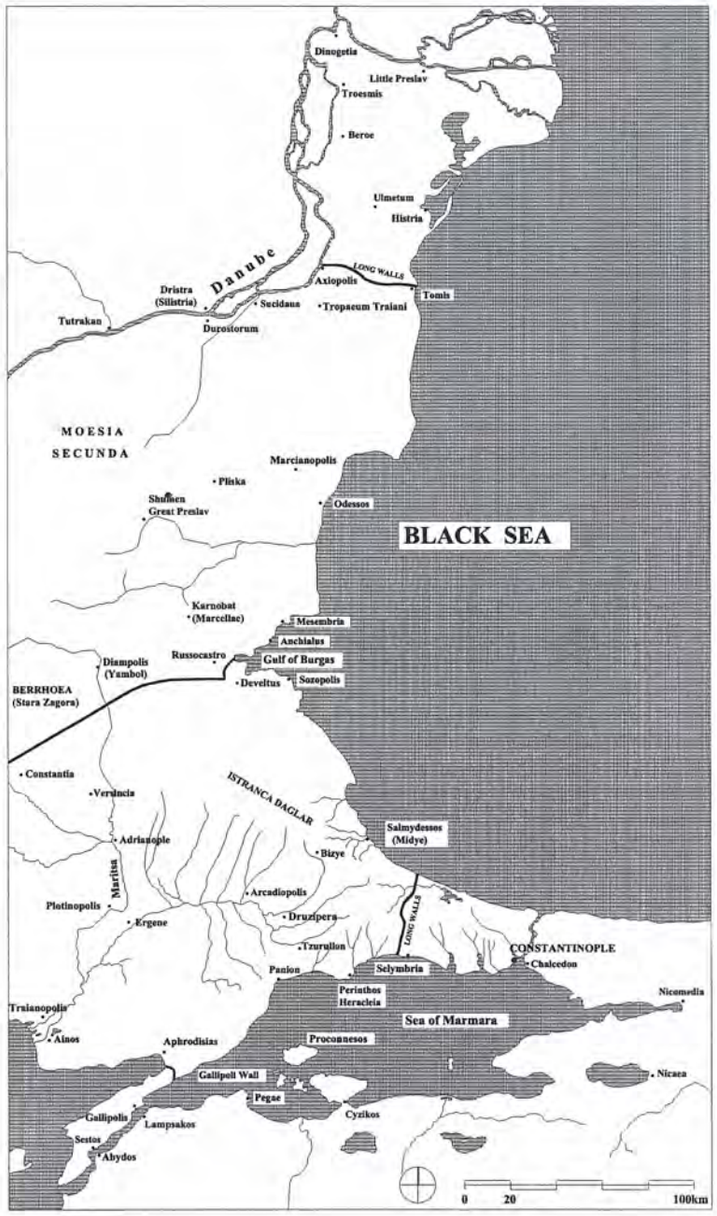
safety to depend upon the forts along the river alone, but he also provided individual safety for them; for he made the defenses so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified. . . .[4]

In Book IV of his *Buildings*, Prokopios describes the construction of fortresses "in all Europe" (essentially the Balkans), and provides a checklist of 146 sites that, according to him, Justinian had built anew, in addition to 248 others that he had restored. The remains of many of these fortifications and archaeological work carried out at scores of other sites substantially confirm the credibility of Prokopios' account. Without a doubt, the sixth century was marked by the extensive construction of fortifications, and in the Near East as well. In the Balkans, these efforts were combined with efforts to protect the population, and even to populate, or repopulate certain areas. On the territory of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, it has been estimated that as many as 50 percent of all fortifications were actually civilian settlements, while another 25 percent had mixed civilian and military functions, meaning that only 25 percent of all fortifications on this territory had a strictly military role.[5]

Regional Fortifications under Anastasios I

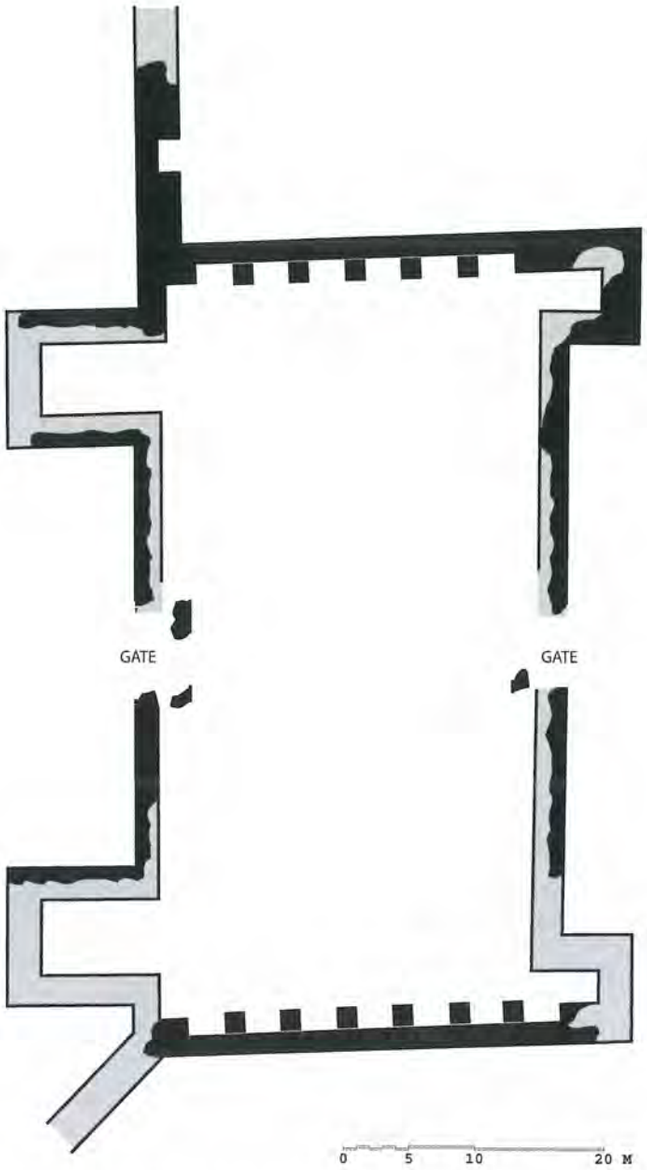
The policies with which Justinian is credited by Prokopios, and the actual large-scale construction of new fortifications, appear to have been initiated already by Emperor Anastasios I (491–518). Very little is known about this emperor's military building program, though it is clear from his activities noted in the area of Scythia (modern Dobruja, Romania) that his efforts must have been considerable.[6] Among his strategies appears to have been the concept of regional defenses. One of the best illustrations of this comes from the celebrated Long Walls of Thrace, Turkey (fig. 173).[7] Prokopios comments on Justinian's predecessors' building activities largely in a negative light. His, and thus presumably the official imperial criticism of the Long Walls, built under the auspices of Anastasios I, is particularly revealing regarding that emperor's implied policies:

> The Emperor Anastasius had determined to put a stop to this and so built long walls at a distance of no less than forty miles from Byzantium, uniting the two shores of the sea on a line where they are separated by about a two-days' journey. By this means he thought that everything inside was placed in security. But in fact this was cause of greater calamities. For neither was it possible to make safe a structure of such great length nor could it be guarded rigorously.[8]



173 Map showing Long walls of Thrace and Scythia

Envisioned as the front line of defenses of the capital, the Long Walls of Thrace were built at a distance of 65 kilometers west of Constantinople. Approximately 56 kilometers long, they reached from the small present-day town of Karaçaköy, near the Black Sea coast, to the Sea of Marmara, just west of Silivri (ancient Selymbria). This was a formidable system, of which substantial ruins are still preserved. Fronting the wall was a deep ditch, made with the obvious intention of hindering potential attackers. The system also included a number of related smaller forts, con-



174 Long walls of Thrace, fort; plan

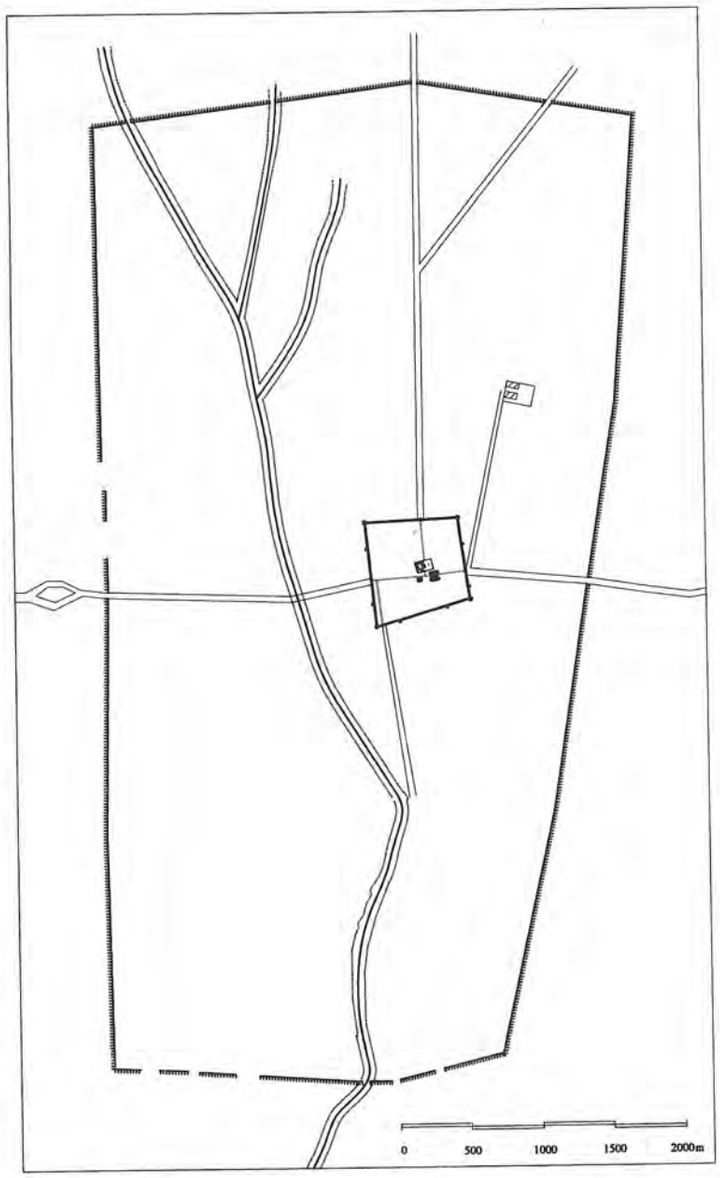
structed internally at points of strategic significance (e.g., gates) 3.5 kilometers apart, clearly aimed as stations to be manned on a standing basis (fig. 174). The rest of the wall must have been intended to be enough of a physical barrier to hold off the enemy until an army could be dispatched from Constantinople itself, "two-days' journey away," according to Prokopios. The main line of the wall was reinforced by external towers, as was customary in military architecture of this period. It was only by virtue of their wider spacing (from 80 m to 120 m) that this fortification system differed from the usual walls. Two types of towers were used predominantly – smaller, rectangular ones, 11 meters wide, projecting only about 2 meters, and the larger, pentagonal towers, projecting as much as 11.5 meters from the face of the wall. The latter were placed at the strategically most vulnerable points, especially where the wall changed its direction significantly. Pentagonal fortification towers are of particular relevance, for they seem to appear most commonly in fortifications of the later fifth and sixth centuries. The entire system was constructed almost exclusively of stone. Although variations in stone techniques have been noted, in general the main wall was made of ashlar blocks on both the outer and the inner face, with a conventional rubble core sandwiched between the two facings.

The Long Walls of Thrace are but the best known, and most securely attributable, of the large, regional protective fortifications associated with Anastasios 1. Another such line of walls appears also to have been built by Anastasios in the region of Scythia, at the opposite, northeastern corner of the Balkan peninsula, now in Romania. Connecting the Black Sea port of Tomis with the city of Axiopolis on the Danube, a distance of 59 kilometers, this wall replaced a much older earthen rampart, possibly built by the Romans in the second century AD, during Trajan's campaigns in Dacia (fig. 173).[9] Between 1.5 and 1.8 meters thick, built entirely of stone in a technique resembling that of the Long Walls of Thrace, and reinforced by twenty-four small forts at intervals between 1 and 4 kilometers apart, this was another masterpiece of military engineering. It has been estimated that as many as 400,000 cubic meters of material were used in its construction. Barnea has suggested that the construction of these walls may have been occasioned by the early intrusion of some Bulgarian tribes in the last years of the fifth century. Seen in the light of the construction of the Long Walls of Thrace, Anastasios 1 may be perceived as the ruler who changed the policy regarding fortification construction that appears to have become prevalent during the fifth century. A new imperial policy involving direct military confrontations with the enemy seems to have been in the making at the latest by *circa* 500.

Anastasios' documented activities in the region of Scythia raise the possibility of this emperor's involvement with another major construction site south of the Danube – Pliska in Bulgaria. Bringing up the subject of Pliska in this context is bound with numerous potential controversies that have to be faced. The problem was anticipated already in Chapter 3, where the martyrium discovered under the Great Basilica at Pliska was interpreted as a fifth-century building. The presence of this structure, and a surrounding cemetery with apparently early Christian graves, suggests that some form of late antique or Byzantine presence, or both, must have existed in the area. No traces of any ancient settlement have been found, and archaeological investigations conducted over the past century have been jealously

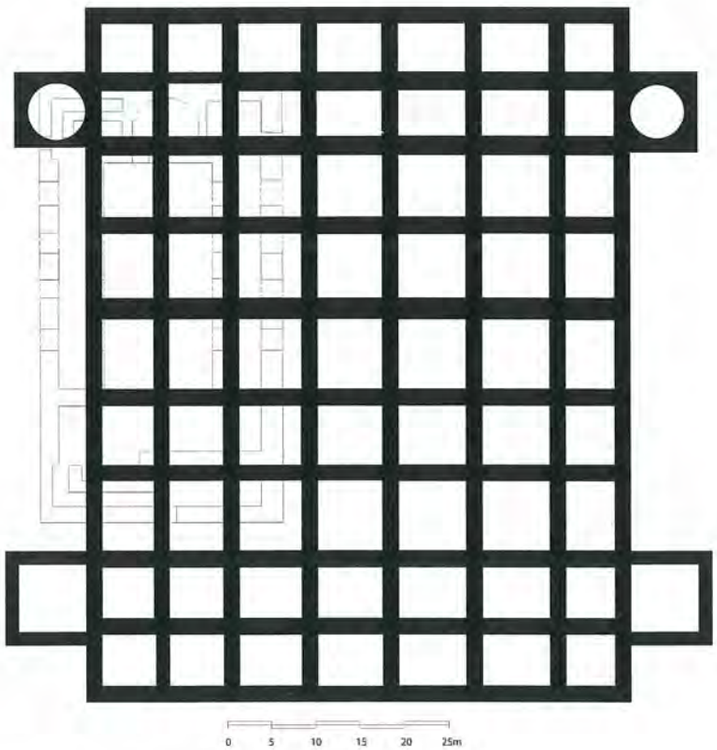
committed to maintaining the concept articulated already by the original excavators, that this was the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire, built and developed as such *exclusively* by the Bulgarians. Contradictory evidence has all too often been played down, and dissenting opinions suppressed. The problems implicit in Pliska are indeed complex, but their solution is made no simpler by the pursuit of a single-track explanation. The discovery during the twentieth century of thirty late antique coins, ranging in date from Constantine I (312–35) to Justin II (571), signals some sort of activity that should not be dismissed too quickly.[10] Nor are the forms and building methods of fortification, religious, or secular architecture readily understandable in the context of a tradition that supposedly produced them as a conservative flashback three hundred years after such buildings were, generally speaking, last being built. Inasmuch as the final resolution of the problem is not immediately possible, it is essential to debate the issue and to evaluate the alternative interpretations in view of their own merits and the range of the available evidence. Our intention here is to offer such an alternative interpretation, in the hope of creating a basis for a better understanding of the problems involved.

Pliska is situated in a relatively flat area, in the northeastern foothills of the Balkan (Haimos) mountain range. Its location is of major strategic significance. Through the general area pass the natural routes that link the Black Sea coast with the Danube, from the southeast to the northwest. To its northeast stretch the fertile flatlands of Scythia (modern Dobruja), bounded by the Black Sea and the Danube. To its south rise the rugged ranges of the Haimos Mountains with their few narrow passes into the central flatlands of Thrace, and from there with relatively easy access to Adrianople, and Constantinople beyond. The location of Pliska, as numerable sites in its vicinity suggest (e.g., Madara), must have been already viewed by the Romans as of prime strategic significance. Its significance must have risen at the time when the final decision was reached to establish the *limes* against the "barbarian" world on the Danube. Although the empire's presence in the area must have been severely and repeatedly contested, it was never written off.

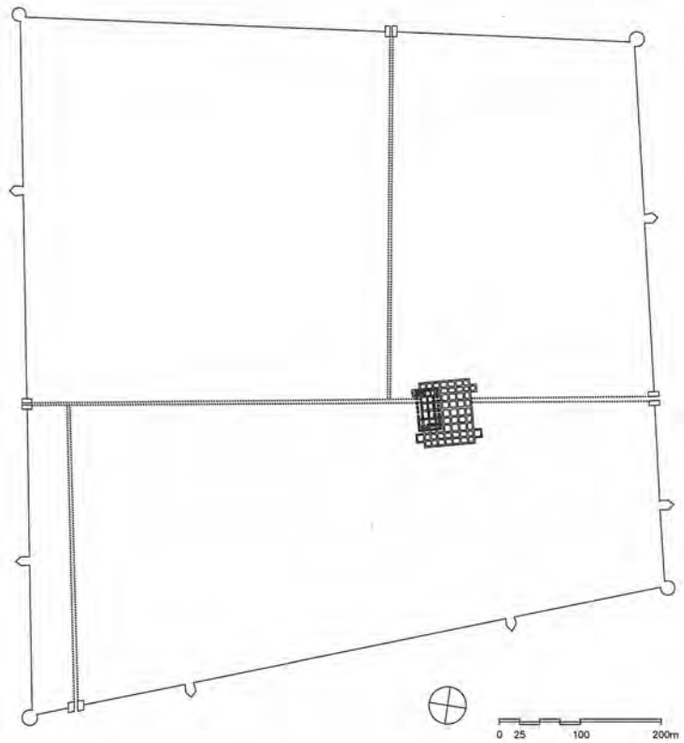


175 Pliska, Fortified enclosure; plan

At some point, possibly in the fifth century, the Byzantines may have established a huge camping ground in the area of Pliska. The vast area, measuring 2,300 hectares, was defined by a low earth rampart approximately 21 kilometers long and preceded by a ditch, possibly containing water in part (fig. 175). Nearly 1.6 times the size of Constantinople within its walls, the enclosed area at Pliska was never fully inhabited, nor was it intended to be. The military intention may have been to provide a secure camping base for a large army in preparation for lengthy campaigns in an area of perpetual conflict. The specific choice of the site may also have been linked to the contemporary identification of a local saint's cult, marked by the building of the martyrium mentioned in Chapter 3. The purpose of this "holy base," thus, may have been twofold – to provide a rallying point for military operations against the invaders and, at the same time, to spread Christianity among the indigenous population. Neither of the two aspects of the site is identified as such in the known sources, but they seem entirely consistent with other contemporary developments in the Balkans. Construction of long earth ramparts at Pliska, in fact, could be related to the Tomis–Axiopolis line of ramparts built at an unknown time, but before the construction of the masonry wall tentatively associated with

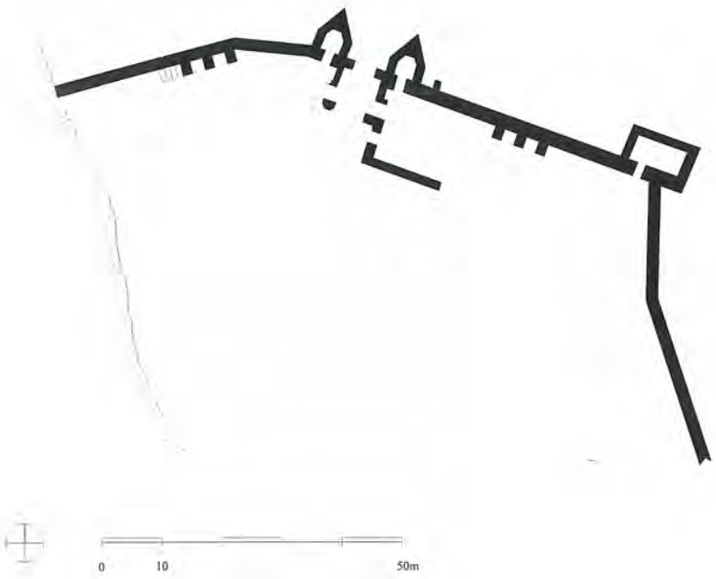


176 Pliska, Byzantine fort, substructures; plan

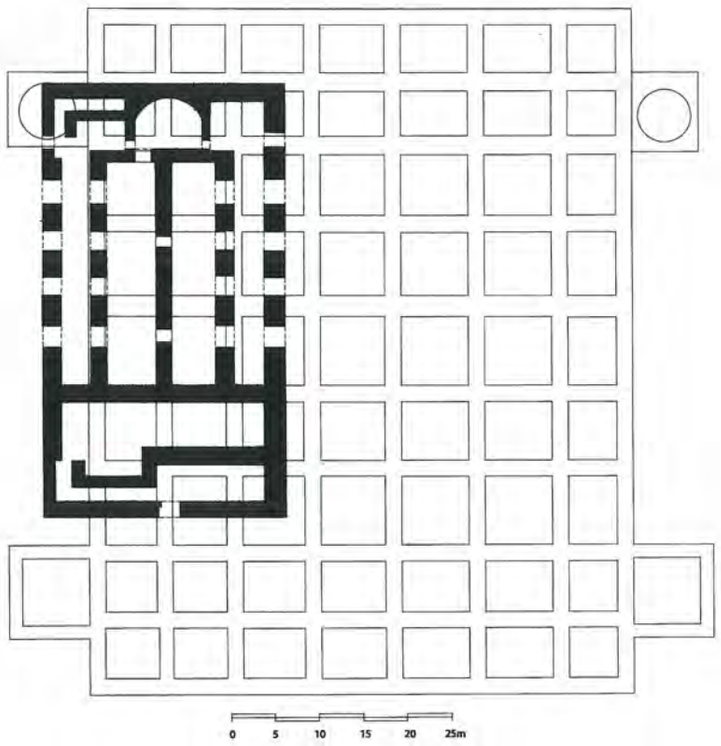


177 Pliska, Inner enclosure; plan

Anastasios I. It would also appear that the first masonry construction on the site of Pliska was a small fort (60 × 74 m in plan) situated roughly in the middle of the great enclosure, and in the relative proximity of the martyrium. The excavated foundations of this small fort have been interpreted in scholarship as "Krum's Palace," associating its construction with the Bulgarian khan Krum (802–14) (fig. 176).[11] More likely, in my opinion, this structure may have been contemporary with the earth ramparts and, therefore, may have been built in the fifth century. A rectangular building block with its four symmetrical, projecting towers, two of which accommodated spiral staircases, and featuring an interior grid consisting of six-by-eight rows of foundation walls, this may have been the headquarters of the postulated military base. It recalls, in fact, one of the military forts recently recorded within the system of the Long Walls of Thrace in its use of towers and in its scale (fig. 174).[12] In accordance with our postulated sequence of construction events at Pliska, the fort may have been laid waste during the same first raids of the Bulgarians, who crossed the Danube, devastating Scythia, in the last years of the fifth century. It was those events, it will be recalled, that may have prompted Emperor Anastasios' reconstruction of the "Long Walls of Scythia," the Tomis–Axiopolis line of fortifications. By the same token, Anastasios may also have been responsible for the reconstruction of the Pliska "base." If we accept this possibility, his intervention would have entailed the construction of the trapezoidal walled-in enclosure – the so-called Inner Enclosure – that covers an area of approximately 50 hectares within the great compound encircled by earth ramparts (fig. 177).[13] Externally built with massive stone ashlars, with an interior core of stone rubble with mortar, the walls of Pliska find their closest parallels in the masonry construction of the Long Walls of Thrace. Measuring 612 meters (shortest side) by 740 meters (longest side), the enclosed area was approximately three times that of Serdica within its fourth-century walls. The enclosure is characterized by the use of cylindrical, rectangular, and pentagonal towers, all types commonly found in contemporary military architecture. Rectangular and pentagonal towers, it will be recalled, were used consistently in the Long Walls of Thrace. Another characteristic that stands out at Pliska and which seems to link its principles of construction to the "long walls" system is the wide spacing of its towers (100–180 m apart). Such distances were very uncommon in city fortifications, where the spacing of towers was usually between 30 and 70 meters (e.g., the main city wall of Constantinople). The solution seems to have been informed by regional fortifications, characteristically sponsored by Emperor Anastasios. Indeed, such



178 Madara, Byzantine fortification; plan



179 Pliska, Byzantine audience hall, substructures; plan

a scheme may have been far more economical to build – involving the construction of only two towers, where six may have been built elsewhere – but it may also have had its military disadvantages. It was this very aspect, indeed, that may have drawn Prokopios' sharp criticism of Anastasios' fortifications, as quoted above – "[f]or neither was it possible to make safe a structure of such great length, nor could it be guarded rigorously." Several other early Byzantine fortresses were located in the relative vicinity of Pliska – Voivoda, about 10 kilometers to the north; Madara, about 12 kilometers to the south; and Shumen, about 15 kilometers to the southwest.[14] Of these, the fort of Madara with its northern line of wall and a gate fortified by a pair of pentagonal towers, all constructed in large ashlar blocks, reveals similarities with Pliska that cannot be accidental (fig. 178). The entire area of the northeastern foothills of the Haimos mountain range appears to have been studded with Byzantine military strongholds, all active, if not necessarily all built, during the later fifth and early sixth centuries.

The walled "Inner Enclosure" of Pliska was built around the original small fort, whose destruction has been postulated as a result of the late fifth-century Bulgarian raids. Its rebuilding partially took advantage of the site, but resulted in a very different type of building. Considerably smaller, and measuring 26 × 52 meters, this building is also preserved only in its foundations, in this case constituting the lowest parts of what must have been its basement (fig. 179). The foundation of an apse on the north, short side indicates that the upper story of the building must have had the form of a basilican hall, common in palatine architecture of this period. Various hypothetical reconstruction proposals of what this hall may have looked like have invariably been inadequate.[15] To a large extent the problem has been exacerbated by the fact that the building has been viewed by all architectural historians that have dealt with it as the hall of Krum's son, Khan Omurtag (814–31). The hall was constructed in stone, using large ashlar blocks, in a building technique strongly reminiscent of the enclosing walls discussed earlier. This explains the lack of fortified character in the hall itself. Situated within the fortified "Inner Enclosure," its own security was apparently no longer deemed a priority. The building, by virtue of its plan, must have served some official function, either as an audience hall of a Byzantine commander or as a seat for a regional governor or some other high official.

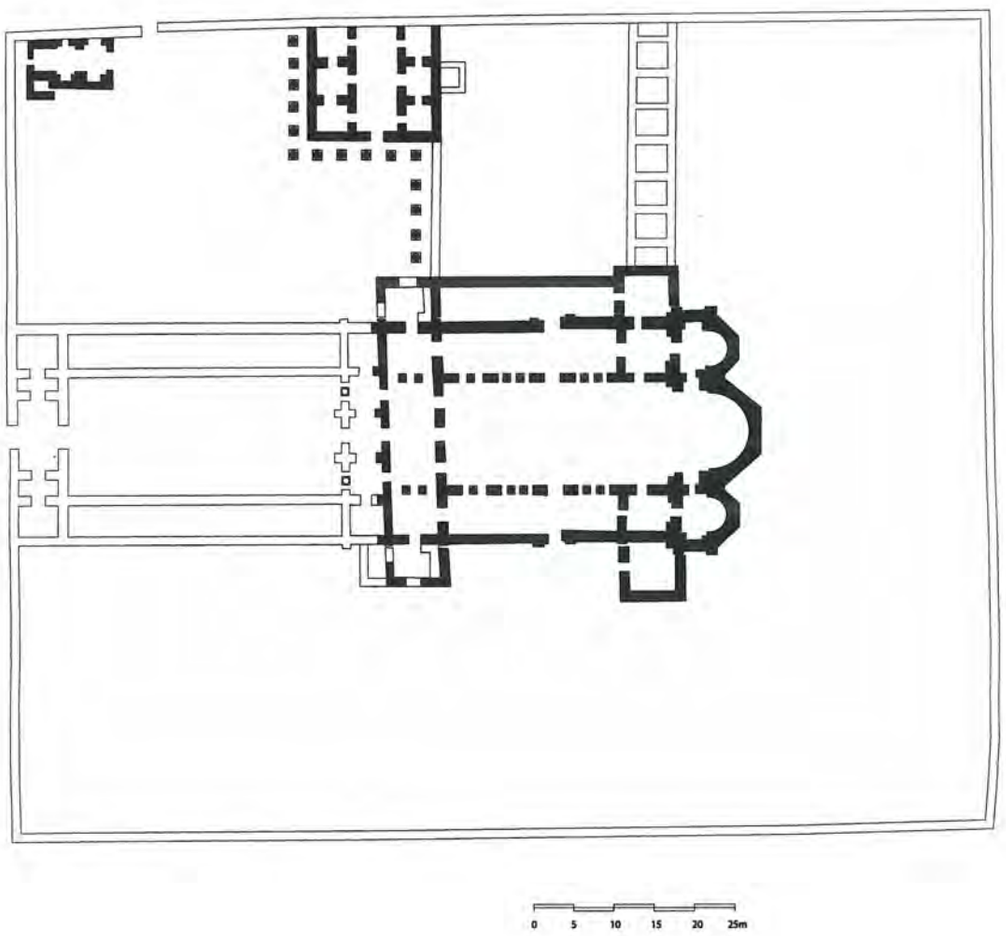
Approximately 1 kilometer from the northeast corner of the "Inner Enclosure" was the site of the fifth-century martyrium, itself probably a victim of the first Bulgarian raids. Archaeology has shown that a large basilica replaced the martyrium, so that

the sanctuary of the new church coincided with the site of the martyrium. More will be said about its architecture later in this chapter. For now it is important to note that the church was built in two stages, the first of which may also be attributable to Anastasios I. As such, the building must have been seen predominantly as a replacement for the destroyed martyrium. In its second phase, probably not much later, the basilica was slightly enlarged by the addition of a baptistery and memorial chapel, and was encircled by an enormous complex, measuring 108 × 133 meters, which apparently included an episcopal center and a monastery (fig. 180). In the line of developing monasteries cum episcopal centers – a phenomenon we noted in Chapter 3 – this would have been the largest and the most impressive case archaeologically recorded to date. The complex consisted of a series of large courtyards organized around the centrally situated basilica, with an atrium in front of it. Immediately to the north of the atrium was the courtyard that contained the episcopal palace. The main part of this was a building attached to the north enclosure wall, entered from the south and measuring 12 × 11 meters in plan. Its interior was organized symmetrically around a central hall (5 × 11 m), probably the main room for audiences, flanked by a row of three virtually identical square rooms on its east and west sides. A bathhouse occupied the opposite, northwest corner of the courtyard. Other courtyards of the complex contained monastic structures and a cemetery. Another large expansion, measuring 38 × 133 meters, was subsequently added along the north flank of the original complex, expanding evidently the episcopal as well as the monastic functions of the complex.

Restoration of the Danubian Limes

Our understanding of the history of the Danubian frontier and its system of fortifications was the subject of intensive and important archaeological investigations between 1965 and 1971. The results of these excavations are still being published, and

180 Pliska, "Great Baslica", monastery, and episcopal center; plan

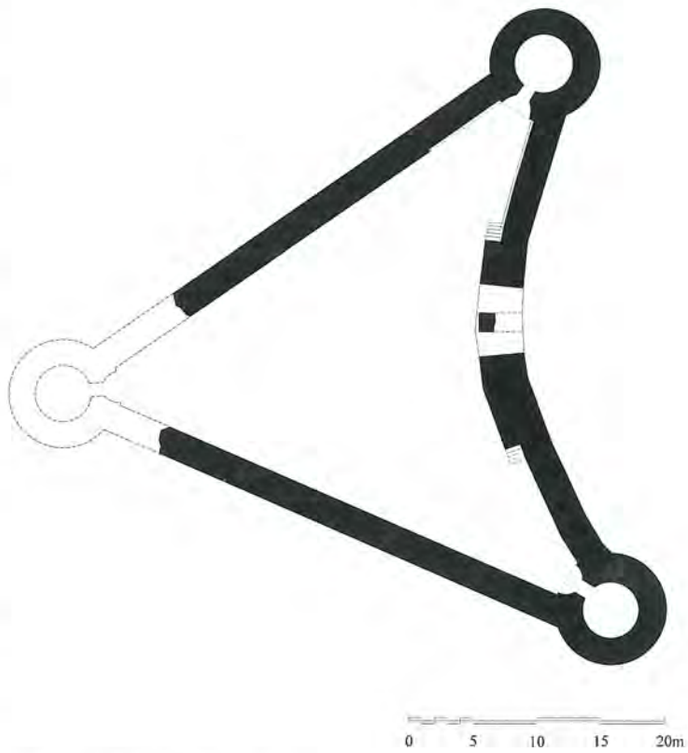


they offer an increasingly more precise picture of the extent and character of the restorations carried out under Justinian I.[17] Statistically, it is quite clear that most of the fortresses in the area of Aquae (modern Prahovo) – thirty-seven of a total of thirty-eight fortresses – were actually rebuilt on the same sites where they had been located *circa* 300, and in some cases even earlier. This is in sharp contrast to the region of Remesiana, for example, where all thirty *castella* mentioned were built *ex novo*.[18] Several general aspects stand out as characteristic of the sixth-century interventions. While in most cases the rebuilding respected the outlines of the preexisting fortifications, the features were commonly changed or modified. In general, only one entrance gate was maintained, while additional doors were routinely blocked up. Towers varied considerably in shape, and no particular logic appears to have been imposed. Single-aisled churches were built within most of the reconstructed *castra* and *castella*, always orientated but not abiding with any other internal planning principles.

The *castrum* of Taliata (Veliki Gradac, Serbia) is one of the largest and best explored. Its regular *castrum* plan, measuring approximately 150 × 160 meters, was fully maintained, but not without significant modifications.[19] Three of its four main gates were blocked, while only one – the north – was kept in use. The western gate was suppressed in such a way that its space became the baptistery of a sizeable single-aisled church, built so as to abut the main wall at that point. Three U-shaped corner towers were added where there had been none. All of these modifications reflect the nature of the intervention that, in general, aimed at respecting the strategic choices made in earlier times, but also at taking advantage of what had already been left, a no small practical consideration in this remote area. The *castellum* of Campsa (Ravna, Serbia) repeats essentially the same characteristics in an abridged format. Here, the extent of restoration is a subject of debate.[20] Whether some of the towers prove to be Constantinian in their foundations, or Justinianic in their entirety, will hardly alter our general perception and understanding of Justinian's restoration of the Danubian *limes*.

The one fortress positively identified as a new construction, among scores of restoration projects, is the small *castellum* of Bosman. Triangular in plan, each side measuring approximately 40 meters, the fort was reinforced by circular corner towers (fig. 181). Its eastern side slightly curving, the fort was adapted to the topographical conditions, and as such recalls – on a smaller scale – acropolis solutions, such as that of the *oppidum* at Vodno (see below, pp. 182–83).

The fortifications briefly discussed in reference to the *limes* system, extensively explored within present-day Serbia, continued along the Danube in what is now Bulgaria, ending in the area of the Lower Danube, now in Romania, where another great concentration of forts with similar general historical and architectural characteristics may be found.[21] The scope of this book does not allow for a more detailed analysis of individual sites. Thus, the three sites discussed above – Taliata, Campsa, and Bosman – illustrate the scale and typological range of fortifications built along the Danube *limes* during the sixth century. Establishments like Taliata were large enough to accommodate a legion, and as such formed the backbone of this system of defenses. Smaller fortifications, on the order of Campsa, were manned by smaller units, used for emergency deployment in areas intervening between the principal outposts. Finally, the small forts, such as Bosman, were essentially lookouts, manned by relatively few troops and intended for keeping the lines of communication along the *limes* alive, as well as for detecting and signaling any suspicious enemy movements across the river.



181 Bosman, Castellum; plan

New Types of Fortifications

The restoration of the Danubian *limes*, as articulated by Prokopios and as supported by archaeological evidence, was an imperial policy that deliberately chose to dismiss immediately preceding efforts as failures. Nowhere is this shift of policy more apparent than in the rejection of certain regional defense systems established only several decades earlier.

Justinian's new policy was at once a summary rejection of the failed fifth-century policies, as outlined above, and a return to the fourth-century vision of the empire's defensive needs. As part of his new policy the interior of the Balkans was also to be studded with a multitude of fortified nodes. These were no longer merely a secondary line of defenses paralleling the *limes*, as had been built in the time of Constantine I and his successors (Chapter 2, pp. 45–48). Instead, these interior defensive nodes were to be scattered across the interior of the Balkans, guarding routes and industrial settlements, protecting a wide range of interests with the same broad aim of maintaining a firm footing throughout the area. A wide range of fortification types associated with this defensive program is known, ranging from the miniscule forts, *castella*, to the larger military establishments, *castra*, and ultimately to the relatively large fortified enclosures, including fully fledged settlements, such as *oppidula* and *oppida*. While all of these categories maintained strong conceptual links with fortification types used in previous centuries, they also displayed major conceptual innovations. Perhaps the most significant among these was that, almost invariably, new fortifications were built on hilltops, and not in plains. Such locations had their strategic advantages, but also induced significant changes in the actual planning of fortifications. Regularity, typical of fourth-century military architecture, gave way to irregularity, governed strictly by the natural configuration of the terrain.

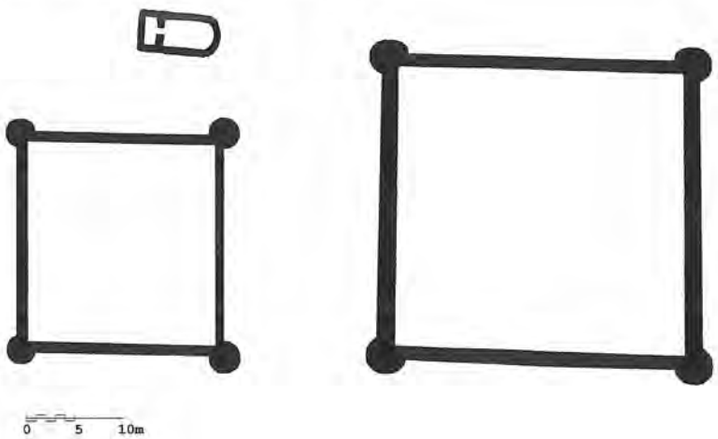
TETRAPYRGIA

Our purpose here cannot be to discuss all, or even a representative selection, of the individual fortifications. Instead, our investigation will focus on just a few examples of the main types. The most basic among these are miniature forts. Apart from the continued use of single towers, the simplest type appears to have been the so-called *tetrapyrgion* – a square enclosure with four projecting corner towers. The type is known from earlier times, one of the finest examples being the early fourth-century Castra Martis (p. 48 and figs. 39 and 40), mentioned by Prokopios as having been restored and strengthened.[22] The rebuilding of fortifications in the border area of the provinces of Dacia Mediterranea and Dacia Ripensis, presently in eastern Serbia, south of the Danube, adds to our understanding of the popularity of the *tetrapyrgion* type and the possible mechanism of its inheritance from earlier times.[23] Particularly relevant in this area are the fortresses of Orešac and "Kulište" near Podvis. The former measures 20 × 20 meters, the latter 35 × 35 meters in plan, and both have round corner towers (fig. 182). The fortress type is also described by Prokopios in conjunction with Justinian's commemoration of his birthplace, to the southwest of this area:

> Among the Dardanians of Europe . . . there was a hamlet named Taurisium, whence sprung the Emperor Justinian, the founder of the civilized world. He therefore built a wall of small compass about this place in the form of a square, placing a tower at each corner, and caused it to be called, as it actually is, Tetrapyrgia.[24]

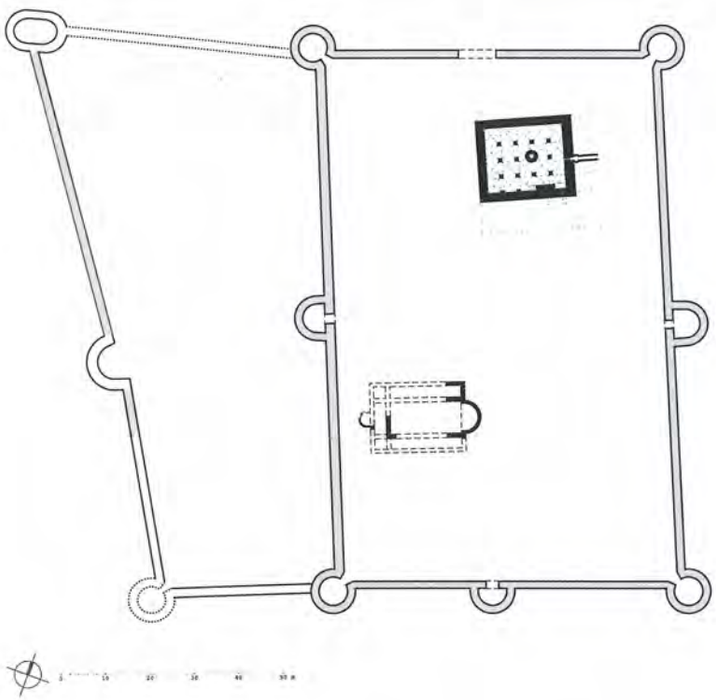
While the precise location of Taurisium has not been pinpointed, several contemporary examples of *tetrapyrgia* are known from the surviving remains scattered over a wide area. The remains of one of these, associated with the fortified monastery of Hagia Matrona, were recorded on the hill to the northeast of Thessaloniki; another one was found at Malathrea, in southern Albania while the foundations of yet another are situated on the uppermost plateau of the Monemvasia peninsula in southern Greece.[25]

182 Tetrapyrgia, (A) Orešac, (B) "Kulište"; plans

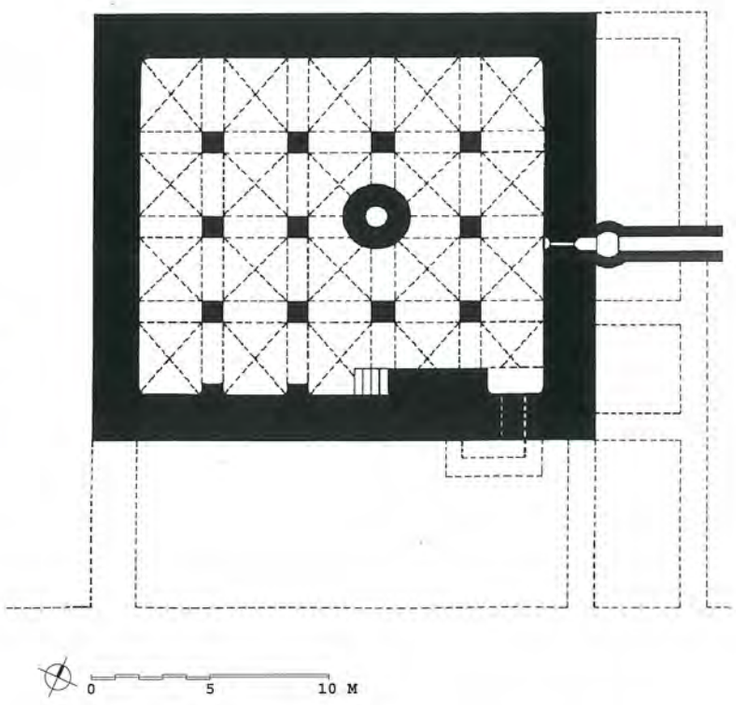


CASTRA AND CASTELLA

The central area of the Balkans, corresponding to the modern area of southern Serbia, saw a considerable amount of new construction, spurred, at least in part, by Justinian's personal ties to this region. We will refer to but two of the newly constructed fortified sites within the 50 kilometers between Naisus (modern Niš) and Justiniana Prima (modern Caričin Grad). The first of these is the site of Balajnac, noted already at the end of the nineteenth century, but whose ancient name still remains a mystery.[26] Although not fully excavated, general characteristics of the fortress can be described. Situated on a hilltop plateau, the fortress of Balajnac consists of two parts – a remarkably regular *castellum* functioning as the main, high point of the complex, and a more irregular lower enclosure built against the western slope of the hill. The upper, rectangular enclosure measures roughly 70 × 113 meters. Though its enclosure walls remain unexcavated, it is clear that it was strengthened by four circular corner



183 Balajnac, Castellum; plan

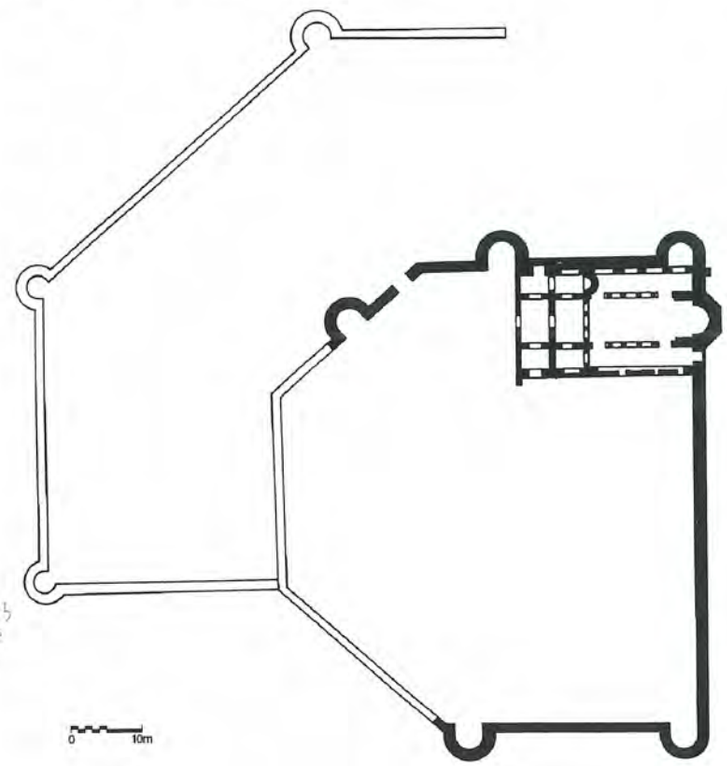


184 Balajnac, Castellum, cistern; plan

towers and by an additional semicircular tower in the center of the east, west, and south sides (fig. 183). The northern side, possibly without any additional towers, may have been the location of the main entrance. Within the enclosure have been located the remains of two major buildings, a three-aisled basilica and a large underground cistern. The latter apparently belonged to a large building that rose above it and whose foundations extended beyond the outer walls of the cistern. The cistern, with internal measurements of 17.2 × 15.5 meters, was subdivided into twenty square bays by square brick piers that carried domical vaults (fig. 184). One of these vaults, rising to a full height of 5.3 meters, is fully preserved, giving a good sense of the size of this building, whose capacity is estimated to have been 1,000 cubic meters of water. Cisterns of this type were part and parcel of all settlements – civilian and military – during the fifth and sixth centuries. The size of this example indicates that the fortified settlement at Balajnac must have had, or at least had been planned for, a sizable population. Most certainly built during Justinian's campaign to fortify the interior of the Balkans, this fortress seems not to have survived the first waves of Avar and Slavic invasions *circa* 600.

Chronologically and functionally related to Balajnac, and situated approximately 30 kilometers as the crow flies to its southwest, is the fortress of Bregovina.[27] Somewhat smaller in size than Balajnac, this site is situated on a plateau of a promontory with gently sloping sides. It, too, consists of an upper and a lower

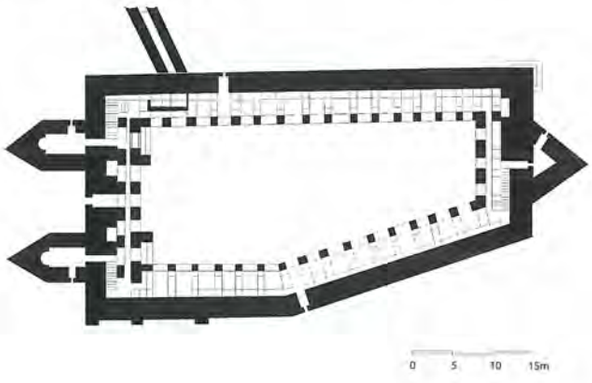
185 Bregovina, Byzantine fortress; plan



enclosure. In this case, the upper enclosure has an essentially regular, albeit unusual, six-sided plan, whose geometry is that of an octagon whose three sides were cut off in a straight line (fig. 185). Measuring about 60 × 70 meters, this enclosure was strengthened by U-shaped towers, some placed at the corners, others at the midpoints of walls, while others are curiously missing altogether. As may also have been the case at Balajnac, the main gate at Bregovina was not flanked by closely spaced towers. The lower enclosure appears to have paralleled the outline of the upper enclosure walls, at a distance of 35 meters on the west and north sides. Three semicircular towers have been noted at three corner points, but all of this remains unexcavated. The fort at Bregovina is particularly noteworthy for the basilican church incorporated into the fortification walls of its upper enclosure (see p. 226–27, below). Unlike fourth-century fortresses, it should be noted, churches – often sizeable, proportionally speaking – were always built integrally with sixth-century fortifications, reflecting the risen status of the Church within the empire by this date.

One of the more unusual types of fortifications belonging to this general category is the recently explored "*castrum*" of Stenos, in the Succi Pass in central Bulgaria (fig. 186).[28] Situated on the main trans-Balkan east–west road, approximately halfway between Serdica (Sofia) and Philippopolis (Plovdiv), "*castrum*" Stenos is a relatively small fort built atop a steep hill with the intention of guarding a major road within a narrow pass below it. Measuring only 39 × 69 meters in its overall dimensions, this fort would be better defined as a *castellum*. Massively built, its walls 2.2 meters thick, the fort had an irregular pentagonal plan with a central courtyard surrounded on all sides by a vaulted peristyle carried by massive piers. The fort was entered from the west through a heavily guarded gate, flanked by two massive pentagonal towers (5.5 × 10 m in plan). A single triangular tower projected from the opposite, eastern side of the fort. Covered peristyle passageways evidently provided for a broad platform at the upper level, which would have made the military tasks of surveying the landscape and defending the fort more effective. The fort was built with alternating bands of small stone ashlars and five courses of brick, recalling the characteristic Constantinopolitan building technique, commonly encountered on other sites on the territory of Bulgaria dating from the period of Justinian's reconstruction.

186 Stenos, Byzantine fort; plan

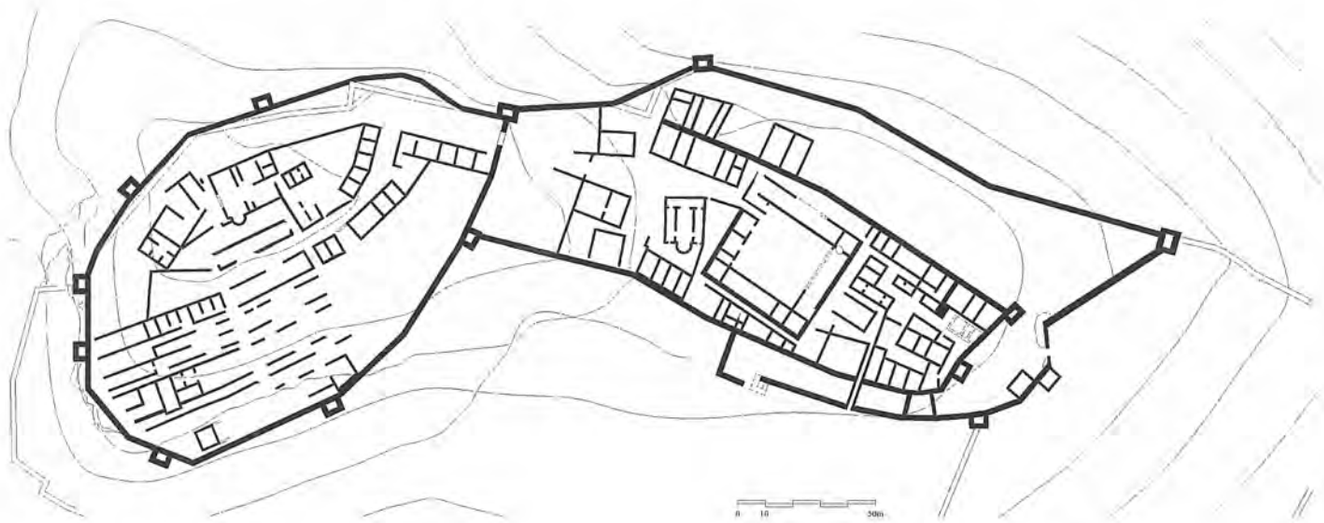


OPPIDA AND OPPIDULA

A particularly distinctive category of sixth-century fortifications in the Balkans constitutes *oppida* and the smaller *oppidula*, fortified outposts with a civilian settlement within their walls. These may be thought of as sixth-century versions of miniscule cities, whose appearance we first took note of during the period of the Tetrarchy (Chapter 1, pp. 22–32). What distinguishes them from their ancestors are their locations (high, dominant positions), their general form (irregular, and dependent on the topography of the site), and their interior layout (relatively irregular, and lacking any sense of the older military planning principles).

One of the largest and most informative examples, on account of its extensively excavated state, is the *oppidum* at Čučer, near Skopje, FYROM.[29] Situated on a ridge, it covers an area of 9 hectares, has an overall length of more than 400 meters, and a maximum width of 110 meters (fig. 187). It consists of a higher acropolis, essentially oval in plan, and an elongated upper town. Both are fortified by enclosure walls featuring projecting square towers. Below the upper town is a secondary system of enclosure walls, roughly paralleling the first and providing additional protection, creating a complex entrance path that resembles a type of "bent entrance" typical of later medieval fortification architecture. Extending down the slopes of the hill from the acropolis and the upper town were the walled enclosures of the north town and the larger, eastern lower town. The remains of residential buildings, as well as sizeable basilican churches, have been excavated within the acropolis and the upper town. Both enclosures feature irregular building layouts. The lower one seems to consist of uneven blocks of houses with a centrally situated large and regularly planned building – probably a market – organized around an interior court measuring 38 × 38 meters. In functional terms this could almost be seen as a vestige of the ancient forum concept, with a church to its immediate south. Residential units in the acropolis are much smaller and organized differently. They are grouped in long rows, separated by narrow alleys, and situated on terraces following the natural contours of the site. Here a church occupies one of the highest points within the enclosure.

Even more remarkable from the point of view of its fortification system is the *oppidum* on Mount Vodno, above Skopje, FYROM. Situated on an inclined mountain ridge, this *oppidum* also consists of a heavily fortified upper acropolis with an upper

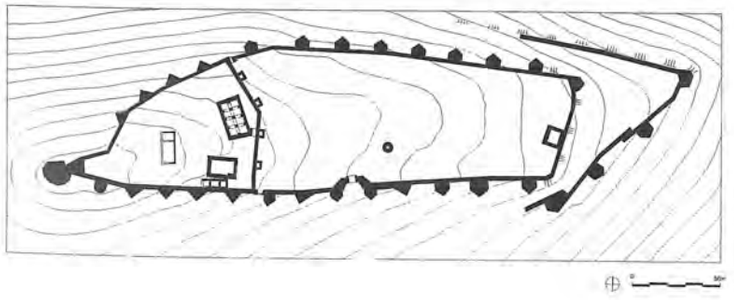


187 Čučer, Oppidum; plan

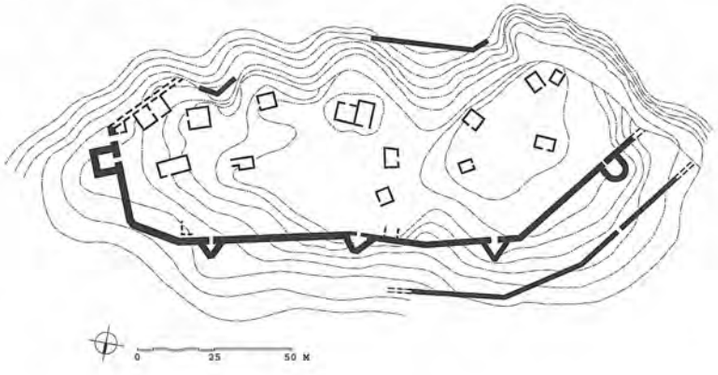
town immediately below it, with a maximum length of 300 meters, and a maximum width of 80 meters (fig. 188). The natural incline from the topmost single tower of the triangular acropolis to the lowest part of the upper town is approximately 60 meters. The upper town, as in the case of Čučer, is preceded by a system of fortification walls essentially paralleling the main line of fortifications and protecting the most vulnerable, eastern flank of the *oppidum*. The enclosure walls of the acropolis and the upper town include a multitude of massive towers, closely spaced (in places merely 10 m apart). The towers are triangular, pentagonal, and polygonal in plan, with the exception of the four square towers that project from the acropolis wall in the easterly direction, facing the upper town itself. Remains of buildings are noticeable in both enclosures, but only a few structures within the acropolis have been systematically explored. One of these is a cistern measuring 12 × 25 meters and subdivided internally into a system of eight bays by three massive piers. Both in its design and in its construction, employing modular vaulting, this cistern resembles the one at Balajnac, and as such belongs to a standard type used for water supply within urban areas and military settlements alike.

Similar in concept, albeit smaller in scale, was the *oppidum* at Qafa, south of Elbasan (ancient Scampi) in Albania (fig. 189).[30] Evidently built in the sixth century, the fortress occupies a ridge near the ancient Via Egnatia, whose protection appears to have been its principal function.[31] Of an irregular oblong plan, measuring 175 meters in maximum length and 65 meters in width, the fortress of Qafa belongs to the category of medium-sized fortresses. In what appears to have been a characteristic of sixth-century fortifications in general, it displays the simultaneous use of triangular, square, and U-shaped towers. It was accessible through a single gate on the east side, guarded by a single tower. A *proteichisma* (outer wall) paralleling the main fortification wall in its southern section has been preserved along an approximately 110-meter-long stretch. The remains of the few interior buildings that have been recorded suggest an irregularity of the overall plan, comparable to what has been seen in the *oppida* at Čučer and Vodno.

188 Vodno, Oppidum; plan



189 Qafa, Oppidum; plan



New Town Fortifications

The destruction experienced by many Balkan cities and towns in the course of the fifth century, and the early part of the sixth left many of them in a sad state of repair, at times even desolate. The Hun invasions of the 440s, the Gothic invasions of the later fifth century, as well as earthquakes and fires, all took their toll. The repairs that had to be undertaken almost invariably addressed the problem of security as one of the top priorities. New city walls in many instances were built in haste, often enclosing a much smaller area than the earlier city walls, indicating also that a process of shrinking population was also under way.

The city of Dyrrachion (modern Durrës), Albania, acquired one of the most impressive circuit of walls to be built during this period.[31] The birthplace of Emperor Anastasios I, Dyrrachion in this regard may have been the beneficiary of its native son. Substantially following the circuit of older Roman walls that for some reason had been destroyed, the new walls enclosed a smaller urban area, but their design and manner of construction were most impressive. Featuring a variety of towers – rectangular, circular, and, above all, pentagonal – the walls of Dyrrachion are distinguished by their building technique of solid brick. This unusual and expensive high-quality construction technique may have been the result of several factors. In the first place, the complete destruction of the older city walls may well have influenced the decision to build the new ones in a more solid fashion. Second, readily available bricks from the older wall may have been reemployed. Last, but not least, Dyrrachion, as a crucial port on the Adriatic and the point at which the Via Egnatia began, may have been deemed worthy of a major fortification. Emperor Anastasios, as we have seen, was engaged in projects that had regional scope. Related to the main trans-Balkan route, the city of Dyrrachion may have been perceived as fitting perfectly into such a scheme.

The case of Herakleia Lynkestis, near Bitola, FYROM, in its own way is also instructive.[33] The small Roman town with possible Hellenistic origins suffered major damage during the Hun invasion of 447, followed by a burning under Theodoric in 479. The town, in the vicinity of the Via Egnatia, had a floor area of 9 hectares, and was enclosed by walls with towers and multiple gates. Following the repeated fifth-century destructions, it was rebuilt toward the end of the fifth century and during the first half of the sixth. Although the rebuilding involved the construction of a major basilica with resplendent mosaics and a bishop's palace, as well as repairs to another basilica and other public buildings, the actual size of the town had shrunk markedly to only 5 hectares. New city walls were hastily put up using spoils from older fallen buildings and enclosing an irregular area. The cathedral church itself was built over the remains of the Roman forum, while a public portico with statues of important citizens was demolished, the statues being used as building material for the construction of new walls. During the second half of the sixth century the process of urban decline continued, the city's theater, despoiled of its marble seats, becoming overgrown in a residential neighborhood whose modest houses were built in a rough, dry-wall technique. The town does not seem to have lived much longer after *circa* 600. The practice of hastily building new town walls to enclose smaller areas within erstwhile prosperous cities became a relatively common phenomenon throughout the Balkans during the fifth and sixth centuries. In rare cases, old cities experienced spurts of growth, resulting in the actual expansion of old city walls. One of these cases is that of Nicopolis ad Istrum, Bulgaria.[34] Here a new irregular section was added to the ancient walled city. Although built in an inferior manner, the very fact that this was an addition, rather than a contraction, indicates that Nicopolis ad Istrum experienced unusual urban growth at a time of general urban decline across the Balkans.

URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

Old Cities

By the end of the fifth century the process of Christianization of the empire was substantially accomplished, though not necessarily completed. Meanwhile, the great momentum in the urbanization of the Balkans had passed its zenith.[35] To be sure, some major building enterprises in various cities of the empire – above all in its capital, Constantinople – still lay ahead, but the vigorous growth of cities had generally become a thing of the past. Many cities, in fact, experienced physical destruction through the ravages caused by invasions. Some of them never recovered; in others, repairs were done in haste, reflecting a general lack of time, funds, and civic spirit, all necessary ingredients for normal urban development. Ravages were not all of external making. In the course of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth several major earthquakes caused extensive damage to a number of cities. Furthermore, urban violence, riots, and arson did their own share of damage. Last but not least, the effects of the great plague that reached the empire in 541 dealt the final blow to its urban population. The combined population and material losses suffered at that time were too great, and most cities appear never to have recovered from them. The final decline and demise of cities after *circa* 600 coincided with, and contributed to, profound changes that affected the political and social life of the empire as a whole.[36]

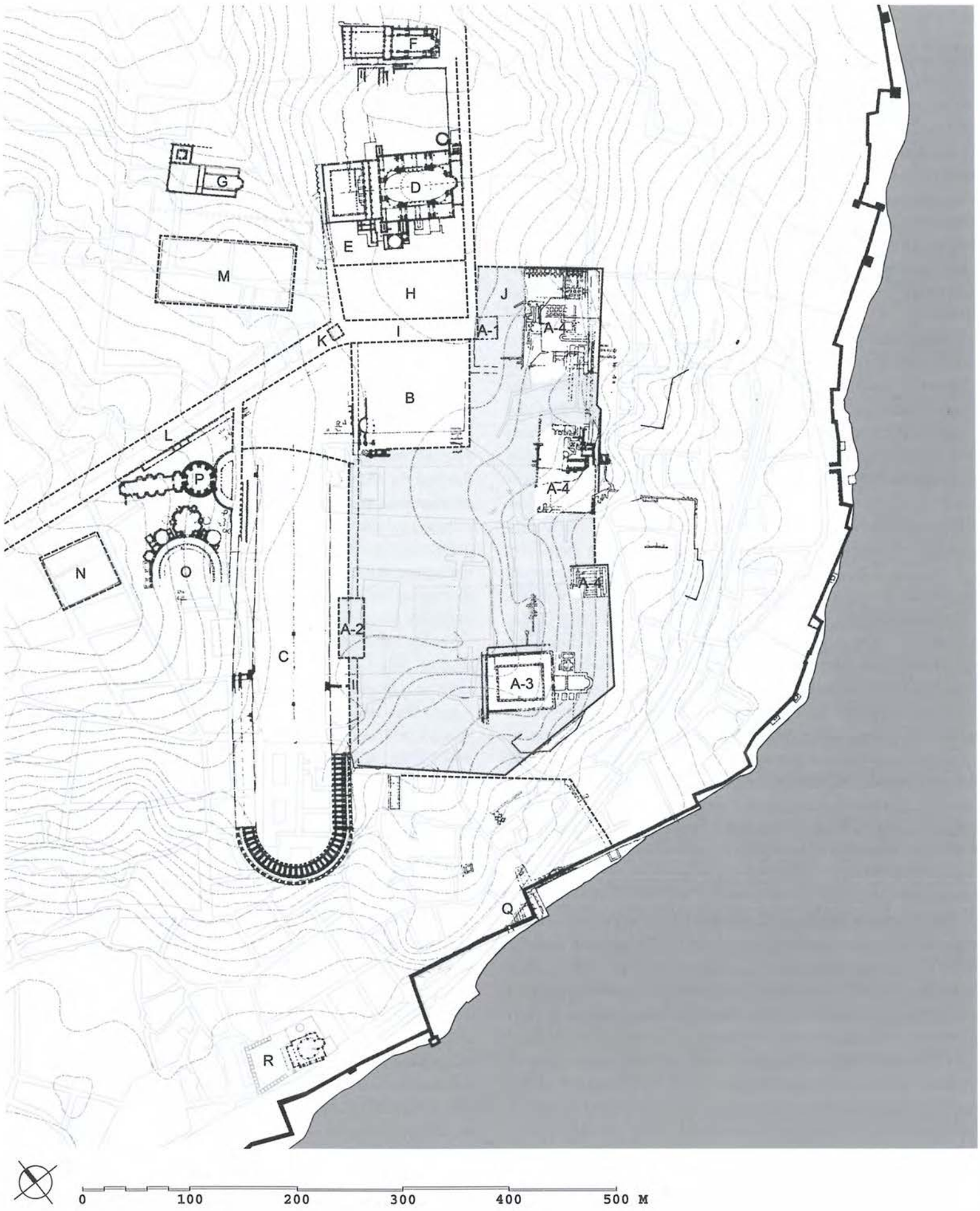
Although certain crucial elements in the urban fabric of the city of Constantinople were brought about by Emperor Justinian's enterprising spirit, its actual growth and its topographical evolution were essentially already completed by *circa* 500.[37] Book I, the longest of the six books of Prokopios' celebrated work on the buildings of Justinian, describes in some detail the emperor's building activity in the capital and its vicinity.[38] According to this, Justinian's architectural patronage within Constantinople was predominantly directed toward church buildings, to a lesser degree to palaces, and finally to relatively few public works, including public squares, cisterns, baths, and hospices. Furthermore, an overwhelming number of Justinian's undertakings were restoration projects. This would appear to be consistent with his general political ambitions focused on the restoration of the empire itself. The most important reconstruction achievement was a group of buildings in the heart of the imperial city – the churches of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene with the intervening Hospice of Samson, the Augusteion with the Column of Justinian, and the Great Palace – all destroyed *in toto* or extensively damaged during an urban upheaval, and rebuilt on essentially the same locations. Thus, Justinian's greatest accomplishments, for which he is universally renowned, were fortuitous deeds, brought about by a major urban riot, the so-called Nika Uprising of 532. The riot ended in the bloody massacre of thousands of participants in the hippodrome carried out by General Belisarios, recalling the suppression of rioting Thessalonikans under Theodosius I in 390. After the violence subsided, the central part of the capital was left a smoldering ruin. Though not planned as such, this presented Justinian with a golden opportunity to rebuild the lost structures in a more magnificent manner, and to leave the city of Constantine with an enduring stamp of his own reign. Though relatively little was changed in the actual topographical layout, the new buildings that rose from the ashes became the permanent, resplendent symbols of the empire's greatness (fig. 190).

Our survey of Constantinople in the sixth century will consider not only the major accomplishments of Justinian I, but also those of his predecessors and his followers, as few as these may have been. It will begin with a consideration of public buildings and spaces, continue with palatine architecture, and will then turn to considerations of church architecture in its own right.

While the fifth-century growth of the city was most apparent in the laying out of major avenues and public spaces, and the erection of public monuments, sixth-century accomplishments were considerably more modest in scope. The principal public space created in the same spirit was also probably the last such creation – the so-called Augusteion – a large forum-like space enclosed by porticoes on all four sides and featuring an honorific column with an equestrian statue of Justinian I on the top. Situated between Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace, Justinian's Augusteion superseded a comparable public space built in the same location, initially created under Constantine I and rebuilt after the fire of 404. Within the paved open area of the new space rose the imposing Column of Justinian, erected in commemoration of his victory over the Persians. The column, approximately 35 meters high, was supported on a seven-stepped pedestal and bore a bronze equestrian statue of the emperor, possibly three to four times larger than life size. This may well have been the last three-dimensional monumental sculpture of an emperor to be produced in Constantinople. The Roman tradition of memorializing emperors with honorific monuments set within open fora may likewise have come to an end at the same time. Nothing of the Augusteion, the Column of Justinian, or the equestrian statue has survived. The size and location of the Augusteion are approximated by the large modern parking area flanking the enclosure of Hagia Sophia along its south side. To the southwest lie the pitiful remains of the so-called Million, which may be understood to identify the approximate southwest corner of the short western side of the Augusteion. The eastern short side of the Augusteion was associated with the monumental portico of the Senate building, also rebuilt by Justinian following the conflagration of 532, but of which likewise nothing remains.

Prokopios also informs us that Justinian's reconstruction affected an area as far west as the Forum of Constantine. The most impressive new intervention, just to the west of the Augusteion, involved the construction of the so-called Imperial Portico, another forum-like public space used for judicial purposes. This, according to Prokopios, was built above an immense cistern. Since nothing of the Imperial Portico survives, it has been assumed that the large, surviving Yerebatan or Basilica Cistern should be associated with this construction. The Yerebatan Cistern, however, is older than the sixth century, bringing into question Prokopios' assertion that the cistern under the Imperial Portico was made on Justinian's orders. Crediting Justinian with more than was his due, however, would not have been entirely out of line with other similar fictitious claims made by Prokopios in the *Buildings*.

Another impressive area of Justinian's reconstruction must have been the Great Palace, likewise apparently extensively damaged in the fire of 532. Begun by Constantine I, the Great Palace was repeatedly expanded and modified by his successors. Because practically nothing of the complex survives, it is not possible to check Prokopios' sweeping assertion that "Practically the whole Palace is new, and . . . was built by the Emperor Justinian." Whatever the actual extent of rebuilding may have been, it appears certain that it did not result in a slavish reproduction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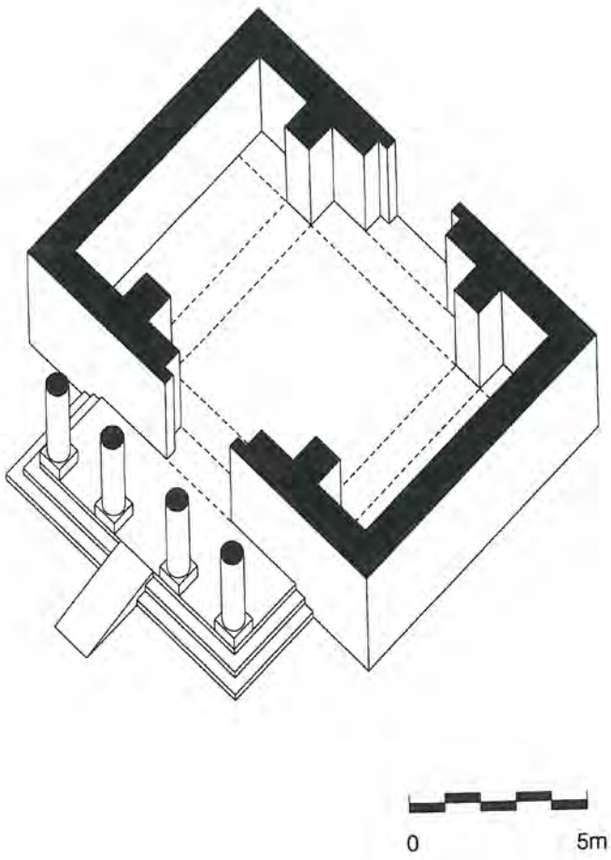
190 (*facing page*) Constantinople, Great Palace with environs; schematic reconstruction plan

A-1	Chalkē Gate	I	Regia
A-2	Kathisma	J	Senate
A-3	Peristyle Court	K	Million
A-4	Excavated substructures	L	Mese
B	Baths of Zeuxippos	M	Yerebatan Cistern
C	Hippodrome	N	Binbirdirek Cistern
D	Hagia Sophia	O	Palace of Antiochos
E	Patriarchal Palace	P	Palace of Lausos
F	Hagia Eirene	Q	Bukoleon Palace
G	Chalkoprateia	R	H. Sergios and Bakkos
H	Augusteion		

of what had previously stood on the same site. The part that particularly attracted Prokopios' attention was the so-called Chalkē (the "Bronze Gate"), the main vestibule of the Great Palace. Unlike most of his descriptions, Prokopios here provides sufficient verbal information to facilitate a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the building's appearance (fig. 191). Several aspects of the Chalkē, as described by him, are noteworthy. As the vestibule of the Imperial Palace, this building was clearly viewed as its public frontispiece and, therefore, could be interpreted as the symbolic paradigm of the palace as a whole. "We know the lion . . . by his claw," asserts Prokopios, "and so those who read this will know the impressiveness of the Palace from the vestibule."[39] Thus for Prokopios, the Chalkē assumed the role of a symbol of the entire Great Palace, essentially equivalent to the visual paradigm depicted on the so-called misorium of Theodosius I (see fig. 89). In an age increasingly given over to paradigmatic uses of art and architectural symbols, this should come as no surprise. We have seen the beginnings of this process already in the discussion of the vestibule of Diocletian's palace at Split (see fig. 19) and the Palace of Galerius in Thessaloniki (fig. 7). The latter example has yet another aspect in common with the Chalkē, as described by Prokopios. The Palace of Galerius was entered through a large triumphal arch, the Arch of Galerius, straddling the Via Egnatia. The arch, a domed tetrapylon, had the faces of its four massive piers covered with an extensive sculptural program illustrating Galerius' victory over the Persians in 297. Thus, the entrance to the Palace of Galerius in Thessaloniki provided an appropriate setting for a victory monument. The Chalkē, as we learn from Prokopios, served a similar purpose. Here, the dome interior was covered with mosaics celebrating Justinian's victories and his reconquest of territories previously lost to the barbarians.[40]

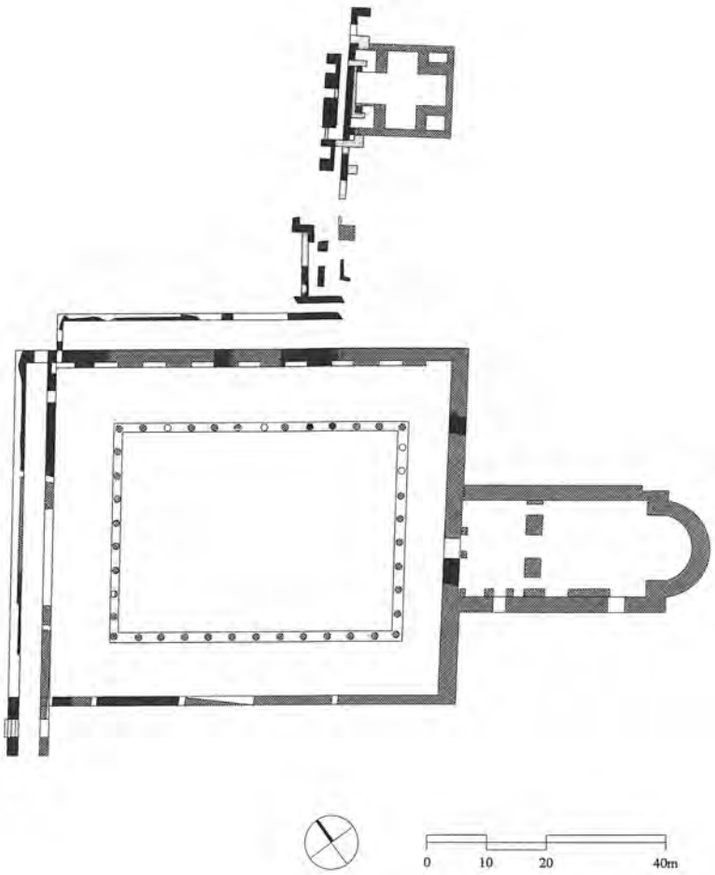
Prokopios' description is paradigmatically valuable also on a technical level. It clearly indicates that the central structural element in the building was a blind, hemispherical dome supported by four arches linked, as they must have been, by four



191 Constantinople, Great Palace, Chalkē Gate; hypothetical reconstruction

pendentives. The square domed bay was defined by four pilasters set against the longer outer walls of the oblong building whose shorter end bays were covered by shallow barrel vaults. The described system provides an essentially paradigmatic description of a dome on pendentives commonly employed in Byzantine architecture during the reign of Justinian I.[41] Even on the aesthetic level, Prokopios' description of the Chalkē provides useful general information. In describing its interior, he says that all of its floors and vertical walls were sheathed in marble, while only above (i.e., the arches and the vaults) was it covered with mosaic decoration. Precisely such use of materials became the norm in Constantinopolitan architecture, and was employed in secular as well as ecclesiastical contexts to the very end of the Byzantine architectural tradition in the capital, as several of the surviving churches clearly attest.

Although Prokopios barely mentions the Great Palace, his brief account of the so-called Jucundianae Palace, on the Bosphorus, provides us with another paradigmatic concept. In this case, we are told what a typical late antique palace would have consisted of:



192 Constantinople, Great Palace, peristyle court; plan

> In that place also he erected holy shrines . . . and stoas and markets, and public baths, and practically all other types of buildings, so that this quarter is in no way inferior to the Palace-quarter within the city.[42]

Despite its brevity, this account reminds us of two critical points: first, that late antique palaces were large complexes, resembling small towns in scale and content, and second, that palaces, including the imperial ones, were at least in part open to the general public. The latter point is made clearer by Prokopios, who explains that "a throng of men of all conditions comes to the city from the whole world" to visit the emperor in the Great Palace. To facilitate this process, and to accommodate the crowds during their visit to Constantinople, Justinian is said to have erected a hospice on the site of an erstwhile stadium, near the sea front.[43]

The only palpable portion of the Great Palace complex that has come to light through archaeological excavations is a large apsidal hall, axially preceded by a huge peristyle court renowned for its floor mosaics with extensive "secular" themes (fig. 192).[44] Recently restored, these mosaics have also had their date finally fixed to the second half of the sixth century. This finds confirmation in the actual architectural character of the peristyle court and the basilican hall, which points to older late antique examples, such as the stylish villa at Abritus (fig. 25) and particularly the fourth-century villa at Mediana (fig. 57). The peristyle court discovered in Constantinople is the largest such court known, measuring 55 × 65 meters. Porticoes nearly 10 meters wide surrounded its open area on all four sides. The floors within these porticoes were covered with the abovementioned mosaics, whose style and quality rank them among the finest preserved examples of sixth-century Byzantine secular art.[45] The main axis, stretching from northwest to southeast, related the great court to a basilican hall (16 × 39 m), of which only substructures survive. In the immediate vicinity, northeast of the peristyle court, were discovered the substructures of another interesting component of this part of the Great Palace – a cruciform hall with four corner chambers accommodated between the arms of the cross (overall dimensions 15 × 18 m) – that may have been linked by a long corridor to the peristyle court and, presumably, to other surrounding elements that have not been excavated. The shape and the disposition of this particular hall are noteworthy: its four corner rooms may be related to the four rooms commonly accompanying basilican halls of many earlier palatine complexes (see figs. 22, 83, 105, and 109), and as such may reflect distinctive ceremonial requirements whose precise character eludes us. This is a subject of considerable significance, for it also has a bearing on the evolution of Byzantine church architecture. We will consider the problem more fully in Chapter 6.

The tantalizingly fragmentary specific information from the Great Palace reveals the strongly conservative character of secular architecture at this time. This seems particularly noteworthy in contrast to fifth-century palatine architecture in Constantinople, which was marked by highly innovative ideas in design that led the way in the architectural developments of their day. Sixth-century ecclesiastical architecture in Constantinople is far better preserved than its secular counterpart, and suggests that superior architectural creativity by this time had shifted to a new category of buildings.

Although more than a dozen churches credited to Justinian's patronage by Prokopios have vanished without a trace, at least three others – Hagios Sergios and Bakkos, Hagia Sophia, and Hagia Eirene – are still standing. To these we shall add three more sixth-century churches, two of which are associated with the period of Justinian, but whose architecture is known only from their excavated remains or from the sources. The evidence thus gained unmistakably indicates a major shift in architectural priorities. By the sixth century, a new experimental spirit had permeated the ecclesiastical architecture of the capital, making it the leading branch of creative architectural production at the time.

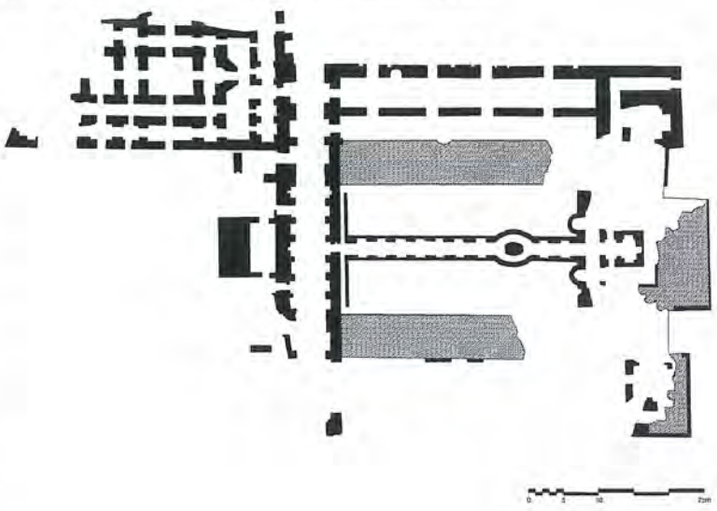
The crucial monument in these developments would appear to have been the great church of Hagios Polyeuktos, of which only pitiful remains of the foundations and large amounts of architectural sculpture have been excavated (fig. 193).[46] Though a full architectural reconstruction of this building is impossible, enough information is preserved to suggest that it set the tone for new developments in ecclesiastical architecture during the reign of Justinian. This is no place to debate hypothetical reconstruction proposals. There are several general aspects of the church that do stand out, however, and must be discussed, since they signal major new directions in church design. Built in the years 524–27, during the last years of Justin I's reign, Hagios Polyeuktos was the largest and easily the most impressive church built in Constantinople before Justinian's rebuilding of Hagia Sophia. The church was part of a large complex involving a spacious atrium (26 × 52 m) and other subsidiary buildings, including possibly a palace. Elevated on a tall platform, the church itself measured 52 × 58 meters in overall dimensions, approximately two-thirds the size of Hagia Sophia. The church was in all probability a three-aisled basilica, though its superstructure must have involved vaulting and possibly even a dome, as may be gleaned from two 7-meter-wide foundation walls that flanked the main nave. The overall proportions of the church would have been nearly square, consistent with basilican planning in Constantinople during the fifth century (see Chapter 3, pp. 98–99).

The longitudinal layout of the foundation walls demonstrates that the architects of Hagios Polyeuktos had a basilican church in mind. This, of course, would have been in keeping with the tradition fully established in the course of the fifth century. At the same time, it is clear that the church was not planned as a conventional basilica with a timber roof covering the nave and the side aisles. The size of the foundation walls suggests that vaulting was contemplated, possibly including a large dome – probably 17 meters in diameter – over the central part of the nave.[47] The presence of an oval support in the preserved substructures of the church has been understood as indicating the location of an ambo, believed to have occupied the central position under the dome. Structurally speaking, then, Hagios Polyeuktos would have been a major innovation – the first large-scale domed basilica in the capital. Its architects, versed in traditional church planning, but confronted with a new design requirement to include a dome over a longitudinally planned building, did not have an immediate answer to the new set of structural problems. Their solution, an impressive experiment, clearly was not structurally adequate, probably accounting for the building's relatively early demise. Experimentation with domed churches would continue during the reign of Justinian. The experience gained with the construction of Hagios Polyeuktos was undoubtedly invaluable in this process.

While the theoretical know-how gained with the construction of Hagios Polyeuktos may have informed the builders of Justinian's churches, these do not appear to have belonged to teams affiliated with the same workshop. Such a conclusion may be gleaned from the character of the architectural sculpture associated with Hagios Polyeuktos. Its elaborate decorative program belonged to a class of its own, its stylistic characteristics more easily associated with Sassanian than with the late antique art of the Mediterranean basin (figs. 194A–C).[48] In addition to the sculptural decoration, the church contained other forms of ornament, including mosaics on its vaulting. The most impressive architectural members, beyond the ones bearing sculpture, are the columns with geometric patterns executed in colorful inlays made of amethyst and glass, alluding to the gem-studded architecture associated with the heavenly realm.[49]

The final aspect of Hagios Polyeuktos that needs to be considered involves its functions. The church was commissioned by one Anicia Iuliana, a niece of Valentinian III (425–55), and therefore not a member of the ruling imperial family. Nonetheless, her wealth and magnanimity provided the basis for her patronage of the Church on a grand scale, challenging even that of the emperor himself. Related to her palace, the new church was clearly envisioned as more than simply a palace church. This was a major public church in which the relics of the saint to whom the church was dedicated – Polyeuktos – must have been kept and displayed. How this may have been arranged is a matter of conjecture. One possibility is that the elaborate niches, of which the church is known to have had at least six, may somehow have been related to the saint's shrine. Another possibility involves a long subterranean corridor that linked the crypt under the narthex with that under the sanctuary. At its midpoint, this corridor had a circular

193 Constantinople, H. Polyeuktos, foundations; plan



194A Constantinople, H. Polyeuktos, column (now in Piazetta of S. Marco, Venice)

bifurcation related to the position of the ambo above, and possibly also related to the saint's shrine. The question of how a saint's relics may have been made accessible to the faithful is a crucial planning issue about which we know pitifully little in general. We will return to this topic again within this chapter. At present it is important to note that the church was a private foundation located on private property, but that it functioned as a public church, making its services, and possibly the relics of Polyeuktos, accessible to the faithful in general. Aristocratic architectural patronage emerges here, in an early example, as an important contributing factor to the dynamics of building within the empire.

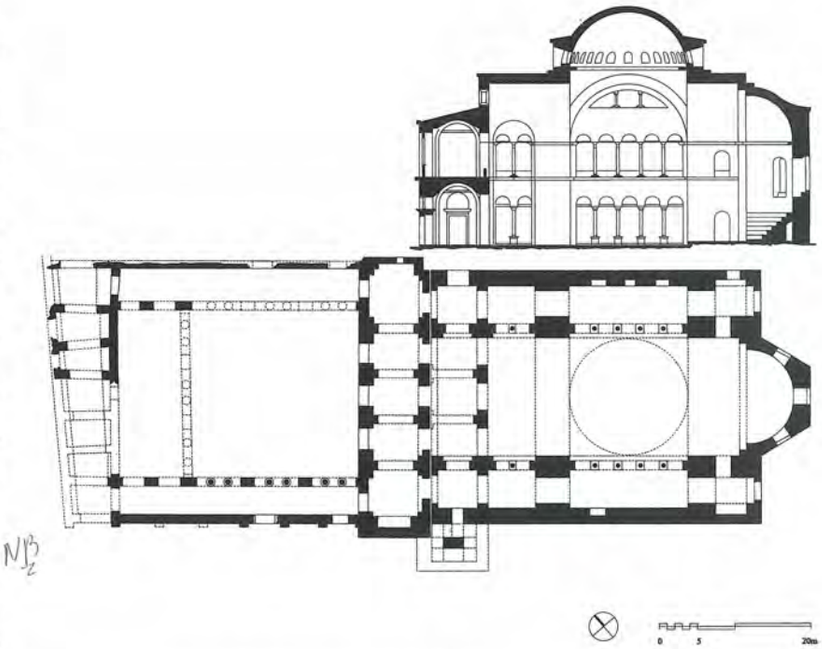
Indeed, it may have been the initiative of Anicia Iuliana that attracted the attention, and perhaps even aroused the envy, of Emperor Justinian I at the very outset of his reign in 527. It should be recalled that the church of Hagios Polyeuktos was completed in the very same year, clearly presenting the emperor with a standard of building to be matched. The architectural challenge presented by Hagios Polyeuktos may be understood in a twofold manner: in a structural sense, it provided a new type of domed basilican church whose future in Byzantine architectural practice was yet to come, while its internal splendor was clearly related to its symbolic, but also practical function as a setting for important relics, and therefore as a setting for the important miracles that such relics could potentially perform. Both factors played profound roles in the future development of Byzantine architecture. Because church architecture under the patronage of Justinian I in Constantinople reflects both, our analysis will examine the structural challenge first, followed by a consideration of functional planning.

The loss of the church of Hagios Polyeuktos has deprived us of one of the crucial monuments for the understanding of the

194B Constantinople, H. Polyeuktos, capitals (now in Archaeological Museum, Istanbul)

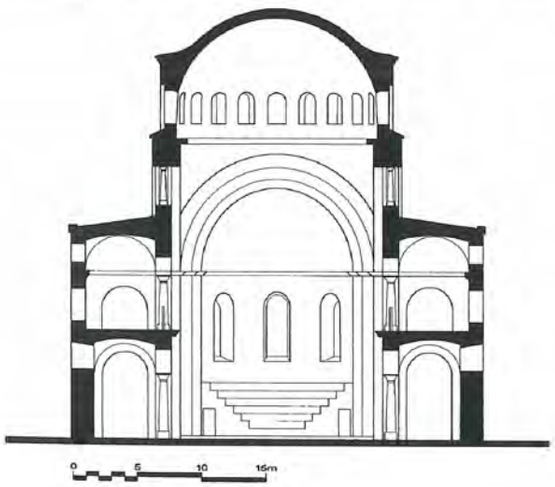
194C Constantinople, H. Polyeuktos, capitals (now in Archaeological Museum, Istanbul)

structural evolution of Early Byzantine church architecture. Nonetheless, the surviving evidence in other sixth-century churches, especially in the great foundations of Justinian I – Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene – provides adequate clues for the comprehension of the process. Though the history and the architecture of Hagia Sophia are far better understood, the structural lessons of Hagia Eirene are more direct and were of far greater consequence for the later development of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture. Begun in 532, the very same year and under exactly the same circumstances as Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene was planned as a domed basilica, possibly comparable in concept, if somewhat smaller in size, than Hagios Polyeuktos.[50] We know nothing about Hagia Eirene's foundations. We do know, however, that as first rebuilt after 532 the church involved a domed bay in the same location as the present one, and a relatively short barrel-vaulted bay to the west, matched by an even shorter one to the east, preceding the main apse, while its side aisles were surmounted by vaulted galleries. The dome was supported on two barrel vaults – to the east and west – and by very thin arches on the north and south sides. Intervening between these barrel vaults and the thin arches were four pendentives, comparable to the ones in the present church. The lateral arches presumably contained large windows that would have risen above the side galleries, illuminating the interior with a substantial amount of direct daylight (fig. 195). Thus, Hagia Eirene, as finished in its initial sixth-century rebuilding, would have been a paradigmatic domed basilica, a new church type whose fashion appears to have emerged in the later fifth and early sixth centuries.[51] The solution as adopted at the time appears to have been flawed in a major way. The dome that rose over the square bay, as we have seen, was buttressed differently along the east–west than along the north–south axis (fig. 196). This inherent weakness was the probable cause of the dome collapse in an earthquake in 740. The subsequent rebuilding of the church appears to have responded directly to the perceived cause of failure. In the rebuilding the lateral arches were expanded into barrel vaults that oversail the galleries (fig. 197). As a result, the domed unit was ultimately buttressed by a cruciform system of barrel vaults, using a solution that would eventually dominate



196 Constantinople, H. Eirene; hypothetical original longitudinal section and plan

195 Constantinople, H. Eirene; hypothetical original transversal section



197 Constantinople, H. Eirene, interior looking E

198 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, aerial view from W with partial view of H. Eirene at far left

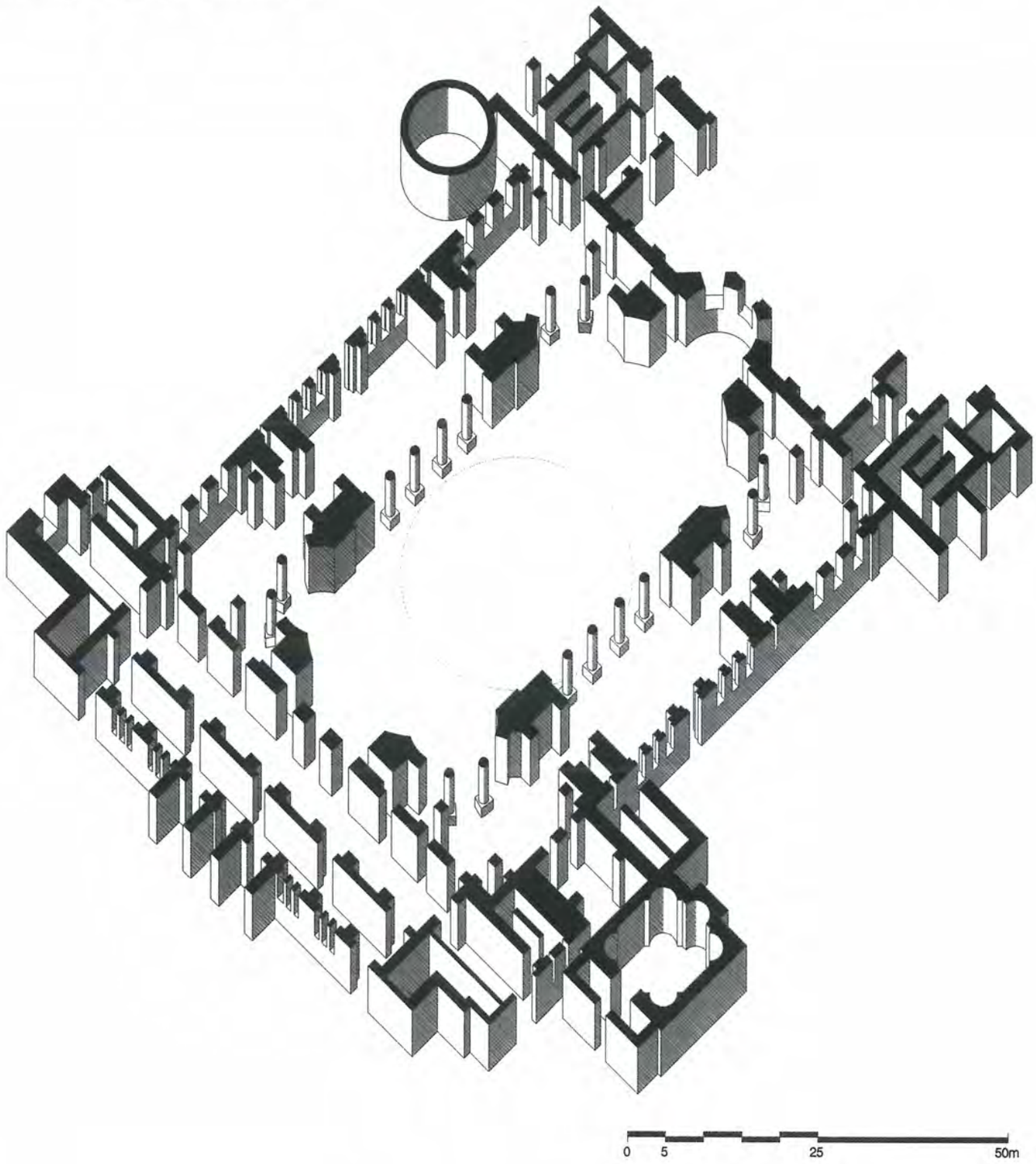
Byzantine church architecture for centuries to come. What stands out in this analysis is that the cross-domed unit may have been conceived as a remedial solution for the domed basilica, which in the course of time proved structurally inadequate. Thus, the form commonly viewed as a symbolic paradigm of Byzantine architecture – the cross with barrel-vaulted arms over the central part of the building – may be said to have emerged not as a conscious symbolic creation generated by the shape of the Cross, but as a by-product of structural experimentation by several generations of builders.[52]

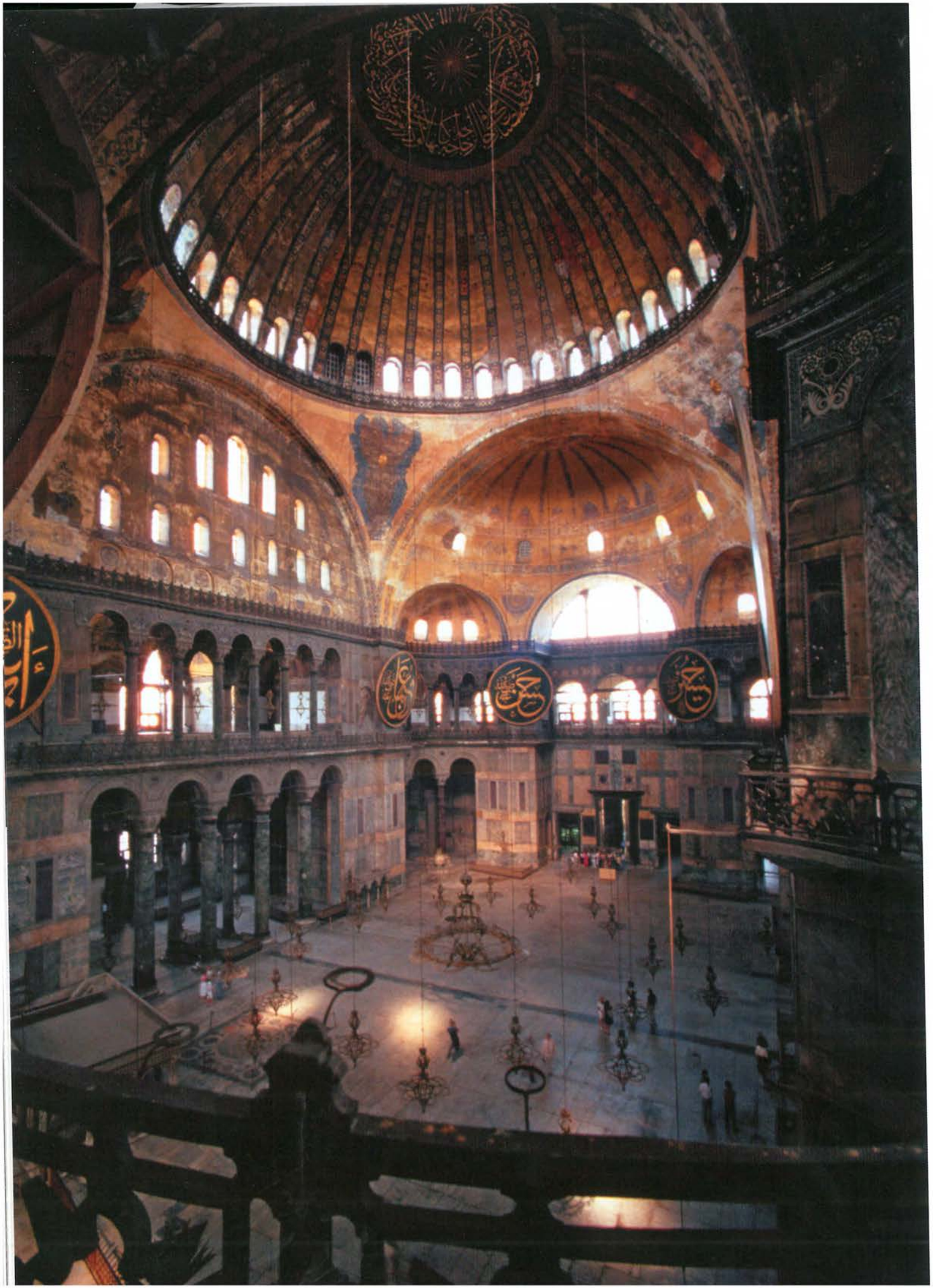
Pride of place among Justinian's buildings belongs to Hagia Sophia, the cathedral church of Constantinople. By virtue of its size, complexity of design, intricacy of decoration, and, not least, its survival, this building has attracted as much attention as probably the rest of Byzantine architecture put together.[53] Universally considered one of the great buildings of all time, Hagia Sophia "represents" Byzantine architecture in all general survey books. Needless to say, this is a major distorting mirror, the effects of which this study is consciously attempting to avoid. Hagia Sophia was at the time of its making – and remained throughout Byzantine history – a unique achievement, never again repeated either in terms of its size or its design.[54]

Situated just to the south of Hagia Eirene, Hagia Sophia occupied a distinctive place in the topography of Constantinople (fig. 198). The church was preceded by a disproportionately small atrium, despite the fact that its length significantly increased by

extending the western limits of the building well beyond an older street that ran past the Theodosian Portico erected after the fire of 404. Along its north and south flanks the church was framed by two enclosed courtyards. The northern one contained the *skevophylakion* that survived the conflagration of 532, while the southern one enclosed the baptistery, built for the new church near its southwest corner. To the west of the baptistery apparently stood the patriarchal palace, of which no traces survive. Just beyond the southern courtyard and the patriarchal palace, to the south, the complex was flanked by the Augusteion. The

199 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia; axonometric plan





church itself covers a floor area measuring 71 × 77 meters. Though it was conceived of as a domed basilica of sorts, its plan follows no clear precedent and departs from the conventions of basilican planning in several significant ways (fig. 199). The usual three-aisled layout has here been modified by the insertion of a huge domed bay measuring 32 meters (100 Byzantine feet) in diameter. This was not only the largest dome built in Constantinople up to that time, but also the largest dome supported by four piers ever to be built (fig. 200).[55] It was the application of the idea of a dome carried on only four points of support that introduced an unprecedented degree of flexibility in the plan and ultimately made the dome a feasible feature within church architecture. The structural idiom that is involved must have been long in the making and was conceptually dependent on the Roman groin vault, a vaulting unit likewise based on a square plan and carried merely by four corner supports. This ingenious invention, one of the few independent innovations with which Byzantine architects may be credited, was made possible by two factors that had been fully mastered by this time: the application of sophisticated geometric principles to building design and the use of brick in the construction of arches and vaults (fig. 200). The former factor has a long prehistory in Roman architecture. The use of pendentives (spherical triangles) as a transitional device allowing for the transformation of a square base into a circular one, suitable for the support of domes, appears to have been invented, and certainly perfected, by Byzantine builders in the course of the fifth century. The use of brick for vaulting, likewise, has its origins in late Roman imperial architecture, but its universal spread must also be seen as a Byzantine contribution.[56] The ultimate product of this development was the extensive application of domical vaults in Byzantine architecture. The domed square bay may be said to have become *the* modular spatial and structural unit of Byzantine architecture, substantially replacing in that function the Roman groin vault, whose application became very rare.[57]

The erection of the giant dome over the central part of the nave of Hagia Sophia, no less than the construction of comparable, albeit smaller domes at Hagios Polyeuktos and Hagia Eirene, was plagued by similar technical problems. From the collective impression gained from the three monuments, it is clear that this was a period of great structural experimentation, and that the empirical know-how had not yet been mastered. The dome of Hagia Sophia, and with it the church as a whole, was completed and dedicated in record time – by 25 December 537, within five years from the inception of work. The spectacular achievement, however, was short-lived. The dome collapsed in 558, evidently brought down in already weakened state by an earthquake. The new dome, as far as its design is concerned, is essentially the one that survives, notwithstanding the fact that large portions of it had to be reconstructed following two additional collapses in the ninth and fourteenth centuries. The new dome was to be 20 Byzantine feet (approximately 6 meters) higher than its ill-fated predecessor. Whether this difference in height implies the absolute difference from the floor of the church, or a relative one, involving only the dome and its drum, has recently become the subject of a new debate.[58] Regardless of the ultimate outcome of that debate, the present dome is basically hemispherical and rises to a height of 59 meters from the floor of the church. Its interior, subdivided into forty segments by the same number of ribs, has forty windows accommodated in its lowest section, precisely in the zone where Roman structural wisdom perceived the greatest potential weakness of a dome to be situated. The windows are as wide as the segments of the shell intervening between two adjacent ribs. Thus, the ribs clearly perform the crucial structural role, fully supporting the dome. On the exterior each rib is buttressed by a thickened masonry mass to resist the lateral thrusts affecting domes and arches at such points. The combined use of ribbing and windows appears to have been a step toward resolving the very old problem of cracking affecting hemispherical masonry domes.[59] At the same time, the presence of masonry buttresses at the base of each of the ribs, connected by small arches above the window openings, created the external image of a cylindrical drum upon which the dome appears to rest (fig. 202). Such drums would acquire a significant role in the later development of Byzantine architecture, a point to which we will return.

201 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, exterior, great window on w. façade

200 (*facing page*) Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, interior looking W

202 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, exterior, dome

The dominant presence of the great dome rising above the central portion of the nave of Hagia Sophia is but the highlight of its complex spatial and structural solution. Framing the great square upon which the dome rests are four seemingly identical arches (figs. 200 and 202). The pair on the north and south sides is strengthened by a smaller, concentric pair, spanning the distance between the piers, but visually concealed by the masonry of the great tympana accommodating the clerestory windows. The pair of arches on the east and west sides, on the other hand, expands longitudinally into two large semi-domes of identical diameter. These semi-domes rest in part on the same massive piers that carry the main dome and in part on two additional pairs of somewhat smaller piers, framing the main apse on the east side and the main entrance on the west. The system of supports thus articulated resulted in a unique spatial arrangement – a vast nave "tightened" at the opposite ends. Intervening between the main and the subsidiary piers at both the eastern and the western ends are pairs of semicircular exedras, perforated by columnar screens, separating the main space from the corner compartments. Together with the columnar arcades between the main piers on the north and south sides, the four exedras outline the unusual volume of the main space of the church. The diaphanous nature of this enclosure is further dissolved at gallery level, ultimately leading one's eye to the windows within the dome itself, where the effect of "dematerialization" reaches its visual crescendo. The nature of the spatial separation of the principal volumes by means of straight and undulating columnar screens has rightly been perceived as a hallmark of Justinianic architecture, but buildings thus characterized have been described by an unfortunate epithet as "double-shell" churches.[60]

Beyond its landmark role in the structural evolution of late antique and Early Byzantine architecture, Hagia Sophia also holds a key place in the context of the shaping of new Christian aesthetics. Rooted in the classical tradition, but imbued with Neoplatonist philosophical teachings, Christian aesthetics, committed to the notion of expressing mysteries of the invisible and

203 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, interior, dome seen from below

incircumscribable God, gradually defined ways in which art could communicate such notions through the available material means. The Age of Justinian witnessed the very moment of the achievement of the said goal as a result of an artistic synthesis nearly three centuries in the making. Hagia Sophia looms large in that context, signifying the final break with pagan aesthetics while offering an alternative aesthetic expression in all aspects of its architecture. The decisive method of the new aesthetic expression became "dematerialization" of physical forms, as a means of demonstrating divine intercession and presence. The most impressive expression of "dematerialization" were hundreds of windows perforating the building's walls on all levels and admitting quantities of daylight, as they do even today, despite the fact that over centuries numerous original windows have been blocked up for structural reasons. H. Sophia is said to have preserved more contemporary glazing than all other sixth-century Byzantine buildings together. The single largest window in the church, still holding its 630 original glass panels in situ, admits enormous quantities of light into the western exedra (figs. 200 and 203). "Dematerialization" as an aesthetic goal with its spiritualizing effects also found expression in other aspects of H. Sophia's design and interior decoration. The highly stylized, lace-like patterns on the surfaces of geometrically plain capitals, arch frames, spandrels, along with glittering mosaics on curved vaulting surfaces, and highly polished marble revetments covering all vertical wall surfaces contribute toward the same aesthetic message, aimed at creating the illusion of "weightless" heavenly architecture in which angels ("the bodiless ones") abide (figs. 200 and 204). For the same reason, it would seem, the designers of this great building abandoned other age-old classical principles in executing their concept. Thus, columnar screens on the ground and the gallery levels reveal different numbers of columns that appear to have been set thus so as to deliberately avoid any sense of vertical alignment, in what appears to have been a direct rejection of fundamental principals of structural logic inherent in classical architecture. Even the huge main piers

204 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, interior, nave, column capital and spandrel

205 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, interior, nave, NW exedra

were here "pushed" into the side spaces, their surfaces covered by colorful marble revetment panels, thus masking the relevance of their key role as providers of physical support.

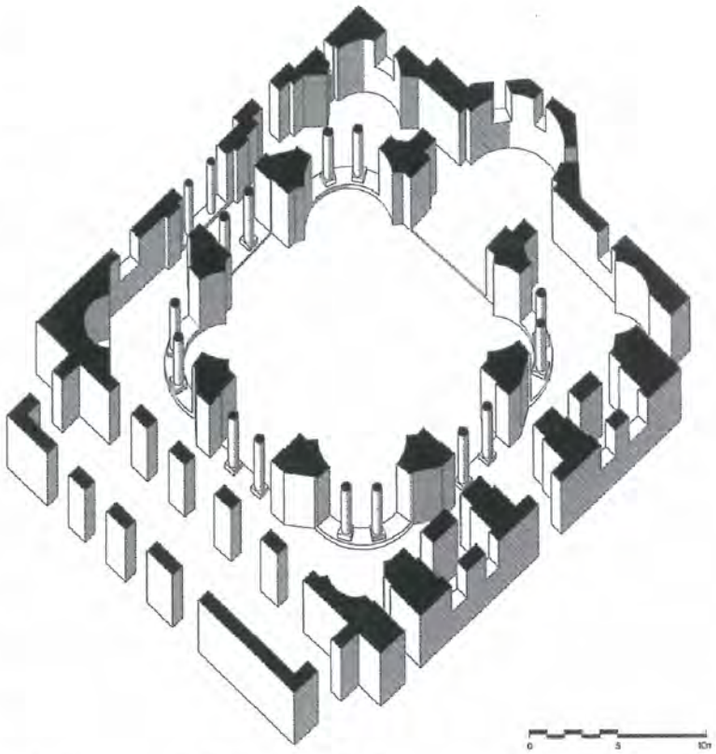
In its present state Hagia Sophia has been stripped not only of all of its carefully planned furnishings, but also of all the religious objects housed within its walls. Russian pilgrim accounts from the later Middle Ages are particularly useful in conveying the idea of both wealth and splendor, but also of the complexities of religious experience that one would have encountered in this particular building.[61] The positions of very few of the objects that the church is known to have possessed can be identified in terms of how they might have been viewed and experienced by the faithful. Yet, this must have been of crucial importance and secondary in significance only to the performance of the liturgy. Mentally armed with that conception, we may begin to approach the question and the problem of the seemingly strange, spatially complicated building. The "compartmentalization" of the peripheral zones of its interior space enhanced the presence of individual, special functions with remote relationship to the central function of the church contained within its core, so forcefully expressed in the great domed volume. In this context one is entitled to muse about the "functional intent" of the four exedras. Were they intended to contain some important objects, or even shrines, that would thus have been visible from the nave side and at the same time discretely accessible from the side aisles? Questions such as this have no easy answers, and will have to be addressed again. In the context of Hagia Sophia, suffice it to say that the two western exedras now contain Ottoman ablution fountains of curious shape and in an unusual location. Might this indicate that they replaced something sacred in Christian practice, which had to be obliterated at the time of the building's conversion into a mosque? (fig. 205)

Churches spatially related to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople do not abound. Only one of these survives within the city itself, while two others are known to have existed in its immediate vicinity. One of these suburban churches – Hagios Ioannis Pro-

dromos in Hebdomon – was partially recorded in its ruined state, but has been obliterated since. On the basis of its essential architectural characteristics it has been postulated as having resembled closely the relatively well-preserved Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos in Constantinople itself.[62] The second extramural monument, known only from a description by Prokopios, is the church of the Archangel Michael at Anaplous, on the Bosphorus. According to Prokopios, "these two shrines happen to resemble each other closely."[63] For the sake of clarity we will concentrate on the church of Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos, whose architecture provides many important insights.[64]

Finished before 536, Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos, along with the adjacent church of Hagioi Petros and Paulos, according to Prokopios, was an integral part of the Hormisdas Palace, occupied by Justinian before he ascended the Byzantine throne (fig. 206). Both the church dedicated to the two Apostles and the palace have disappeared without trace, while Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos, converted into a mosque, survives displaying a curious external form, initially not intended to be visible (fig. 207). It seems that it was physically flanked by the two other structures on the north and south sides, and that it could be entered from these along its transverse axis. Externally, Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos is roughly cubical in form while inside the four corners have diagonally placed semicircular niches, found in a number of centralized churches in Syria, but also employed in the mid-fifth-century rebuilding of the octagonal church at Philippi (see fig. 113 and pp. 114–16).[65] The central core of the building is octagonal. The eight corners of the octagon are defined by the eight piers supporting the dome. Alternating between the eight piers are three rectangular and four semicircular exedras enclosed by columnar screens, each consisting of a pair of columns. The eighth space, between the eastern pair of piers, is occupied by the sanctuary, which projects externally beyond the cubical building mass in the form of a large three-sided apse. A virtually identical plan recurs at gallery level, which circumvents the entire domed core save for the sanctuary proper. The central core is covered by an unusual sixteen-sided dome, supported by eight arches springing from the eight piers. The dome is of a scalloped variety with flat panels alternating with concave segments. Eight windows occupy the lowest points of the flat panels and are axially aligned with the main arches carrying the dome. Though considerably smaller than Hagia Sophia, in its design Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos shares many characteristics with the Great Church, and has been viewed, not without reason, as a trial case for its creation. This problem deserves further investigation, but not in the present context.

More fruitful for our purposes will be an examination of the concept of the niched central core, opened to the subsidiary spaces through columnar screens. The question of the possible



206 Constantinople, H. Sergios and Bakkos; axonometric plan

function of these niches was raised in conjunction with comparable features in Hagia Sophia. The centralized nature of the plan of Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos puts a much greater emphasis on the role of these and brings into question their shape. Here we are in a much better position to address the issue, because of the evidence preserved in yet another comparable building – the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, begun in 526 but not dedi-

207 Constantinople, H. Sergios and Bakkos, exterior from SE

cated until 547.[66] Octagonal in plan both externally and in its core, San Vitale appears as a far more "academic" solution than Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos. Another variation in the basic planning scheme at San Vitale is the presence of seven semicircular exedras with columnar screens between the main piers, as opposed to the system of alternating semicircular and rectangular niches employed at Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos. San Vitale was originally entered through an atrium and a double-apsed narthex whose axis was not aligned with the axis of the church itself. Two doors provided the main means of access into the ambulatory – the one on the left providing an axial approach towards the sanctuary through the central of the seven exedras, while the one on the right gave access to the shrine of San Vitale situated within the adjacent exedra to the south. It is known that the shrine was located in this position even before the present church was built, and that he was venerated by the faithful in this location.[67] This important piece of evidence is generally not shown on most published plans and is ignored in architectural histories. Yet it may be our most important clue for the understanding of "double-shell" churches in general. At this point I would like to suggest that the "ambulatory" arrangement – and this would include the side aisles in basilican churches – may have been intended to provide easy access to the shrines of saints strategically located for optimum visibility within the main space of the different churches. Such access from the secondary spaces would have eliminated the problem of conflict between the daily services of the church and the activities of visiting pilgrims. It would appear that the fifth-century developments, especially as articulated in the context of the so-called aisled tetraconch churches, may have led to those witnessed in the context of the Justinianic churches just described.[68] The problem is far better known in the Western context, though it would seem that the Eastern developments may have preceded the Western ones by more than a century.[69]

In closing our discussion of Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos, it should be noted that the present brick paved floor of the church interior is considerably higher than the original one. This is plainly evident from the fact that all of the columns on the ground level appear to sit directly on the floor surface, whereas they must undoubtedly be sitting atop bases, comparable to those in other Justinianic churches. The significant difference between the original floor level and the present one may imply that other remains, such as the bases of church furnishings, may be preserved within the infill between the two floors. The message contained in these remarks is intended to alert the reader of the paucity of information with which researchers dealing with Byzantine architecture are confronted. Many of the crucial pieces of information pertaining to the functional aspects of buildings cannot be resolved without archaeological evidence. As long as these are unavailable, one will continue to be tempted by various rationalization methods in the search for solutions. While this in itself may be methodologically acceptable, one must be wary of the tendency for hypotheses becoming accepted as "facts" after a period of time.

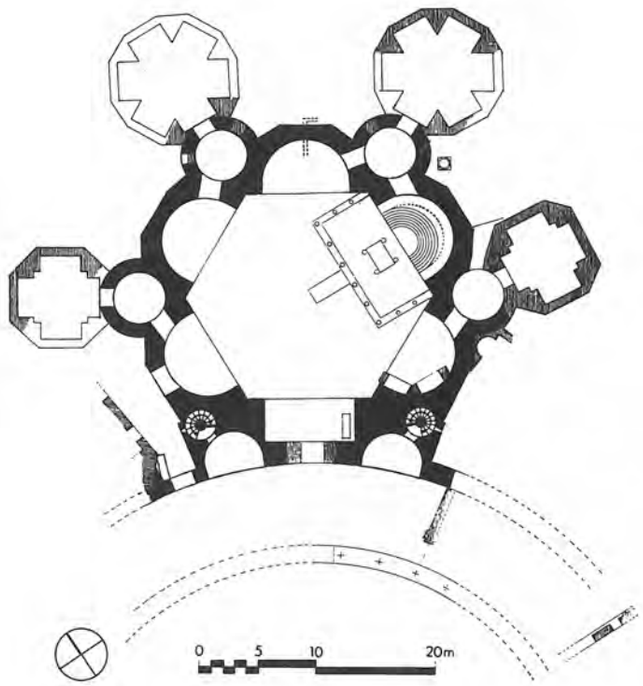
Hagia Sophia aside, no Constantinopolitan monument of the age of Justinian drew as much attention of the two generations of scholars active during the first half of the twentieth century as the church of the Holy Apostles. Begun *circa* 536 and dedicated in 550, this was a replacement of the fourth-century church on the same site. Nothing of either of the two buildings, or any of the accompanying structures, survives. In 1469 the complex was razed in its entirety by Mehmed II to make room for his Fatih (Conqueror) Mosque with numerous accompanying buildings, including the mausoleum of Mehmed himself. The destruction of the church of the Holy Apostles eliminated one of the most important historical foci of the Byzantine Empire, for in it and in the attached mausolea rested the remains of most of the Byzantine emperors from Constantine I to Constantine VIII.[70]

Justinian's church is known only on the basis of a description by Prokopios. From his account it emerges in no uncertain terms that the emperor went to extremes in his desire to outdo the work of his predecessors. While Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene were allegedly torched by the participants of the Nika revolt, the church of the Holy Apostles was razed at Justinian's own orders and replaced by a building "more worthy both in size and in beauty."[71] Because no physical evidence of the building has survived, our perception of it is solely dependent on Prokopios, whose account, unfortunately, is rather sparse. For reasons that are not apparent in Prokopios' text, scholars who have dealt with the problem of the hypothetical reconstruction of the church have almost invariably pictured the building as a five-domed church arranged in a "Greek cross" pattern.[72] Since Prokopios makes no mention of the number of domes, and states explicitly that the western arm of the church was longer, we have to believe his assertion elsewhere in the *Buildings* that the Holy Apostles was the model "in all respects" for the church of St. John the Evangelist, built by Justinian in Ephesos. Owing to the fact that the plan of St. John's is well documented, it stands to reason that the church of the Holy Apostles may also have had six, rather than five domes. The visual representations of multi-domed churches in various manuscripts cannot be satisfactorily identified as representations of specific buildings. Their evidence, much like verbal evidence, has to be used with great caution. Attaching too much credence to any of these sources may easily lead – as it has time and again in the past – to gross misinterpretations. Consequently, we will stop short of carrying this architectural analysis of the Holy Apostles any further.

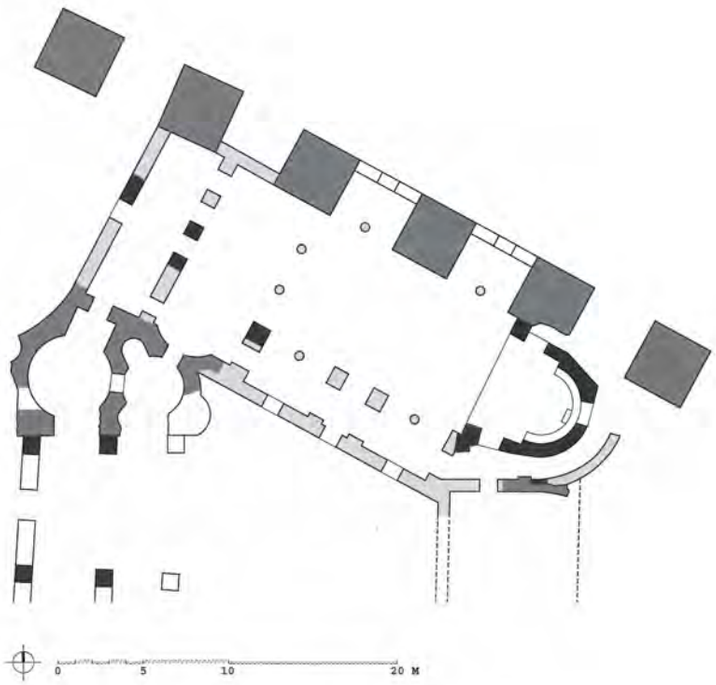
Before leaving the discussion of the building altogether, however, we must turn to one of its aspects to which Prokopios devotes much space, but which has not attracted sufficient attention of modern scholars. The point concerns the "discovery" of the remains of the apostles Andrew, Luke, and Timothy that occurred during the digging of the foundation trenches for the new church. Two things emerge as significant in Prokopios' account of the matter. First, it is clear that, unlike in the fourth century, the remains of saints in the sixth century were not kept in unmarked graves, but were placed in tombs identified by the shrines above ground. Second, it is equally clear that this was done to make them accessible – "to see them and approach them and touch them," in Prokopios' words.[73] Clearly, we are dealing here with the developed form of the cult of saints. Equally clearly we are witnessing efforts to provide architectural solutions to accommodate the cult-related activities. Prokopios stresses the point that the sanctuary (*hierateion*) was situated in the center of the church under the domed crossing, but gives no information regarding the position of the shrines of the Apostles. It may be postulated that they would have been relatively close to the main altar. Because the sanctuary area, as Prokopios also points out, would have been off-limits to all but the priests, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the shrines would have had a peripheral location. In fact, they may have been situated adjacent to the northern or southern flanks of the sanctuary. This, in turn, would have made the domed lateral arms of the cruciform plan into spaces that could have accommodated pilgrims for certain rituals related to the cults of the Apostles. Whatever may have been the actual appearance and location of the Apostles' shrines, it is more than certain that their presence within the new building was a factor of prime significance. One could go as far as suggesting that the entire project of rebuilding the church of the Holy Apostles may have been motivated by this very objective. If so, it is equally conceivable that it was this rebuilding and the improvement of access for pilgrims that may have influenced the decision by Pope Gregory the Great approximately half a century later to undertake the remodeling of the shrine of St. Peter in his basilica in Rome. It is well known that Gregory I as a young man spent several years of his life in Constantinople serving as a papal legate.

The church-building activities of Justinian I, needless to say, gained him the reputation of a pious emperor, repeatedly stressed by Prokopios in the *Buildings*, whose own distinctly Christian framework and purpose have been recognized.[74] In addition to the four churches in Constantinople directly commissioned by Justinian that have been discussed in detail, Prokopios mentions another twelve that benefited from direct imperial munificence. The number of churches he refers to, of course, is not to be understood as the total count of churches in the capital. It includes only those either directly built or restored by the emperor. Other, private building enterprises in the city – as great as they may have been, to take the example of Hagios Polyeuktos – were totally ignored. Even from the sixteen churches in Constantinople noted by Prokopios, the general emphasis on church architecture and its urban presence reflects significant changes from what could be said about fifth-century Constantinople. By the end of the sixth century, in addition to numerous churches, Constantinople is known to have had as many as seventy urban monasteries.[75] Thus its perception as the Christian metropolis par excellence had been fully established by that time. It was the building program of Justinian – "the builder of the world," according to Prokopios – that significantly shaped that perception.

Before leaving Constantinople, we will consider three buildings of some importance for our understanding of architectural developments in the capital during the sixth century. Chronologically, one belongs to the period before the reign of Justinian, the other two to the period immediately following. Conceptually, two of these are related to the major developments already discussed. The first, a large hexagonal hall belonging to the fifth-century Palace of Antiochos (fig. 78) that became imperial property after the original owner's fall from grace in 438–39, was converted into a church, apparently during the reign of Justin I. The original dedication of the church remains unknown. In the early seventh century the remains of the martyr-saint Euphemia were translated there from her original martyrium in Chalcedon, at which time the church became known as Hagia Euphemia (fig. 208).[76] The sixth-century conversion involved several major interventions. The most important of these was the shifting of the building's axis to ensure the correct orientation of the sanctuary apse. At the time the apse was outfitted with a synthronon, while its sanctuary enclosure was made to project into the domed central space. The altar was covered by a domed ciborium supported on four columns ornately decorated with multicolored geometric inlayed patterns, similar in appearance to those in the church of Hagios Polyeuktos. The four small circular porches belonging to the original building were modified into spaces connecting two newly built hexagonal and two cruciform domed structures, possibly mausolea, with the new church. Hagia Euphemia illustrates the ease with which a "secular" palace hall could become a functioning church, and clearly underscores the close relationship between late antique secular and ecclesiastical buildings, all too often ignored in modern scholarship. The articulation of the niched central space covered by a dome can be meaningfully compared to Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos, the main difference being that the great exedras were here solidly enclosed, instead of being opened in columnar screens, as was the case at Hagioi Sergios and Bakkos.[76]



208 Constantinople, H. Euphemia; plan



209 Constantinople, Kalenderhane, "North Church"; plan

Of further relevance in this context is the so-called Chrysotriklinos, a throne-room of the Great Palace built under the auspices of Justin II (565–78). Although the building, along with most of the Great Palace, has disappeared without trace, it is clear from a description that it was a niched octagonal room covered by a dome with sixteen windows. The eastern niche was evidently larger than the rest, accommodating the imperial throne. As such, the Chrysotriklinos has been likened to church architecture, evoking comparison to San Vitale in Ravenna.[78] Thus, we are reminded once more – this time in a reverse order – of the direct conceptual links between religious and secular architecture during the sixth century.

The last of the three mentioned buildings – the so-called North Church of the Kalenderhane complex – has recently received a detailed analysis (fig. 209).[79] Its remains suggest that it was a medium-sized basilica by late antique standards (31 m long and 13 m wide), built against and into the existing arches of the Aqueduct of Valens on its north side. The spacing of these arches may in fact, have affected its general structural disposition, including the alternating rhythm of columns and piers, as opposed to the usual uniform system of either columns or piers used in the older basilicas. The notion of alternation, as we have seen, may have been induced by structural requirements related to the introduction of vaulting. Once it came into being, the concept of alternating supporting elements appears to have been separated from its strictly structural associations, and was used in traditional basilican churches as well. It should be noted that the North Church appears to have been part of a monastic establishment, of which many are known to have existed in Constantinople, but the information about them is exceptionally meager. The North Church is thus of particular relevance. It is an example of non-imperial patronage in the capital, while its conservative character reveals both more modest economic means and the conservative needs often associated with monastic architecture.

Sixth-century Constantinople leaves one with the impression of a still-growing, prosperous metropolis. The same cannot be said, however, for any of the other major urban centers in the Balkans. The various crises, external and internal, that had begun plaguing the empire already during the fifth century had taken their full toll by the end of the sixth. Urban growth had ground to a halt, while irreversible signs of decline were becoming glaringly apparent. The glitter of the veneer, the virtues of which Prokopios was expected to promote, was threatened by problems far more profound than surface tarnish.

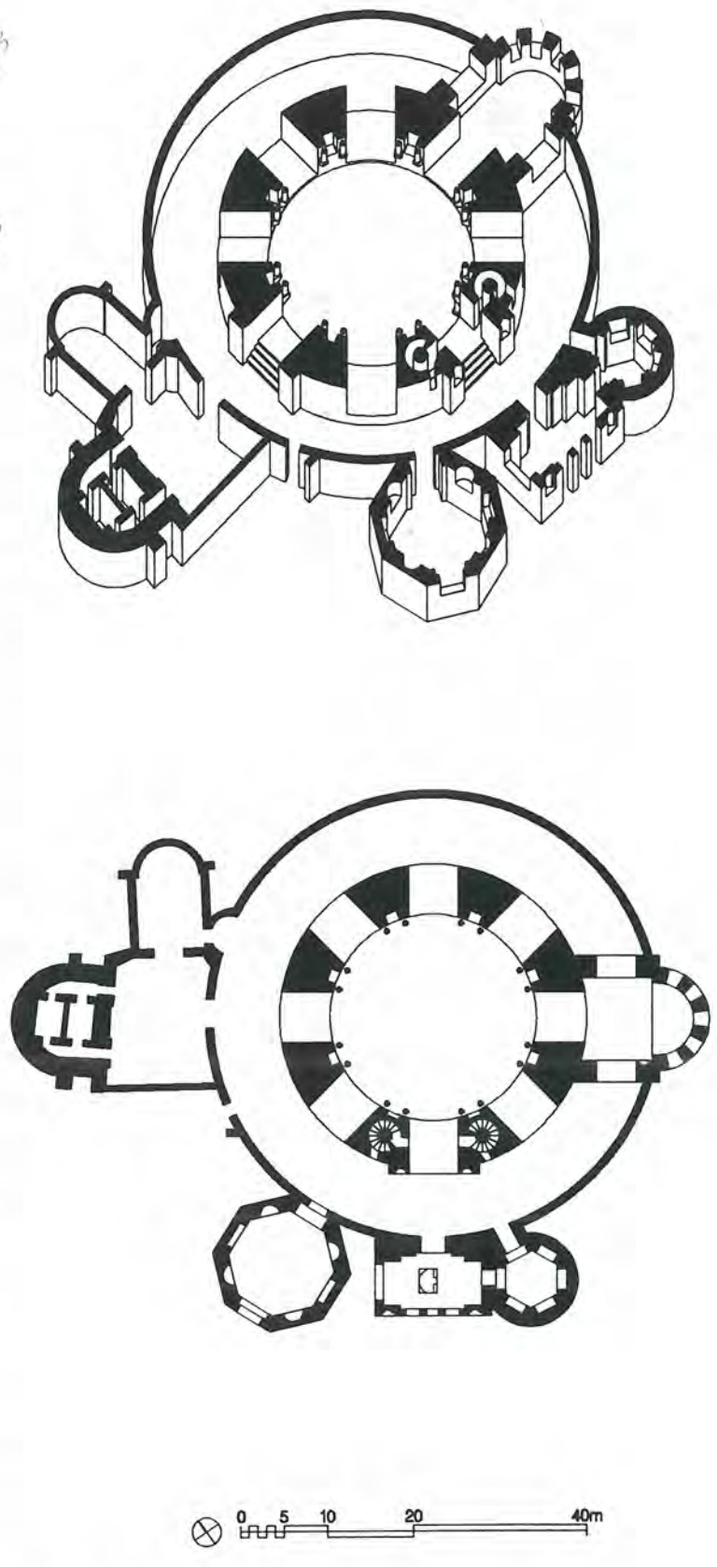
THESSALONIKI

Though second in size and importance only to Constantinople among all Balkan cities, Thessaloniki apparently lagged far behind the imperial capital in its development during the sixth

century. As opposed to the immense building activity associated with the fifth century, not a single major project is associated with the sixth. To be sure, some activity, mostly in the form of rebuilding, did take place, but the spirit of expansive construction was definitely lacking. Equally symptomatic of developments in sixth-century Thessaloniki is the relatively limited amount of identifiably sixth-century sculpture that survives. All of this leaves us with the impression of economic and cultural stagnation that became characteristic not only of Thessaloniki, but of most large Balkan cities at the time.

My main focus here will be on the interventions related to the Rotunda, and their possible wider implications.[80] As we have already seen (p. 71), the Rotunda was converted into a church *circa* 400 by the addition of an apsed sanctuary on the east side and a wide ambulatory, and the replacement of the original southern portico with a spacious vestibule and a flanking hexagonal mausoleum (fig. 61). Recent archaeological work on the Rotunda indicates that it had at least two "early Christian" reconstruction phases that followed the conversion of the building into a church.[81] The second, and more extensive of these two phases, is dated to the seventh century, but the first is not dated at all. In other words, the Rotunda must have undergone an intervention at some point between the early fifth century and the seventh. Two other significant additions to the Rotunda that must belong to the same time span have not been discussed in the context of the excavation report. The first of these is the addition of the well-known ambo, dated to the sixth century by most recent scholarship; the second is the construction of a sizeable octagonal domed building against the outer wall of the southern portion of the ambulatory (fig. 210).[82] The exact relationship of this structure to the western wall of the vestibule has not yet been explored. It is clear, however, that the new building was not directly attached to the vestibule, and may have been separated from it, either by a small chamber or by an open space. In its plan, physical dimensions, and most likely in function, the new domed structure differed from the original hexagonal rotunda on the east side of the vestibule. Although the exact function of the octagonal structure is not known, the likelihood of its having functioned as a baptistery is high. Both the general location (southwest angle of the Rotunda) and its basic form and size suggest this possibility. It is equally likely that, as was the case with the baptistery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, it had a piscina made of a single marble block that was subsequently removed and reused in Ottoman times for an ablution fountain.[83]

If all of the described additions to the Rotunda are considered together in a broader context, they may be postulated to reflect changes of far greater significance. Indeed, it is conceivable that the addition of the ambo *and* the octagonal rotunda



210 Thessaloniki, Rotunda, phase III; axonometric and plan

may have been related to an upgrading of the Rotunda to the rank of cathedral. What would have been the reasons and the specific circumstances under which this may have taken place? The decision may have been prompted by the completion of Justinian's Great Church in Constantinople. The preeminence of this imposing structure with its magnificent dome may have led to the decision of the Church authorities in Thessaloniki to give their city a new symbolic locus under the great dome of the Rotunda. It is a well-known fact that the great fifth-century cathedral of Thessaloniki (see p. 105), the predecessor of the church of Hagia Sophia on the same site, was destroyed in a major calamity, to be replaced by the present building. It is generally believed that this took place in the early part of the seventh century and may have been associated with earthquakes that struck the city around 620. It has also been postulated that the construction of the present church of Hagia Sophia may have begun then, but that following a setback during the construction process it may not have been completed and dedicated before *circa* 690–91.[84] Only at this late date would the function of the cathedral of Thessaloniki have returned to its original locus, by now given its own large dome. Unable to compete with the capital during the sixth century, Thessaloniki may have acquired its own domed cathedral simply by adapting for this purpose the impressive existing Rotunda. If these hypotheses prove tenable, the Rotunda would have become the new cathedral of Thessaloniki sometime after the completion of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ADRIANOPLE

We know next to nothing about the city of Adrianople (modern Edirne, Turkey) in Early Byzantine times, though its strategic location suggests that it must have played an important role. Its fortification walls, built at an unknown time in late antiquity and restored by Justinian I, enclosed a rhomboidal urban area of 45 hectares.[85] The destruction of the ancient city in subsequent times was so complete that nothing has been preserved. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, impressive ruins of the city's erstwhile cathedral of Hagia Sophia were still standing, and were recorded on several photographs and drawings (fig. 211). The building, as we have already seen (p. 159), was probably built during the second half of the fifth century as a large church (fig. 163), one of the largest of the so-called aisled tetraconchs. At the same time, it was the only one that was fully "aisled," that is to say, it had an ambulatory surrounding all four of its exedras, including the presumably solid eastern one. Thus the building must have come as close to being a "perfectly centralized church" as any ever built by the Byzantines. In its original fifth-century form, its central space was covered by some sort of light timber construction, as must have been the case with most other related buildings. That gave way, possibly around 500, or more probably *circa* 550, to an all-brick dome that rose over the central bay.[86] This dome supported by four massive piers constituted a major addition, inserted into the corners of the originally square naos. Each of the piers was perforated on the ground level by narrow passageways laid out in a cruciform fashion, effectively transforming the pier mass into a cluster of four lesser piers of square shape. Such a solution was also employed in other major buildings rebuilt by Justinian, such as the church of St. John at Ephesos, and presumably in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The dome of Hagia Sophia at Adrianople had a drum perforated with windows, and thus in every respect it appears to have belonged to the new trend in church architecture that emerged during the reign of Justinian. Having acquired its dome, the church must have been seen by contemporaries as on a par with the developments in Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The conversion of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki and the "modernization" of Hagia Sophia in Adrianople were, in all likelihood, the opposite sides of the same coin as far as the new trends in Byzantine church architecture were concerned.

SERDICA

Serdica (modern Sofia, Bulgaria) is another city where important urban-Christian modifications were carried out in the sixth century. Here, following barbarian raids and damage inflicted on the extramural churches, including the city's cathedral, the site of which was finally abandoned, a new cathedral was built, now within the fourth-century walls. The choice for its location was even more telling. The bathing establishment once belonging to the imperial palace, and featuring a central domed *tepidarium*, became the new cathedral, later dedicated to St. George.[87] The move not only reflected practical needs for the cathedral to be within the fortified enclosure, but also unmistakably signaled a desire to situate major churches in central locations within the city. Its location within the complex of the old imperial palace, even if this was no longer functioning as such, would have added other advantages, both symbolic and real, to this particular choice. Furthermore, the selection of the Constantinian bath for conversion may have had to do with the fact that its main part was domed. Thus, here too, albeit on a considerably more modest scale, but with a similar relative result, the new thinking favoring domical solutions for cathedral churches, emanating from the capital itself, appears to have been felt.

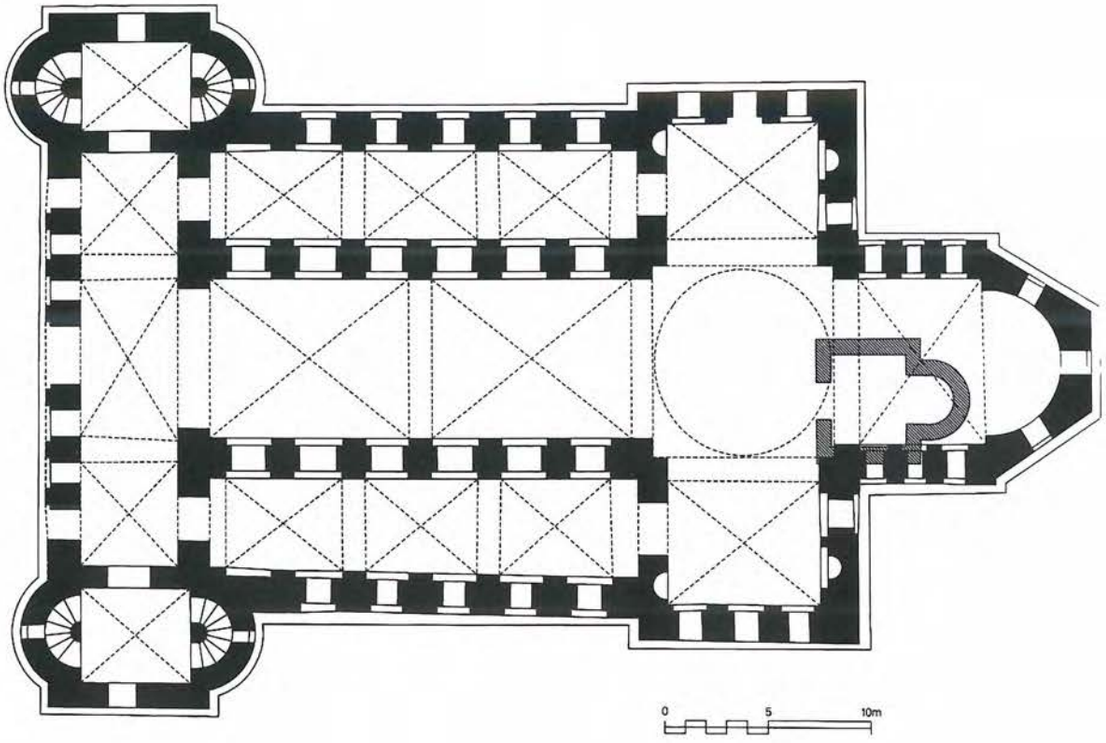
The large, remarkably well-preserved church standing at the heart of modern Sofia, according to the tradition, has always been dedicated to St. Sophia (Holy Wisdom) (fig. 212). As the fifth church to be built on the site, associated with an ancient

211 Adrianople, Hagia Sophia; as of c. 1900

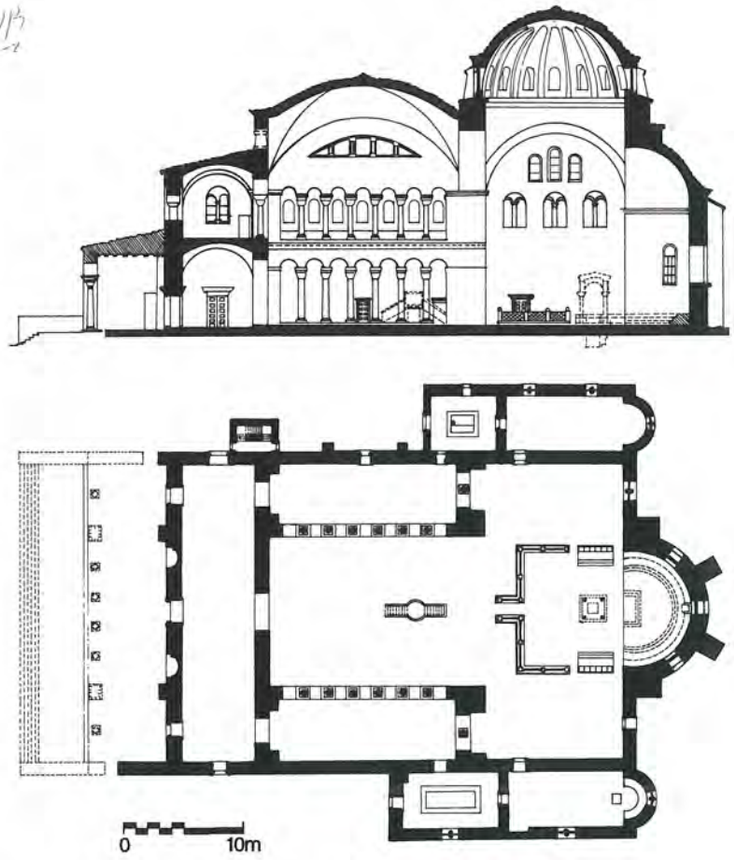
necropolis and with the tombs of local martyrs, it is interpreted as having functioned as the city's cathedral, though this notion must be seriously questioned.[88] The exact time when the church was built is unknown, though most scholars agree with the postulated sixth-century date. The church was quite large by contemporary standards, measuring 50 meters in overall length and 25 meters in maximum width (fig. 213). It is a three-aisled basilica terminating in a continuous transept, from which a substantial sanctuary bay, as wide as the nave, projects eastward, terminating in an apse. The basilican part was preceded by an oblong narthex, as wide as the church, whose ends terminated in two curious two-apsed chambers of unknown function that projected beyond the width of the building. Their appearance recalls fortification features, such as towers, a possibility that should not dismissed outright considering the church's location outside the city walls. The walls of the church, built entirely of brick, are massive. Along with the cruciform brick piers that separate the nave from the side aisles, these indicate that from the outset the church was intended to be vaulted throughout and to have a dome over the crossing. Despite its apparent good state of preservation, it has been subjected to many modifications throughout its history. Large portions, for example the entire sanctuary, are modern. The original sanctuary was torn down by the Ottomans when the church was converted into a mosque, and was rebuilt on the old foundations only in the 1920s. Thus, certain crucial architectural features, such as the articulation of the main apse and its windows, as well as the appearance of the dome, can no longer be judged, making more specific conclusions about the architecture of this building difficult. Basic things are certain, however. The church was a work of imported

212 Sofia, St. Sophia; aerial view

213 Sofia, St. Sophia; plan



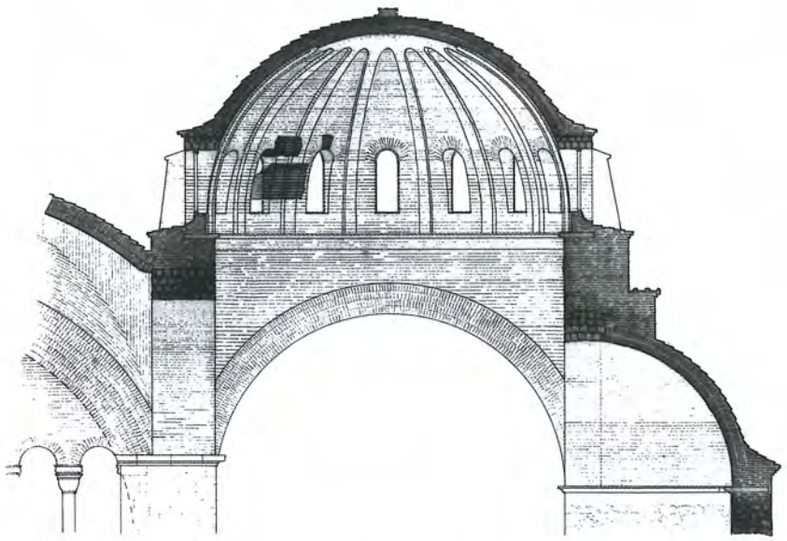
builders; its size, as well as the use of brick, suggest that unequivocally. Whether the architect came from Constantinople, as the shape of the apse might indicate, or from somewhere else, is best left unanswered, given our present state of knowledge. Despite its monumentality and its dedication – Holy Wisdom – this church by virtue of its vulnerable location, some distance outside the walls of Serdica, would have made a poor choice as the city's cathedral. The situation recalls that at Pliska, as argued above, where a large basilica associated with a martyrium site and related cemeteries was situated at a distance of about 1 kilometer from the main stone enclosure of a *castellum* built at roughly the same time. Unlike at Pliska, in this case no traces of an episcopal residence have been detected in the vicinity of the church. Problems raised by St. Sophia, as well as those of Pliska, merely underscore the paucity of information with which we are compelled to deal, and the resulting need for perpetual vigilance in the interpretation of any new evidence that may present itself.



214 Philippi, Basilica B; plan and longitudinal section

PHILIPPI

The situation at Philippi, though related, was somewhat different. In its importance, during the fifth century, the city was second only to Thessaloniki within the region of Macedonia. Here, by *circa* 450, as we have seen (pp. 114–16), a large new cathedral was built, just to the west of the ancient forum area. The new cathedral had an octagonal plan, though the structural solution for its centralized scheme suggests that it must have had some sort of a wooden roof, rather than a masonry dome, over its naos. Another drastic Christian urban intervention in the immediate vicinity of the forum area followed toward the end of the fifth century when Basilica A was built over the site of the demolished pagan *Capitolium*. The trend toward engulfing the heart of the ancient city with churches was to continue during the first half of the sixth century with the construction of Basilica B over the demolished market and *palaestra* buildings, to the south of the forum. Built during the reign of Justinian, Basilica B shows many affinities with Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, though it may have been partially destroyed in a catastrophic earthquake in 540 (?), even before it was fully completed, and as a result abandoned.[89] Its impressive ruins still dominate the site of the ancient city, which also appears never to have recovered from the cataclysmic event of 540. Basilica B was a building of major significance in several respects. In plan it was a basilica with a transept, nearly as broad as its 16-meter-wide nave (fig. 214). The arms of the transept did not project beyond the outer walls of the building, whose position was determined by the two side aisles, each approximately 7 meters wide. The sides of the building were flanked by two elongated apsidal chapels, the northern one possibly serving as a baptistery. The nave and aisles were preceded by a narthex and, in turn, by an open portico of dimensions comparable to those of the narthex, approached by a monumental stair. From the surviving massive piers used alongside columns, it is clear that the building was built with the intention of being vaulted. Indeed, sections of its ribbed dome that rose over the central bay of the transept, directly above the sanctuary, were retrieved in the rubble of the collapsed building during the excavations. Though considerably smaller in size, this dome in all respects shares the characteristics of the second dome of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, built after the collapse of its first dome in 558. Built entirely of brick, the dome was internally ribbed, had windows within the lowest portion of its hemispherical form, and externally featured buttresses that corresponded in placement to the internal ribs (fig. 215). The chronological discrepancies between the two buildings induce some interesting questions. If the vaulting of Basilica B was actually completed by 540, as all scholars agree, then the dome of Basilica B would have anticipated the solution used in Constantinople. If that is so, this important observation has been overlooked. It would suggest the possibility that Isidoros the Younger, in charge of the rebuilding of the dome of the Hagia



215 Philippi, Basilica B; dome fragment and reconstruction

Sophia after 558, may have actually worked in Philippi first. Another possible way of looking at the problem involves an even greater hypothetical speculation. Analyzing the plan of Basilica B, it is apparent that its central section, encompassing the nave with an ambo just to the east of its central location, was nearly square in plan. Its corners, defined by the massive piers built of huge stone blocks, recalling the construction of the Hagia Sophia piers, are supposed to have supported a lofty cross vault. For several reasons, we are entitled to ponder whether this was the architect's original intention. The central transept bay over which the dome was actually constructed has peculiar proportions in plan that seem ill-suited to the construction of a dome on pendentives, normally requiring a regular square bay. Furthermore, the dome, as built, occupied the location not over the naos and the ambo – where domes were usually located – but over the sanctuary. Such a solution was, therefore, unusual from both the symbolic and the structural point of view. Yet this solution was undoubtedly employed. Could it have been an afterthought? Could not the dome, as built, have resulted from an effort to complete the damaged building after its partial collapse in 540? In other words, did the architects of Basilica B initially contemplate the placement of a huge dome over the square naos? If such a concept existed, and if it had been partially executed by 540, it may have collapsed, requiring an alternative solution that may have resulted in the dome we know. In either case, Basilica B, different from all other known solutions, reveals the general experimentation with the introduction of domes into basilican churches current during the age of Justinian I. Its architects must have belonged to the circle of builders active in Constantinople at the time. The architectural sculpture of Basilica B

216A Capital, Philippi, Basilica B

216B Capital, Constantinople, Hagia Sophia

further underscores this point, as a comparison between one of its capitals and a capital from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople illustrates (figs. 216A and B).

New Towns

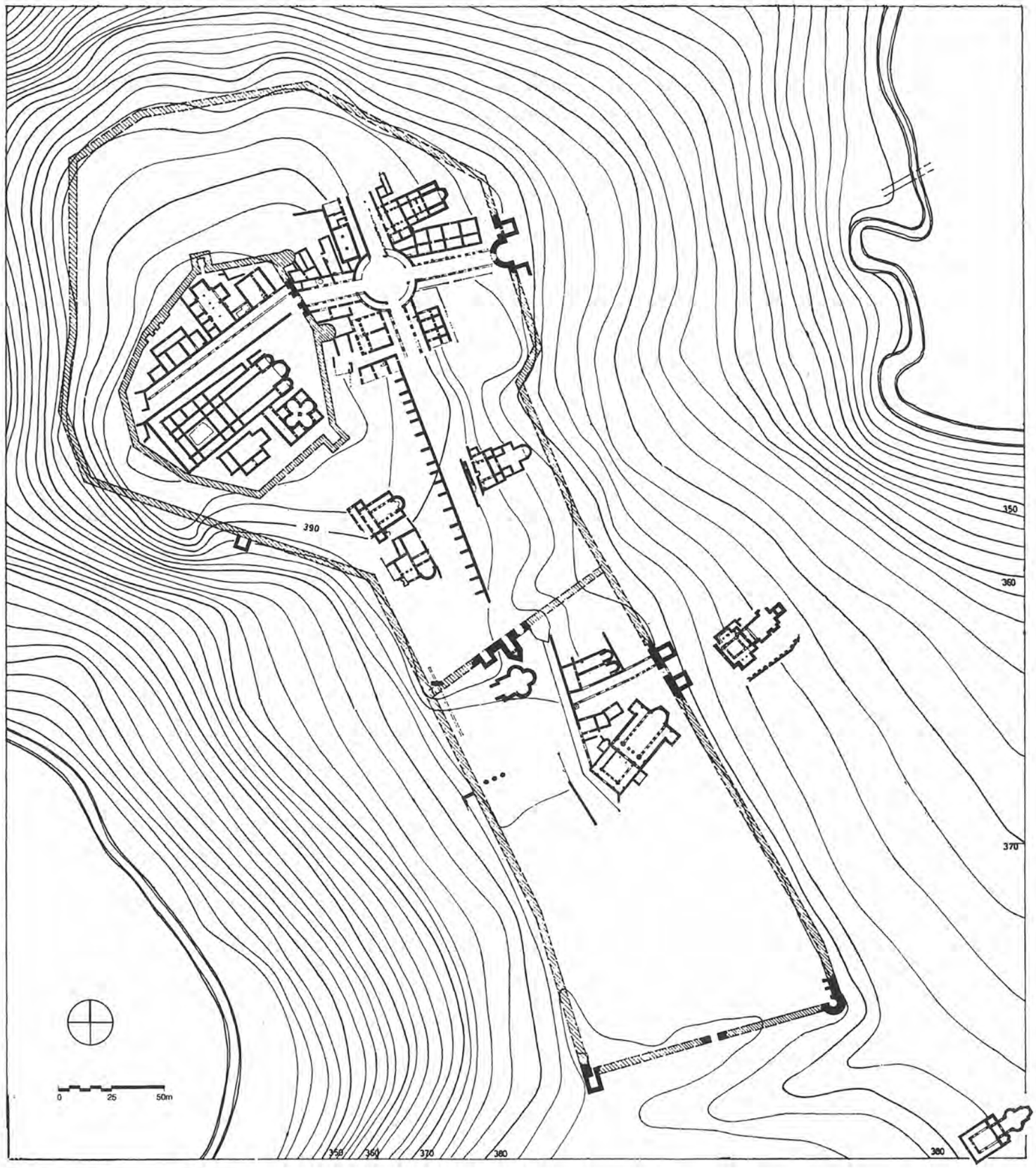
JUSTINIANA PRIMA

The case of Caričin Grad, Serbia, a sixth-century settlement in the heart of the Balkans, is at once one of our most important sources of information on sixth-century urbanism and at the same time a major distorting mirror in its own right. It is now generally accepted that this was the town of Justiniana Prima.[90] The extensive excavations that have been conducted here with interruptions since 1912 have not yet produced an inscription that would confirm the name, but the amount and the nature of information gained virtually confirms the identity of the place. It was Prokopios who signaled its importance – "a very notable city which he [Justinian I] named Justiniana Prima, thus paying debt of gratitude to the home that fostered him."[91] Situated near the border of the Roman provinces of Dacia Mediterranea and Dardania, this was an *ex novo* creation, near, but not on, the main roads in antiquity, as is still the case today. The site occupies a relatively small plateau area of about 5 hectares flanked by two small rivers (fig. 217). The town was built in stages, mostly during the reign of Justinian I, but it continued to grow and undergo modifications after his death, through the first decades of the seventh century when it was overrun by the invading Slavs and Avars, abandoned, and never again inhabited. Its ruins, gradually overgrown, have thus preserved invaluable information about a sixth-century town that cannot be gleaned elsewhere. Therein, of course, lies the danger of the "distorting mirror." In some sense Justiniana Prima may be compared to Ravenna, whose preserved fifth- and sixth-century churches with their glittering mosaics provide most important insights into the problems of Early Byzantine monumental art, while at the same time creating a hopelessly skewed picture of it. If we come to Justiniana Prima without preconceived notions and inflated expectations, much can be learned from it. The approach must be as careful as when reading Prokopios. Let us, therefore, first read carefully what *he* has to say about it:

> In that place also he [Justinian] constructed an aqueduct and so caused the city to be abundantly supplied with ever-running water. And many other enterprises were carried out by the founder of this city – works of great size and worthy of special note. For to enumerate the churches is not easy, and it is impossible to tell in words of the lodgings for magistrates, the great stoas, the fine market places, the fountains, the streets, the baths, the shops. In brief, the city is both great and populous and blessed in every way – a city worthy to be the metropolis of the whole region, for it has attained this rank. It has also been allotted to the Archbishop of Illyricum as his seat, the other cities conceding this honor to it, as being first in point of size. Thus this city has won honor for the Emperor in requital for his favor; for while it prides itself upon its foster-son, he for his part takes a corresponding pride in that he built the city.[92]

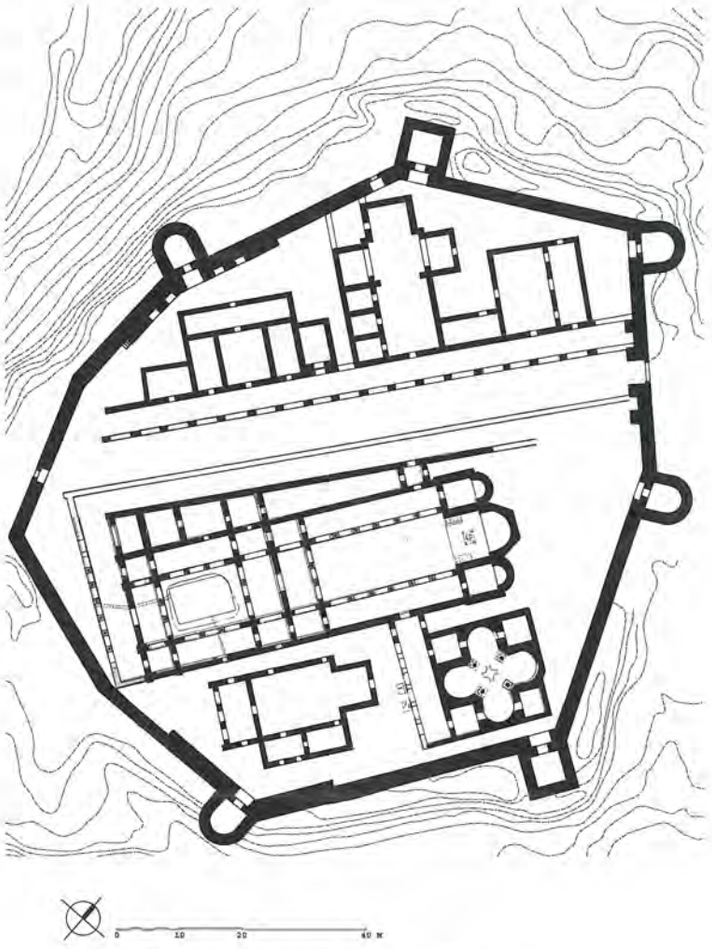
One is struck immediately by the propagandistic tone of Prokopios' account. The reader is indirectly reminded – time and again – that Justinian was a great builder. Like Alexander the Great, his great model, Justinian built several new towns whose names were based on his own. Pride of place among these was given to Justiniana Prima. Of course, judging by its physical remains, it is clear that Justiniana Prima was neither an Alexandria nor a Constantinople; it was, in fact, inferior to most late antique Balkan towns – Stobi, Herakleia Lynkestis, Philippi, to name but the best-known ones in its relative vicinity. Yet, beyond Prokopios' inflationary style, the reality and the true urban quality of Justiniana Prima *can* be deduced from his text. The place *was* supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct; it *did* have numerous churches; it *did* have residences for officials, stoas, marketplaces, fountains, streets, baths, and shops. Actually, it had more. Its urban environment was protected by massive fortification walls, while below its streets were well-built sewer lines. Its city gates were imbued with the spirit of monumentality. In its main public space stood a large bronze statue of the emperor. These were among many of the urban amenities and qualities that distinguished any ancient city and which, clearly, continued to be implemented in the creation of this new urban settlement in the heartland of the Balkans amidst the mounting crises of the mid-sixth century.

Attention will be turned first to the system of fortification walls at Justiniana Prima, and then to the question of the relative chronology of the town's growth. It should be observed first that it consists of three distinctive entities: the acropolis, the upper town, and the lower town (figs. 217). The acropolis, by definition, occupies the peak of the hill on which the town was built. It is completely surrounded by the upper town, whose main section lay to the east and southeast of the acropolis. Finally, the lower town was situated on a virtually flat area that extends southeast from the upper town. That the lower town constitutes chronologically the youngest entity seems readily understandable. What seems surprising is the relatively recent discovery that the upper town actually predates the acropolis.[93] The implications of this discovery and the resulting interpretations are several. First, it has been postulated that the layout of the upper town, as originally projected, followed a more-or-less



217 Justiniana Prima; city plan

orthogonal planning scheme, focused on the system of two major, colonnaded roads intersecting in the circular forum, the town's main public and ceremonial space. It is in this forum that a fragment of an imperial bronze statue was discovered, believed to have belonged to an emperor's effigy that would have been displayed here in a prominent way. While these ideas clearly stem from the type of planning practiced in antiquity, neither the choice of site (hilltop) nor the actual geometry of the layout reveals strict adherence to age-old planning principles. By this time, circular fora had a long-established history in Roman urban planning. Used relatively infrequently, they appear to have been employed when a rigid orthogonal geometry in the layout of streets was lacking. Their round form apparently gave the planners the needed flexibility to conceal what otherwise might have resulted in awkward planning compromises. In any case, the architects of the forum at Justiniana Prima knew these principles very well. Their solution, along with that illustrated by the recently discovered circular forum at Dyrrachion, apparently built by Emperor Anastasios I, suggests that certain aspects of ancient urban planning were still very much alive at that time.[94] The same holds true for the system of paved colonnaded streets, lined with shops. Principal avenues, as in ancient times, were linked with the principal gates, announcing the character of the place to the visitors. The main, eastern gate was situated within a concave façade wall, flanked by a pair of projecting square towers. Its scheme, though clearly less ambitious, echoes that employed in the east and west gates of Romuliana (p. 24, and fig. 10). The south gate, by contrast, appears to have been more modest, its opening flanked by a pair of pentagonal towers, characteristic of Justinianic fortifications. More about this subject below.



218 Justiniana Prima, Acropolis-episcopal complex; plan

The second important implication of the discovery that the acropolis postdates the layout of the upper town is the realization that its fully fortified character made it a fortress within a fortress. This, in turn, implies that the episcopal complex with all of its components was physically segregated from the rest of the town (fig. 218). In the first place, this marks a significant departure from the tradition of late antique palaces, whose urban locations generally called for links with their urban environment. The episcopal complex, as planned at Justiniana Prima, instead appears much more medieval. Its fortification walls, though they can be understood as the town's last refuge against the barbarian invaders, could also have functioned as a protection for the occupants of the episcopal complex against the unruly town population. Urban crises, we will recall, had become commonplace in Byzantium already in the fifth century, the Nika riot of 532 surely serving as but the latest vivid reminder of the phenomenon. If, indeed, that was the idea in the minds of the acropolis planners, the episcopal complex of Justiniana Prima would be our earliest-known example of a fortified urban palace in the Balkans. As such, it would have set a new trend into motion, the culmination of which would be reached only in the fortified palaces of the medieval period.

The episcopal complex of Justiniana Prima was enclosed by a circuit of fortification walls with projecting towers of its own. Its main east gate, known only from its foundations, was framed by a pair of semicircular towers. These projected from the main wall in a manner that clearly indicates their planned relationship to the main east–west colonnaded avenue. This avenue led from the town's main gate, through the circular forum, through the east gate of the acropolis into the heart of the episcopal complex. In a nutshell, we see here an abridged layout of Constantinople itself, with the Mese, leading from the Golden Gate, through the circular Forum of Constantine, toward the Augusteion, the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, and the adjacent patriarchal palace (fig. 49), echoed at a greatly reduced scale. The acropolis enclosure consists of two main parts. To the south is the town's cathe-

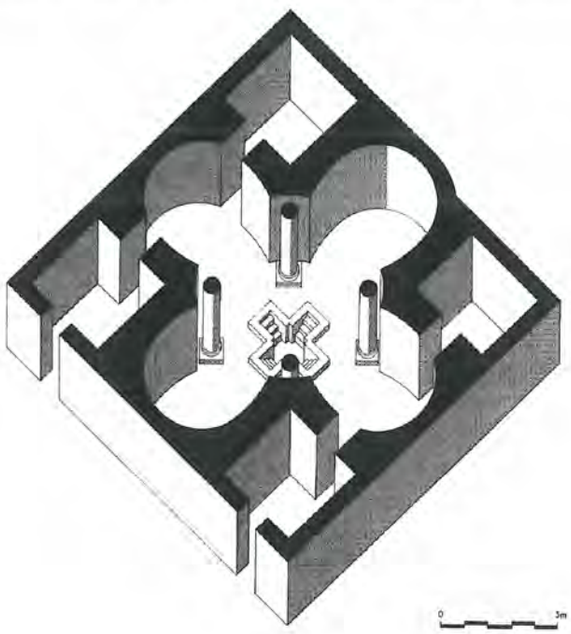
dral, preceded by a large atrium and flanked to its south by a quatrefoil baptistery and a chapel. To the north, across the main ceremonial road, we find the complex of the episcopal palace.

Hemmed in by the street and by the enclosure wall, the episcopal palace consisted of a series of rooms strung out in a linear fashion, approximately 90 meters along the full length of the main road within the acropolis. Most of the rooms thus faced south, using the preferred orientation in residential architecture. Among the rooms of fairly large dimensions, some with upper stories, one stood out because of its size and spatial disposition. A large hall of cruciform plan, obviously the focus of the palace, must have been its *triclinium*. Though lacking a more conventional apsidal end, this hall clearly belonged to the planning tradition in place at least since the late third century AD.

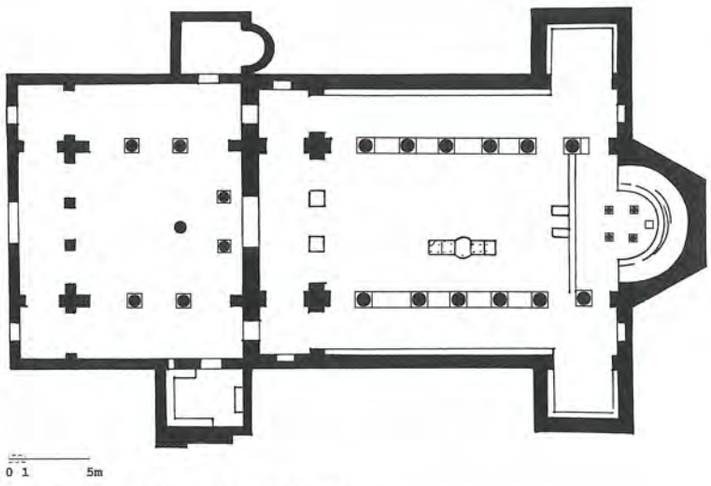
The town's cathedral was a three-aisled basilica of medium size, preceded by an atrium and flanked on its south side by a sizable baptistery. In a most general sense this was a conventional building, yet several of its architectural features have attracted considerable attention. Especially noteworthy is the layout of its eastern end, in which two separate apsed chambers flanked the main sanctuary. These chambers had doors that opened directly into the sanctuary and into the side aisles. As such, they have been seen as an early example of the so-called pastophoria, believed to reflect liturgical innovations introduced by 574.[95] The cathedral is also known to have had four massive stone bases initially discovered in the nave in such positions that they defined an approximate square in its virtual center. These plinths have since been removed and lost, but their recorded position continues to fuel the argument that they may have been associated with some sort of a centrally situated monumental baldachin, which could have been associated with the idea of a dome in such a position.[96] Finally, the cathedral of Justiniana Prima is notable for its impressive baptistery, linked by a long corridor to the very center of the south aisle of the basilica. Proportionally very large, the baptistery in its overall dimensions (17 × 17 m) nearly corresponds in size to the naos of the cathedral itself, which makes for an unusual relationship, considering that baptisteries were generally much smaller than the churches to which they were related. Whether this may be interpreted as implying that baptism held particular importance in this imperial, but provincial center in the heartland of the Balkans must remain a matter of speculation. The baptistery also features an unusual, quatrefoil plan (fig. 219). The four conches, horseshoe-shaped in plan, are quite deep, creating a pronounced cruciform appearance. The central bay containing a cruciform font in its center was framed by four diagonally placed columns. These must have provided symbolic, along with structural, support for some sort of domical superstructure. The overall effect recalls – on a more modest scale – the baptistery of the predecessor church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (fig. 98). The appearance of the baldachin scheme in this context makes the issue of its presumed introduction into the cathedral all the more intriguing. In addition to the richly articulated quadrilobed core, the corners of the baptistery were occupied by four separate rectangular chambers that communicated with the four lobes and with the access corridor. How exactly these chambers may have been used is not clear, though the similarity of their placement to four rooms related to *triclinia* in many late antique palaces should not be overlooked (see p. 91, fig. 84). Nor should one fail to note the formal relationship to the church of Hosios David in Thessaloniki, whose functional aspects likewise escape us (see pp. 109–10, fig. 108). The baptistery is also notable for its relatively well-preserved floor mosaics. For all its provincial aspects, the cathedral group at Justiniana Prima displays ambitions of an uncommon scope, clearly reflecting the input of its imperial patron, if not of the best artisans of the time. It is in the context of its sculptural decoration in particular that Justiniana Prima reveals the input of local artisans (fig. 220).

Several of the other of Justiniana Prima's nine churches discovered thus far are also deserving of notice. The most impressive among these is the so-called Church D, a church second in size only to the cathedral itself (fig. 221). Situated in the lower town, its drastic departure from any regular features of the urban plan has led to speculation that it may have antedated the laying out of the lower town. However, because it had no known funerary function, its placement outside the walls would have made little sense. The discovery of two capitals with monograms of

219 Justiniana Prima, Acropolis-episcopal complex, baptistery; axonometric



220 Justiniana Prima, capital from Church C (Basilica with a crypt)

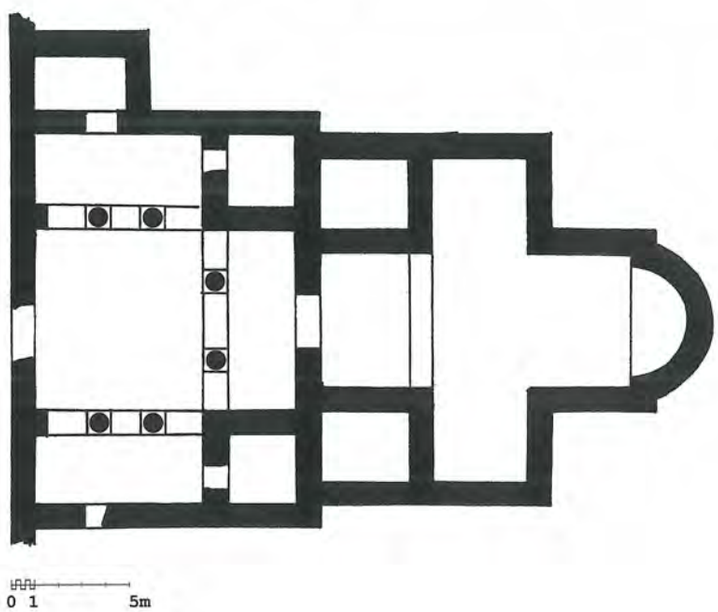


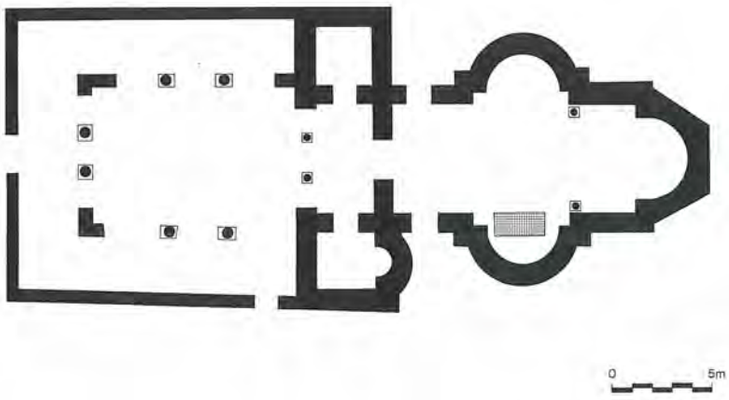
221 Justiniana Prima, Church D; plan

only Emperor Justinian has been interpreted as an indication that the church may have been built after the death of Empress Theodora in 548, and therefore in conjunction with the construction of the lower town.[97] Despite its relatively conventional basilican plan, the church is distinguished by what has generally been termed a "transept," in fact, two rectangular chambers projecting laterally from the north and south aisles. Because the eastern walls of these chambers coincide with the eastern wall of the church itself, in plan they suggest a transept-like configuration. Their relationship to the nave arcade, however, clearly rules out that possibility. Consequently, we must think of these chambers as separate rooms, broadly opening into the side aisles. Their function, therefore, would seem related to several fifth-century churches possessing such lateral rooms, which we interpreted as places for displaying relics, thus making them more readily accessible to the congregation. The elaborate floor mosaic program, for which this church is renowned, may in fact reflect this distinctive function of Church D, whose erstwhile presence has left no other physical traces.

Despite their relatively modest size and quality of execution, the remaining churches of Justiniana Prima are characterized by remarkable typological variety. Of the total of nine churches, no two have identical plans. In addition to the two already discussed, we should also note the so-called Church B, a church of an essentially cruciform disposition, situated in the upper town (fig. 222). This church, measuring 30 meters in overall length, includes a small atrium and features the only externally semicircular apse among the churches of the town. Typologically, Church B is related to the churches at Ts'rkvishte and Ivanĭani in Bulgaria (see p. 151).[98] Its funerary or martyrial function can only be the subject of speculation. More definitive can be our conclusions regarding the so-called Church E, located to the southeast of the southern wall of the lower town (fig. 223). Thanks to its extramural location, and also to the discovery of a monumental tomb within its southern apse, the funerary function of this building is beyond doubt. Its triconch plan recalls a number of other churches, and ones where a funerary function for the side apses has been ascertained (see, for example, fig. 151). The characteristic elongated form of Church B has also attracted attention because of the discovery of its precise replica at Kuršumlija, Serbia (fig. 254). Such an important discovery has, with reason, opened the discussion regarding the manner of transmission of plan types and workshop practices.[99]

222 Justiniana Prima, Church B; plan





223 Justiniana Prima, Church E (triconch); plan

Before leaving the site of Justiniana Prima, we must make some general observations about its architecture. Remarkably consistent in several technical respects, the architecture discovered here demonstrates quite clearly that it was all produced within a few decades. The particularly relevant consistencies are the predominant use of brick and the reliance on local stone for the production of architectural elements – columns and capitals. Clearly, this landlocked site could not be supplied with marble capitals and columns produced in the imperial workshops on the island of Prokonnesos. It is equally clear that the artisans working with local stone were not of the same caliber as their Prokonnesian counterparts. Capitals produced for the churches here were of inferior design and execution (fig. 220). Where these artisans may have come from is an open question, but it would appear that once established at Justiniana Prima their workshop must have operated there for a relatively long period of time. The presence of floor mosaics and their stylistic traits have been linked to sixth-century production in Greece. This, in turn, has been brought into a common context with the preference for brick as the main building material, likewise recalling contemporary Greek practice. On the other hand, a virtually exclusive preference for externally three-sided apses, as well as the general overall proportions of the churches, finds much closer parallels in the architecture of Constantinople. How are such apparent discrepancies to be explained? Might we think of a master builder, or a group of master builders, as having been brought from Constantinopolitan (or related) workshops, and put in charge of local building crews? This could explain some of the blending of varied characteristics and methods of work, which – within a generation – could have become assimilated and recurred as "standard practice" within the region.

Justinian's "favorite creation" was not a beneficiary of either time or location. Within only three generations of the beginning of its construction, Justiniana Prima was no more. Situated on the main routes of the invading Avar and Slavic tribes that had overrun the Balkans by the first decades of the seventh century, Justiniana Prima was plundered, destroyed, and permanently abandoned. Yet its bad fortune, caused rapidly as though by some cataclysmic natural disaster, archaeologically speaking has preserved some rare and invaluable insights into provincial urban planning and architectural practices in the age of Justinian I.

Inasmuch as the urban planning witnessed at Justiniana Prima suggests unmistakable continuity with Roman imperial practice, it is at the same time a "distorting mirror" in its own right. Several other contemporary towns offer a different picture and suggest that a different pattern of urban development was emerging and becoming prevalent. Small, fortified provincial settlements, which characteristically emerged on hilltops – as opposed to the flatland locations preferred in previous centuries – generally appear to show little appreciation for the Roman urban planning concepts noted at Justiniana Prima.

SHUMEN

The case of the small town of Shumen (ancient name unknown), Bulgaria, perched on a hilltop plateau overlooking the nearby plain, illustrates a story of continuity of urban growth from late antiquity until the late Middle Ages.[100] The overall form of the town, as it evolved during the fifth and sixth centuries, reveals a dependence on natural topography similar to what we saw at Justiniana Prima (fig. 224). Very much unlike Justiniana Prima, however, is the layout of its streets and the general character of its buildings. The layout at Shumen reveals a complete absence of any kind of regular geometric planning. There are virtually no two streets that appear to be perpendicular to each other. The streets are of variable widths, though all of them seem quite narrow, and none is lined with porticoes or shops, as would have been normal in an ancient town. Likewise, the notion of "building blocks" is very different from the norms established in ancient Greece and perpetuated by the Romans. Some of the building blocks here appear to be quite large, others very small, and all are highly irregular in overall form and internal composition. Notwithstanding the fact that some sort of a community space does appear in the town's center, this bears little resemblance to an ancient forum. The overall characteristics of this plan, in other words, show far greater affinities to medieval than to ancient concepts of town planning.

SADOVETS

The case of an even smaller sixth-century settlement at Sadovets (ancient name unknown), Bulgaria, illustrates this point in particularly graphic terms.[101] Measuring less than 1 hectare (100 ×

224 Shumen; town plan

100 m) in overall size, this miniscule town occupied a hilltop location protected by an acropolis on the north, town walls along the east and west, and a natural ravine along the south side (fig. 225). Its interior was divided by a highly irregular pattern of streets of inconsistent widths, defining groups of dwellings whose conglomerations cannot be defined as "town blocks," any more than the individual houses bear any resemblance to ancient ones. An individual dwelling here, characteristically consisting of one, or a maximum of two to three adjacent rooms, reveals a standard of living completely disassociated from the ancient Mediterranean tradition.

* * *

Though the topographical locations of Shumen and Sadovets resemble in general terms that of Justiniana Prima, their urban layouts are fundamentally very different. This, once again, underscores the unique characteristics of Justiniana Prima. Its conceptual and formal similarities with the city plan of Constantinople – in the final analysis – may be the most conclusive proof of all that the site of Caričin Grad *is indeed* Justiniana Prima, an identification that has troubled many scholars. Its deliberate adherence to the planning norms of the past seems to have been very much superseded in its own day. Justiniana Prima, then, may be said to have been a dream-city, a vain gesture, and for us, potentially a "distorting mirror." The twilight of urban life in the Balkans, despite all imperial efforts to

225 Sadovets; town plan

stem the process, came inevitably, descending across the peninsula from the north.

New towns, such as Shumen, also illustrate the fact that even small settlements had their own cathedral churches with baptisteries. The appearance of episcopal centers in small settlements in the countryside, presumably serving the sparsely populated surrounding areas, is a known phenomenon from other regions of the empire. A major textual piece of evidence supporting such a notion for the central Balkans during this period comes from a curious stone inscription discovered in 1931 in the village of Izbičanj, 10 kilometers north of Prijepolje, in western Serbia.[102] A Latin inscription, carved on a stone lintel, mentions an "Antistes Stefanus sub principe Iustiniano" as a builder of a complex that included within a fortification wall (*moenia*), churches (*templa*), a palace (*domus*), fountains (*fontes*), stables (*stabula*), atriums (*atria*), and baths (*thermas*). The inscription was interpreted by F. B. Granić as referring to an "episcopal residential town," but this notion has been rejected more recently by M. Mirković, who favors the idea of a large villa, possibly located on an imperial estate. The content of this important inscription, in my opinion, deserves to be reconsidered in the light of major archaeological discoveries in the Balkans, such as that at Louloudies (Chapter 3), which clearly illustrate ambiguities between "small towns" and "large villas" in this region from the late fourth century to at least the middle of the sixth. Nor is the episcopal center of Justiniana Prima irrelevant in this context. A highly fortified entity within a fortified settlement, the episcopal center in its own right may be compared to the older complex at Louloudies, as well as the "mystery complex" from the Izbičanj inscription. In the final analysis, Izbičanj, along with Shumen and Sadovets, etc., may be seen as rudimentary forms of urbanization in the interior of the Balkans, a process that never reached a level of full maturity, cut short by the Avar and Slavic invasions of the second half of the sixth century. A related problem has also been examined in the eastern Adriatic region, where a similar pattern of small fortified settlements, generally speaking, appears not to have survived the period of Avar-Slavic invasions.[103]

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

Ecclesiastical architecture has already received considerable attention in the discussion of individual sixth-century urban centers, and many major buildings and important trends in the development of church architecture have already been highlighted. In this section, the focus will be on some general themes as they emerge from the examination of a body of religious buildings not considered thus far. Most of the examples we will look at were also urban churches, but unlike the ones we have discussed, they come from settlements about which we know relatively little or, in some cases, nothing at all.

Before turning to the discussion of the buildings it is important to outline two important broader issues. In the preceding chapter, the reader was made aware of the overwhelming importance of church architecture on the Balkan scene. This, as we saw, reflected the ultimate triumph of the Church in the final stages of the Christianization of the indigenous populations in the Balkans. Churches were being built in a variety of contexts, and each individual building, no matter how big or small, found itself surrounded by different, functionally related structures – atria, memorial chapels, baptisteries, episcopal residences, monastic quarters, etc. As the need for a variety of subsidiary spaces, functionally closely related to the main church building, grew, builders were challenged to seek ways of coordinating all these functions in a manner that would result in orderly, if not always strictly symmetrical, planning schemes. The phenomenon of the integration of subsidiary chapels into unified church design schemes has been studied in conjunction with the Middle Byzantine period, but the beginnings of this process are much older and reflect the process of growth and change in Church needs over the centuries.[104] The second half of the fifth and all

of the sixth century, in particular, contributed significantly to this process. In certain lesser regional contexts, the phenomenon has been articulated as an important development, albeit examined within relatively narrow frames of reference.[105]

Advanced forms of planning have in some contexts been linked to liturgical changes, drawing a parallel between the evolution in liturgical practice and architectural design as a response to liturgy.[106] Although such a direct equation cannot be drawn, as scholarship has since demonstrated on a number of occasions, it would be equally mistaken to negate the impact of liturgy on architectural planning. One must be mindful of simplistic formulas and clichés. A solution to a given problem must always take a variety of factors into account before a verdict can be reached. Thus, to refer to one of the most abused clichés in the literature on Byzantine architecture, the "tripartite eastern end" of a Byzantine church *may*, but need not, represent an expanded sanctuary, that is, a bema flanked by a prothesis and a diaconicon. These lateral chambers (also known collectively as pastophories) could be, and very often were, separate chapels, accommodating independent liturgical functions of their own. Another possibility, perhaps not so frequent, involves a doubling of functions, where lateral chambers may at once have been both pastophories and separate chapels. A visual analysis of any given plan, in the final analysis, may be a convenient point of departure, but it cannot yield an instant resolution to a problem. The increased frequency of the appearance of churches with "tripartite eastern ends" in the course of the sixth century is a fact. Whether one can go one step further and draw the conclusion that each instance of the appearance of such an arrangement reflects the impact of a significant change in liturgical practice, as was once thought, needs to be weighed carefully. Liturgical practice, like any other form of human activity, cannot be assumed to have yielded specific architectural forms directly.

The second general point that needs to be made about sixth-century architecture concerns the more frequent reliance on vaulting as a means of covering space. Although vaulting can hardly be claimed to have been a sixth-century invention, its increasingly frequent use in church buildings is one of the architectural legacies of this period. The central element in this development, and perhaps its singularly most important cause, was the dome, whose role emerged in a forceful manner during the period. Yet again, the appearance of a dome cannot be viewed as an exclusive innovation of the sixth century. As a formal and structural element it had a long-established history in late antique architecture. We have seen its application in secular and even Christian religious contexts (e.g., martyria, mausolea) in the preceding chapters. It was only after *circa* 500 however, that domes began to be introduced into church buildings. What may have prompted such a decision has intrigued architectural historians for a long time. The phenomenon is of major significance, yet its cause has eluded scholars and still continues to be debated. We should harbor no illusions that an answer to that question can be provided here. Since the Balkans at this time constituted the most fertile grounds for experimentation with domes, we must address some of the issues, even if the ultimate answers remain beyond our reach.

Experimentation with dome forms, methods of construction, and especially with the manner of their structural support had been actively under way since the late third century. Scalloping and ribbing were among the new methods of dome-shell articulation introduced during this period. Combined with the adoption of new materials – all-brick construction, the use of tubular elements or of ceramic vessels for lightening the dead weight of domes – all produced opportunities for creating domical shells substantially different from those in early imperial times. The ultimate product was the invention of a domical unit supported on four (rather than eight or six) points, with the help of the so-called spherical triangles, or pendentives. Such a unit, possessing ideal modular properties, proved exceedingly popular and important.[107] Conceptually related to the ciborium or canopy form, it appears to have carried with it also a particularly potent symbolic meaning associated with heaven. By virtue of its structural disposition – four points of support – it could be related without too much difficulty to basilican churches. Whether the desire to introduce the dome into the basilican context came first, or whether it was the increasingly lighter system of dome construction that made such an idea feasible, is one of those fundamental questions that have no ready answers. It should be remembered, however, that in the course of the fifth century differences between martyria and regular churches, initially treated and built as separate entities, slowly dwindled. Owing to the fact that it increasingly became the norm to move relics in response to popular demand to possess a saint's remains, one may think of the growing number of churches as having become de facto martyria. If it is possible to entertain such a notion, it becomes easier to understand why an additional symbolic feature, such as a dome, may also have become a desirable architectural component of church architecture. This overly simplified analysis has aimed merely at alerting the reader to some of the general processes that were, generally speaking, concurrently under way. The increasing importance of domed-church architecture in the Balkans, starting with the sixth century, thus became part of a series of intertwined processes that eventually yielded impressive results for which Byzantine architecture is rightly noted. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the use of domes appears in other, secular contexts, such as funerary and palatine architecture, but also in strictly utilitarian buildings, such as

baths, fortifications, and cisterns. An overly symbolic approach to the interpretation of the dome, therefore, can be thoroughly misleading.

In discussing the manner of lightening the domical shell in order to make its introduction into basilican churches structurally feasible, it should also be observed that domical shells in church contexts are frequently perforated at their bases by multiple windows. The primary function of these, it may be all too easily assumed, was to bring light into the central part of the building. Yet, once again, the practical need and symbolic meaning must be recognized as overlapping. The appearance of horizontal rows of windows at the base of the dome contributed significantly to the changing interior effects within the church structure. At the same time, it is important to note that their presence constituted a new formal and structural challenge that also affected building exteriors. The appearance of drums, already in the course of the sixth century, signals a new aesthetic of Byzantine domes that distinguishes that tradition in yet another way from its Roman antecedents.

Our discussion of church architecture in the course of the sixth century will address several groups of buildings that represent certain distinctive phenomena. We will begin with a consideration of a phenomenon that first appeared only at this time – the conversion of ancient religious buildings, temples, into places for Christian worship.

The Conversion of Ancient Temples

The conversion of pagan temples into churches began to occur relatively late. Christian attitudes toward pagan buildings in the course of the fourth century and into the fifth were entirely negative: temples were perceived as inhabited by evil forces, and as such they were shunned. Their architectural characteristics were deliberately rejected and, generally speaking, any overt associations with temples avoided. At times, the negative attitude toward temples could manifest itself in outright destruction, but more commonly they were simply ignored. While the conversion of other pagan buildings (baths, mausolea, palatine halls) was a known practice from relatively early on, the conversion of temples did not begin until the fifth century and became normative only in the sixth, more than two hundred years after Christianity became the official religion of the Roman state. Various factors played a role in the change of attitude among Christians. Needless to say, imperial policies against paganism eventually ensured the desired results. The closing of pagan temples was but one of the mechanisms that led to what must have been perceived as the ultimate symbolic manifestation of the Christian triumph. Although the conversion of ancient temples became a widespread practice, nowhere was its symbolic impact as great as in the case of Athens.

The conversion of ancient shrines and temples in Athens apparently began at a moderate pace during the fifth century. The first significant instances took place *circa* 450 on the south side of the Acropolis with the conversion of the ancient Asklepion into the Christian healing center of the Hagioi Anargyroi and the construction of a single-aisled basilica within one of the entrances of the Theater of Dionysios.[108] By virtue of their location, these two Christian *loci* reflected the primary goal of suppressing pagan activities, but they replaced them with comparable Christian functions. Thus the healing center of the god Asklepios was replaced by a Christian center dedicated to the healing saints.

As indicative as these moves may have been, they must have paled in contrast to the bold conversion of the major temples on the Acropolis and in the Agora in the course of the sixth century. The most dramatic among those was the conversion of the Parthenon into the church of the Panagia, the All-Holy Virgin.[109] In the process of turning the great temple into a church, its original architecture was substantially preserved. In fact, the church was fully contained within the temple enclosure, its dominant formal characteristic, the magnificent peripteral Doric colonnades, remaining fully visible. Symbolically, this must have constituted singularly the most significant compromise on the part of the Church authorities. With the exterior colonnades allowed to remain in place, the program of sculptural decoration of the original façades must have also remained exposed. Such a concession on the part of the Church can be understood only as a testimony of the total demise of paganism. More than two centuries after Christianity began its uphill battle against paganism, it could finally rest assured that the pagan gods, even in their fully visible, three-dimensional form, had become totally impotent. The fear of paganism was no more. The original naos (cella) of the temple, facing east, became the actual church; the opistodomos, facing west, a spacious narthex. The interior of the naos was purified, above all by the removal of the principal cult statue of *Athena Parthenos*. The door to the naos was closed by the construction of an apse, semicircular both internally and externally. The original interior arrangement of a two-tiered colonnade that circumvented the naos remained in place and served the same purpose as in the original building – to support the huge roof. Its arrangement was conveniently adapted to create the internal division into a broad naos flanked by side aisles mutually linked across the west side, as in some early Christian basilicas. The church had all the elements necessitated by the liturgy – an altar, a chancel screen, and an ambo in the center of the naos – while the narthex contained a baptismal font screened off in its northwest corner. With the overall

measurements of 21.5 × 58 meters, the converted Parthenon in most respects must have compared favorably with larger contemporary basilicas within the empire. It must have differed significantly, however, not only in its exterior appearance, but also in its interior illumination. The interior of the converted Parthenon must have been quite dark, on account of the inherited architectural solution. How this may have affected the functioning of the building is difficult to say, but the contrast with other, newly built churches marked by a multitude of large windows must have been startling.[110]

Other temples and shrines on the Acropolis were also Christianized, the entire hilltop becoming a new Christian center par excellence. It seems that at this stage the locus of the cathedral may have remained in the lower city, on the north side of the Acropolis. Eventually, for reasons of security, the bishop's residence and the function of the cathedral were transferred to the Acropolis, where they remained for the rest of the medieval period. The other important conversion besides the Parthenon was that of the Erechtheion.[111] Also remodelled into a three-aisled basilica, its apse taking the place of the original main door of the temple naos, facing east, the original architectural form of the small temple also remained intact. The church was entered through the original north portico of the temple, now converted into a kind of atrium structure, accommodating a *phiale*, normally found in such locations. The exact date of the conversion of the Erechtheion is not known, nor is its Christian dedication. Equally problematic is the dating of the conversion of another of Athens' great temples – the Hephaisteion, on the western edge of the ancient Agora. Converted into the church of Hagios Giorgios, the proposed dates for this event range from the mid-fifth century, to the sixth, seventh, and even the ninth century. We cannot enter that debate here, but on account of the general pattern of developments in Athens, the sixth-century date appears to be most likely, though it cannot be taken as a firm historical datum.

The conversion of pagan shrines was not limited to Athens. The manner and extent of such conversions, as well as their exact dating, vary considerably and are seldom securely documented. For all these reasons, the subject will not be pursued further in this context. In sum, it must be stressed once more that the conversion of temples into churches may have had a modest start in the fifth century, but it manifested itself in a major way only with the final triumph of Christianity *circa* 550. The most important message that needs to be drawn from this phenomenon is that at the very moment of the perceived stylistic synthesis in Byzantine architecture and art, major churches whose external appearance was that of ancient Greek temples, paradoxically, stood side by side with the new domed architecture that became the hallmark of the age of Justinian I.

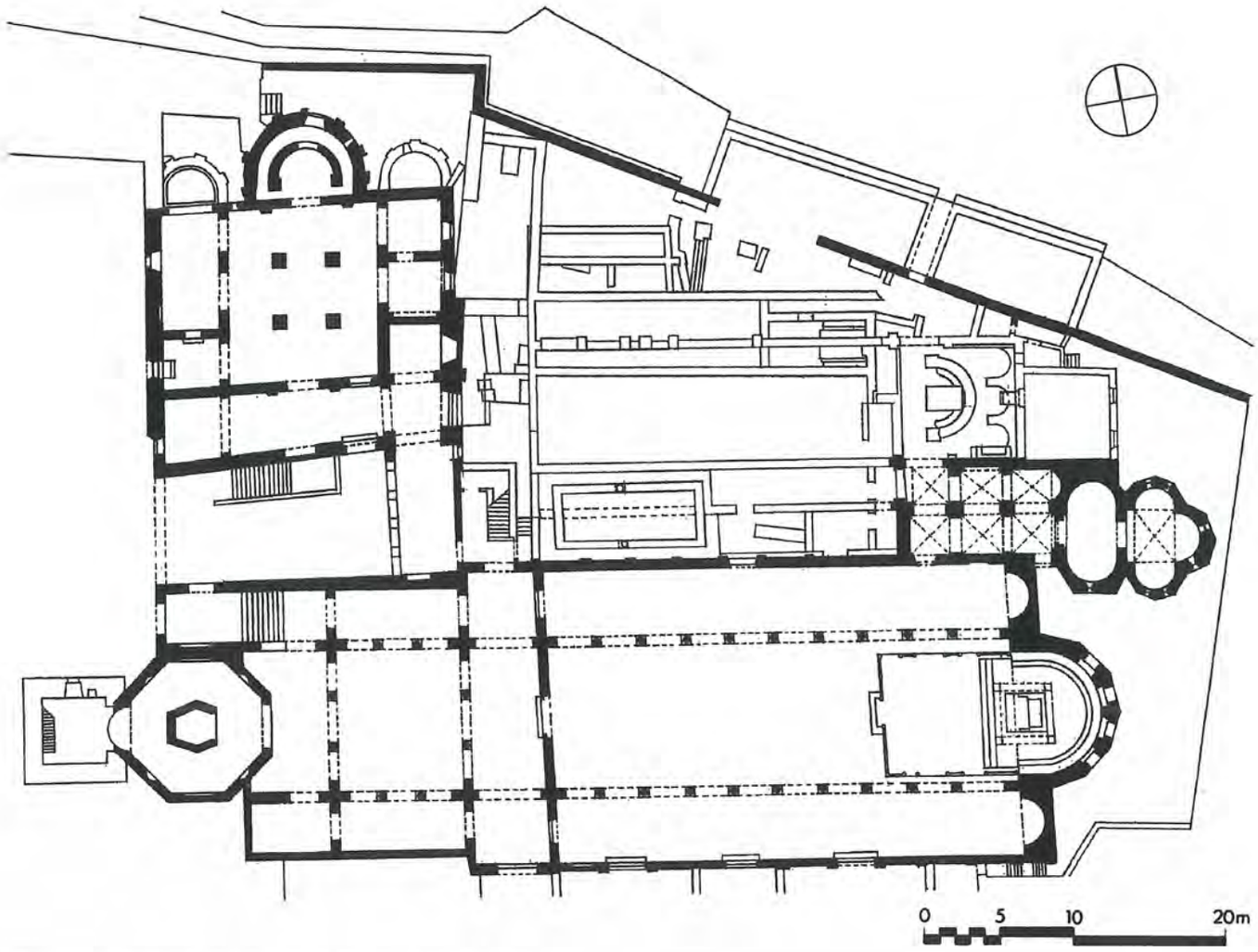
Timber-Roofed Basilicas

The new trend in church design, especially as it emerged in Constantinople during the reign of Justinian I, has created a certain erroneous impression about the development of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture in general. Notwithstanding the great creative power revealed by the major churches built under the direct auspices of Justinian, and the impact of this development in other areas of the Balkans, the overwhelming number of church buildings built in the course of the sixth century continued to be basilican in nature. The assertion by Krautheimer that "the situation changes decisively with the sixth century" and that "Justinian's architecture in the East breaks with the tradition of the basilica" needs to be modified.[112] The wooden-roofed basilica not only continued to be the most popular type of church building in the sixth century, but in fact it never died out through the entire subsequent course of development of Byzantine architecture. The point is essential, particularly in relationship to certain later situations in which the presence of a basilica has tended to be viewed as a "revival" phenomenon, a problem to which we will return in subsequent chapters. Needless to say, domed churches did assume a central place in Byzantine church architecture, but this must not be misread as the disappearance of the basilica as a church type.

ADRIATIC LITTORAL

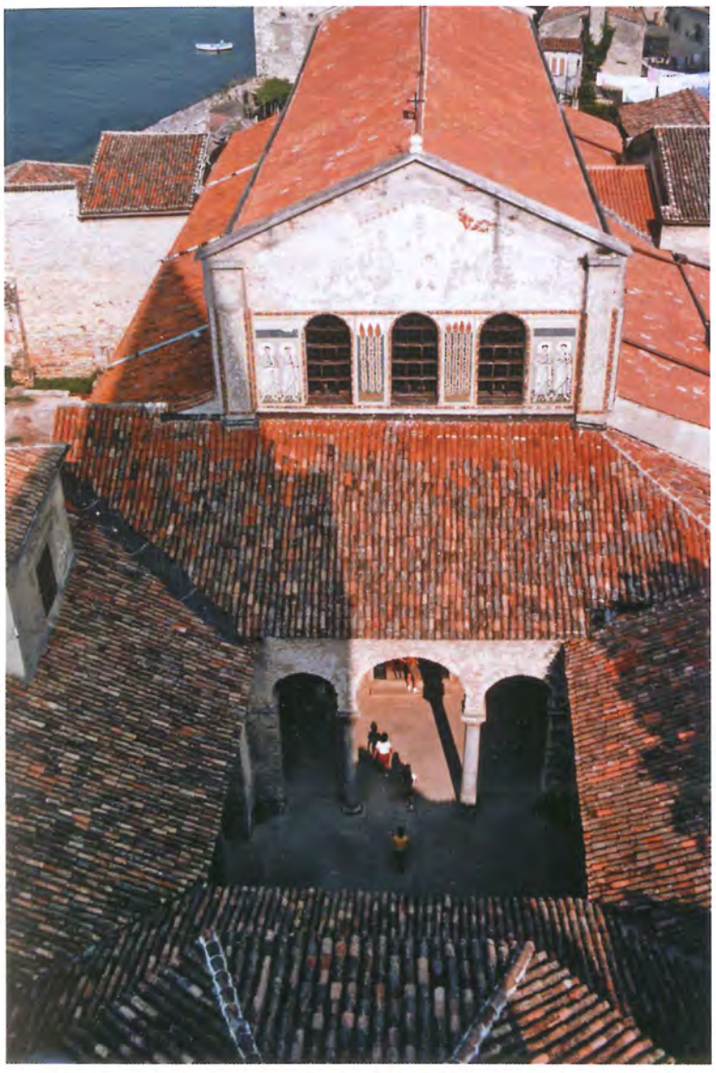
Numerically, basilican churches built in the course of the sixth century nearly match fifth-century production. Geographically, however, they are much more widespread. Justinian's reconquest of the Balkan peninsula left its mark not only in the form of extensive fortification construction, whereby the conquest was to be secured, but also in the claiming of a central place for the Church in securing the success of the reconquest. In this regard, particularly telling was the conquest of the Adriatic and Ionian coasts – from Istria in the north to Epiros in the south. In many settlements, old and new, churches were hastily built, asserting the presence of the newly established political order. Many of these churches were sizable constructions, and practically all of them were basilicas.

One of these impressive achievements – the cathedral, known as the Basilica Euphrasiana, at Parentium (modern Poreč, Istria, Croatia) – also happens to be one of the best-preserved examples of the type anywhere (figs. 226 and 227).[113] The church constituted a rebuilding over the foundations of a fifth-century church. A three-aisled basilica of elongated proportions, measuring 19 × 38 meters, it reveals in many respects affinities with other comparable churches at Grado and Ravenna, collectively dubbed the "Adrio-Byzantine" group.[114] Unlike the other examples, the cathedral of Parentium survives, along with most of the



226 Parentium, "Basilica Euphrasiana" with Episcopal complex; plan

sixth-century architectural ensemble of which it is a part. In front of the basilica is a square atrium. Directly opposite its main façade is an octagonal baptistery, while north of the atrium is the bishop's palace. Finally at the extreme, northeast corner of the basilica stands a small triconch chapel with a double-apsed narthex, possibly related to a martyr saint. The construction of the church reveals many idiosyncrasies that are particularly telling. It was built in a crude masonry technique involving small local broken stones set into large quantities of mortar. This points to the employment of a local building team. The interior of the church, by contrast, reveals imported Prokonnesian marble columns and capitals. The same holds true of the fine mosaics and marble veneer that decorate the eastern end of the church. As was the case at Justiniana Prima, we see here a blend of local architectural and imported features. The mix here, however, is different. The import of columns, capitals, church furniture, and other materials was quite common in sites along the Mediterranean coastline. Their transportation by sea was relatively inexpensive and, judging by their distribution, routine. What makes their use at Parentium especially interesting is the apparent arbitrary mixture of fifth- and sixth-century capitals. The phenomenon may be, and has been, viewed variously – either as the evidence of the reuse of capitals from the old church or as an indication that the Prokonnesian storehouses shipped out old stocks, particularly to distant locations, where, presumably, aspects of design sophistication would not have mattered. As in Ravenna, impost blocks were used routinely in conjunction with sixth-century capitals, though this custom had been abandoned in most of the eastern parts of the Balkans, except in Constantinople, where the juxtaposition was never employed in

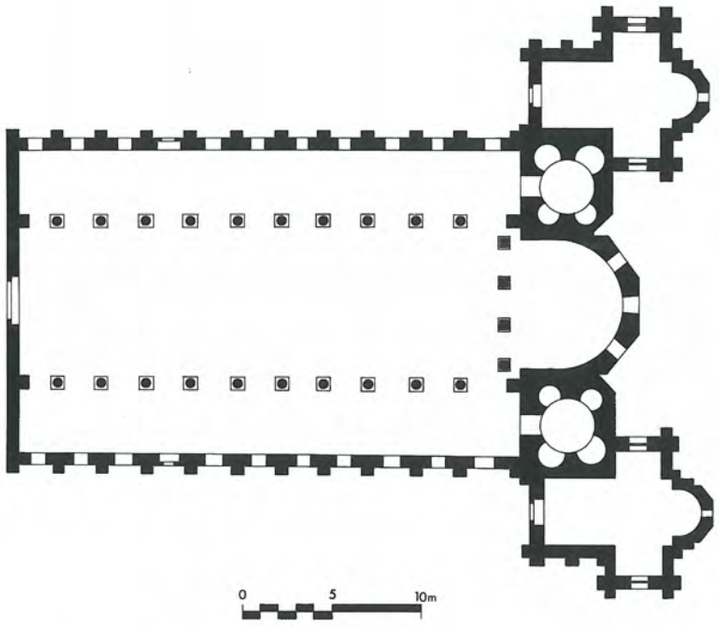


227 Parentium, "Basilica Euphrasiana"; looking E from campanile

228 Parentium, "Basilica Euphrasiana", capital from atrium

the first place. Clearly, regional ideas about the design and execution of certain building features did matter, and were adhered to. It would seem that in Parentium, a capital, even of the basket variety, executed and shipped from Constantinople, required an impost block, even if this custom was unknown in the place where the capitals themselves originated (fig. 228). It would be interesting to know how, under such circumstances, the extra impost blocks were acquired, since they would not have been considered parts of a set in their place of origin.

At Pola (modern Pula, Istria, Croatia), a large church dedicated to St. Maria Formosa was built by an archbishop named Maximian, better remembered for his involvement in the completion of San Vitale in Ravenna.[115] The large, three-aisled basilica, measuring 19 × 32 meters, is primarily known from the excavated remains, its only surviving component being one of a pair of cruciform chapels that once flanked its eastern end (figs. 229 and 230). The basilica itself was clearly related to the Ravenna churches, its exterior articulated by blind arcades on pilaster strips, whose spacing matched that of the interior arcades. Likewise, the large, externally polygonal apse, as in the case of Parentium, finds its closest parallels on the opposite side of the Adriatic. The church of St. Maria Formosa, on the other hand, features a pair of small rotundas embedded in the wall mass between the main apse and the adjacent cruciform chapels. Each of these rotundas had four semicircular niches, of varying diameters. Accessible only from the side aisles, their function is unknown. In strictly formal terms they recall the circular rooms in small bathing establishments known in fifth-century Constantinople (figs. 79 and 80). The surviving cruciform chapel, possibly designed for the purpose of containing a martyr's relics,



229 Pola, S. Maria Formosa; plan

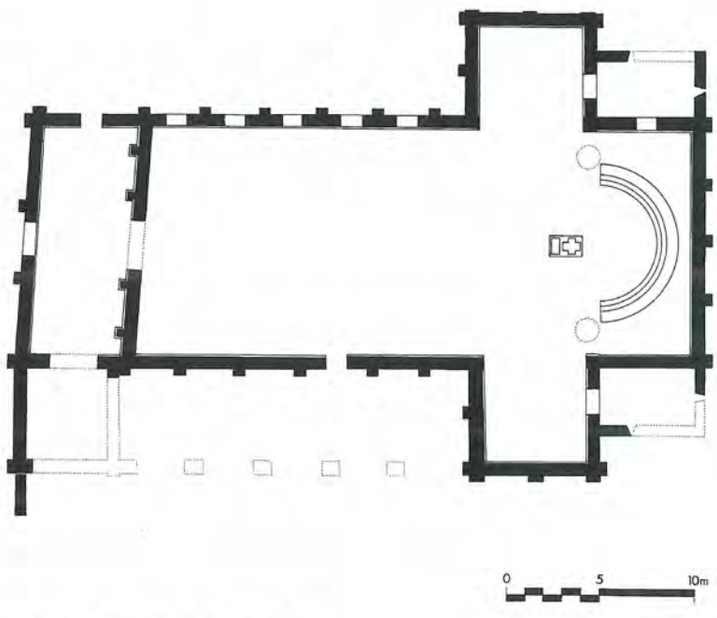
features a low square tower over the crossing that contains a domical vault within (fig. 231). From the point of view of its overall form, and the articulation of its façades by means of blind arcades, the chapel recalls the century-older "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia" in Ravenna. The relationship is instructive because this was also a subsidiary component of a larger church. In terms of their execution the two chapels are entirely different: the Pola example having been constructed of broken stone, the Ravenna one entirely of brick. The presence of smaller-scale buildings accompanying larger structures is a phenomenon of much broader consequence in the development of ecclesiastical architecture. The symmetrical pairing of such chapels at Pola is particularly significant, for it illustrates the architect's efforts to coordinate the relationship between the principal building and its subsidiary components. Previously, such relationships were generally random, dictated strictly by the individual needs at each site. The case of Pola suggests the beginning of an integral approach to church design, one in which the main building and all of its subsidiary components were subjected to a unified overall scheme.[116]

230 Pola, S. Maria Formosa; painting showing ruins from SE (C.-L. Clérisseau)

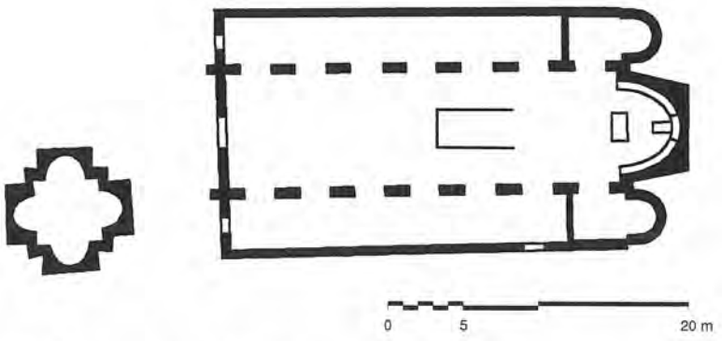
The impressive remains of a large basilica (25 × 37 m in plan) at Fulfinum (Mirine, bay of Sepen; near Omišalj), Island of Krk, Croatia, have been the subject of considerable interest, but at the same time of only limited, selective archaeological excavations.[117] As a result, the exact context, the dating, and the subsequent reuse of the church are still being debated. It was built as a single-aisled rectangular building with a clear interior span of 17 meters (fig. 232). Close to its eastern end it had two laterally projecting spaces, each measuring 5.5 × 5.5 meters in plan, which have been interpreted as the arms of a transept. The exact form of this "transept" is debatable, as is the organization of the eastern end of this large basilica. What is not in doubt is that it had a semicircular arrangement of seats, a type of synthronon, freestanding, within the easternmost part of the building. Also not in doubt is the location of the main altar, directly in front of this seating arrangement for the clergy, and marked by a small cruciform crypt with a western staircase providing access. In all likelihood the crypt would have contained relics for the consecration of the main altar, and not a "martyrium" as has been postulated. The two transept "arms" communicated with two narrower, rectangular chambers, flanking the east end of the main building. These have been, mistakenly, referred to as pastophories. Fronting the church at the west end was an oblong narthex, the only element in the entire building that is marked by irregularities, such as its angled relationship to the rest of the building and its asymmetrical organization. Marked by four doors of differing sizes, the narthex clearly related the church to surrounding structures, which have not been archaeologically explored. The church may have been converted into a Benedictine abbey in the eleventh century. That abbey, known from sixteenth-century sources, had a church dedicated to St. Nicholas, which was three-aisled. Though the conversion of this basilica into a three-aisled church is not impossible, firm confirmation is lacking. The fact that this basilica was situated on the fringes of the ancient city, and the fact that it was surrounded by extensive cemeteries from different periods, suggest that it was originally a cemetery basilica of ancient Fulfinum. Built entirely of local fieldstone with large quantities of mortar, the basilica is related in different ways to the architecture of Istria, as well as to different parts of the Dalmatian coast. Though its liturgical layout appears to have its closest parallels in the churches of the northern Adriatic basin, the church does have numerous affinities with architecture elsewhere. The church points unequivocally to the Byzantine presence in the Adriatic region during the sixth century, a phenomenon that has been broadly confirmed in recent years.

The discovery of the remains of older basilican churches below the present Baroque cathedral of Dubrovnik, Croatia (ancient Ragusium), during the excavations conducted in the years 1981–84, has stimulated a debate regarding the interpretation of the finds (fig. 233). In addition to the known fact that the present Baroque building was built after a catastrophic earthquake in 1667 over the remains of the destroyed Romanesque cathedral, there was no indication that the medieval building may have

231 Pola, S. Maria Formosa; S cruciform chapel; present state



232 Fulfinum, cathedral (?); plan



233 Ragusium, cathedral; plan

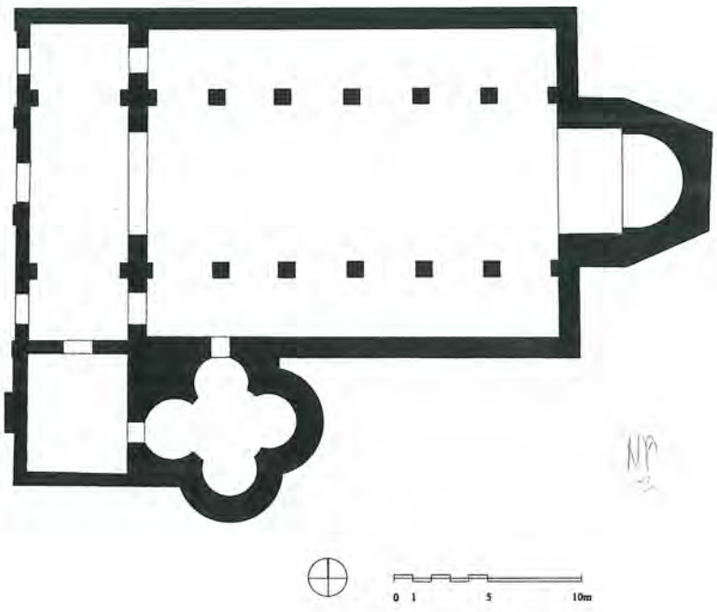
been preceded by a monumental forerunner on the same site. The excavator interpreted the remains of a large three-aisled basilica discovered below the medieval structure as those of an unknown ninth-century, pre-Romanesque church. This interpretation has been seriously challenged, and the find, instead, has been seen as confirmation of a hypothesis that the site of Dubrovnik was occupied already in late antiquity and not only after the Slavic invasion.[118] The building was a three-aisled basilica, measuring 15.8 × 31 meters in plan. About 8 meters wide, its nave was separated from the side aisles by six pairs of massive rectangular piers. The aisles terminated in apses, semicircular both internally and externally. The main apse was semicircular internally, but three-sided on the exterior. It seems that the basilica had a wooden roof, except for the easternmost parts of the side aisles, which may have been barrel-vaulted, thus accentuating these spaces as pastophories in keeping with the practice emerging in Byzantine architecture around 550. The church was built of small, roughly cut ashlars, in a technique commonly encountered along the Adriatic coast during this period. It had a seating bench for the clergy around the interior of the main apse with a central, raised episcopal throne. In the center of the nave a large platform (2.5 × 4.5 m) probably marks the position of an ambo. West of the main church façade, and south of the main church axis, is a freestanding cruciform structure, interpreted by the excavators as a medieval martyrium, but most likely the original baptistery of the complex. The building has a tetraconch interior. Bi-axially symmetrical, the structure must have had either a small tower or a low dome over the central square (4.7 × 4.7 m). As such, it does provide an important clue regarding a potential source of the ubiquitous pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia marked by its distinctive characteristics.

A large three-aisled basilica survives as a roofless ruin within the lower town of the great ancient city of Buthrintos (now Butrint, Albania). The church, of unknown dedication, went through several building phases, but its primary construction is associated with the sixth century.[119] As a result of major damage suffered in a later earthquake, the apse was rebuilt while the original columnar nave arcades were replaced with arcades on massive piers, apparently in the course of the tenth century (p. 309). The building measures 24 meters at maximum width, and 31 meters in overall length, thus being somewhat larger than the average basilican churches during the sixth century, as our survey has shown. The church features what is generally referred to as a "tripartite transept," whose arms project beyond the main body of the church. In the extension of the nave arcade, but within the transept proper, an arcade on the north and the south side, each supported by an original square pier, separates the transept arms from the main part of the sanctuary. It is unclear what these transept arms may have been used for, but their presence in the basilicas of Nikopolis suggests a local planning scheme that, in turn, may be linked to Western sources, as has been postulated.

CENTRAL BALKANS

Architectural activity in the interior of the Balkans was also marked by the construction of a large number of basilican churches in more densely populated areas, but also in rural settings, generally related to the presence of the military. Basilicas are found from the reconstructed fortifications of the Danubian *limes* in the north, through the heartland of the Balkans, and into the province of Macedonia in the south. Most of them are characterized by straightforward designs and basic construction. Most commonly, piers were employed instead of columns. The liturgical requirements were fulfilled in the most basic of ways,

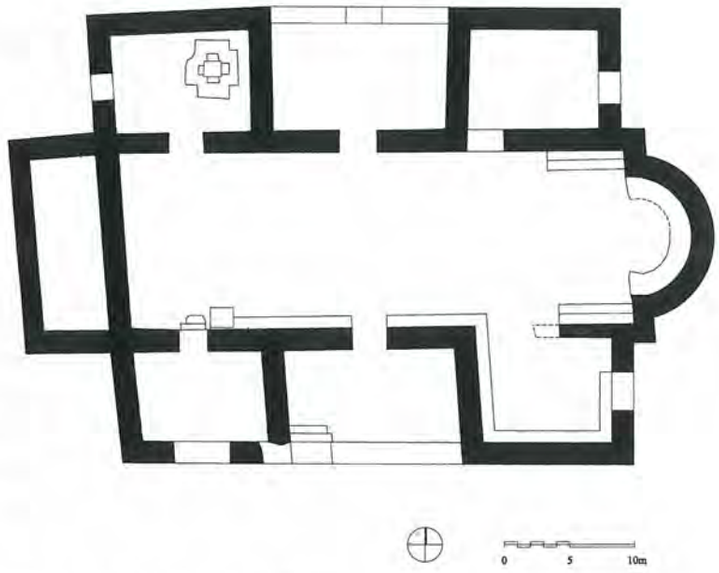
234 Romuliana, Basilica III; plan



while architectural sculpture reveals very crude, local approaches, usually difficult to associate with the leading trends in the main centers. Our discussion will again concentrate on a selection of examples, representative in their differing ways.

The abandoned remains of Emperor Galerius' palace complex at Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia) were evidently made into a fortified settlement as early as the end of the fourth century. Within the remains of the imperial residence itself, the foundations of three successive basilican churches have been uncovered.[120] The first may have been built as early as *circa* 400; the second was most certainly a fifth-century reconstruction of the first; while the third was built during the sixth century, and it may not have been completed. Notwithstanding the complete lack of information about its decorative features or its furniture, Basilica III at Romuliana offers some interesting insights into church architecture in the remote hinterlands of the Balkans, and relatively close to the seriously threatened Danubian *limes*. The three-aisled basilica was 18 meters wide and had an overall length of 37 meters (fig. 234). It apparently had a deep barrel-vaulted sanctuary projecting some 3 meters beyond the eastern wall of the church. The sanctuary apse, attached to this projecting bay, was semicircular inside and three-sided on the exterior. Near the southwest corner of the south aisle was situated a quadrilobed baptistery, whose interior disposition suggests that the polylobed bath in the northeastern corner of the original palace complex into which the basilica was built may still have been standing at the time and that its forms may have served as the model for the baptistery (fig. 24). The manner of articulation of interior space, in fact, appears to have been informed by the early fourth-century building. The church was preserved only in its foundations, and some doubt has been expressed whether it was ever completed before the entire site had to be abandoned. The absence of pastophories, increasingly flanking sanctuary bays in church architecture during the second half of the sixth century, points to an earlier date for this basilica. Given the activities of Anastasios I throughout the Balkans in the early years of the sixth century, it could be postulated that the rebuilding of the basilica at Romuliana may have been done under his auspices.

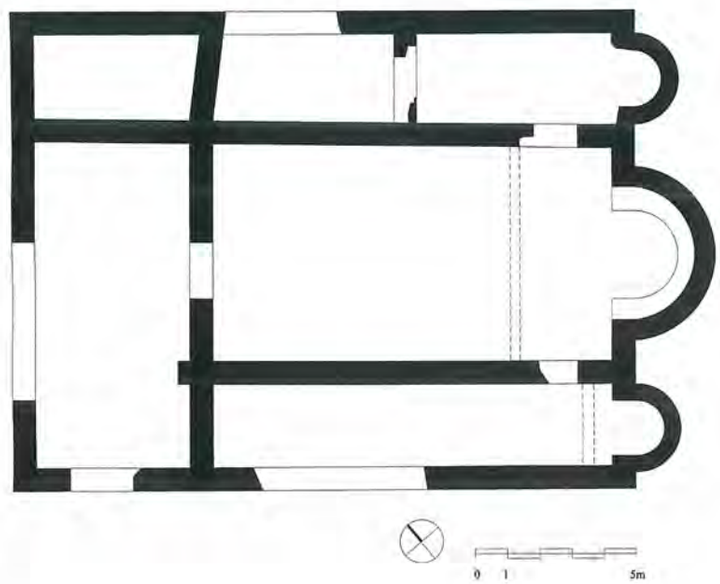
Discoveries made in recent years at Gradina on Mount Jelica, Serbia, are of major significance for our understanding of Byzantine imperial policy in the central area of the Balkans during the sixth century.[121] Thus far, the excavations have uncovered four churches and traces of fortification walls, in general, the outlines of a sizeable settlement situated atop a high hill, strategically dominating the surrounding rolling lower hills and a valley beyond. Two of the excavated churches, both basilicas, deserve our attention here. Though basilican in the overall character of their plans, they are in fact single-aisled apsed churches with lateral rooms organized in an orderly fashion, so as to give the



235 Gradina/Jelica, Basilica C; plan

impression of lateral aisles, albeit physically separated from each other and from the main nave. Basilica C, believed to have been the cathedral church, had a length of 22.35 meters and a width of 14.55 meters (fig. 235). Its long central space was preceded by a narthex and terminated in an apse, semicircular both internally and externally. Along its north and south flanks were pairs of rectangular rooms, accommodating other functions, and linked to the nave through doors. The northwestern of these chambers

236 Gradina/Jelica, Basilica A; plan

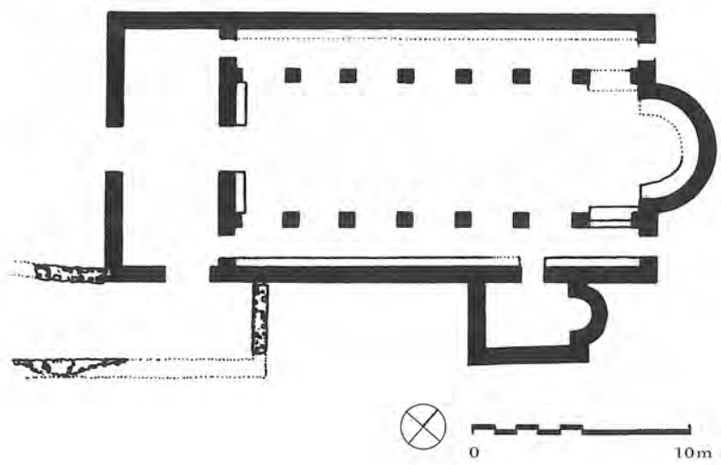


is known to have been a baptistery; the northeastern one was used for burials. Intervening between the two chambers – and similarly also on the south side – was an open portico, subsequently walled in and used for burials. The arrangement recalls the planning schemes of a number of fifth-century churches already discussed (see p. 151). Its presence here at Gradina is particularly relevant in relationship to the second of these churches, Basilica A. Situated outside the fortification walls of the settlement, Basilica A is considered to have had an exclusively funerary function. Measuring 21.4 meters in overall length by 14.4 meters in width, it, too, was a sizeable building (fig. 236). In plan it looks like a three-aisled basilica, but the investigation of its remains has shown that it was initially built as a single-aisled church, while the two "side aisles" were added later. Once again, these must be understood as separate spaces with a distinct function. The presence of two small apses at the eastern ends of the two "aisles" further underscores the fact that the side rooms must have had an independent liturgical function from the main part of the church. What emerges from this analysis of this distinctly provincial context is that the basilica, as a church building type, was undergoing various adaptive processes and that its form was subjected to deliberate mutations. All of this reveals creative flexibility on the part of local builders and patrons, in relationship to what must have been certain "standard schemes," obtainable, one would presume, from the main architectural centers. The discovery of several inscriptions in Latin bespeak the Western jurisdictional affiliation of this area, while many of the church's architectural and sculptural aspects unmistakably point to Eastern sources for the artisans and ideas.

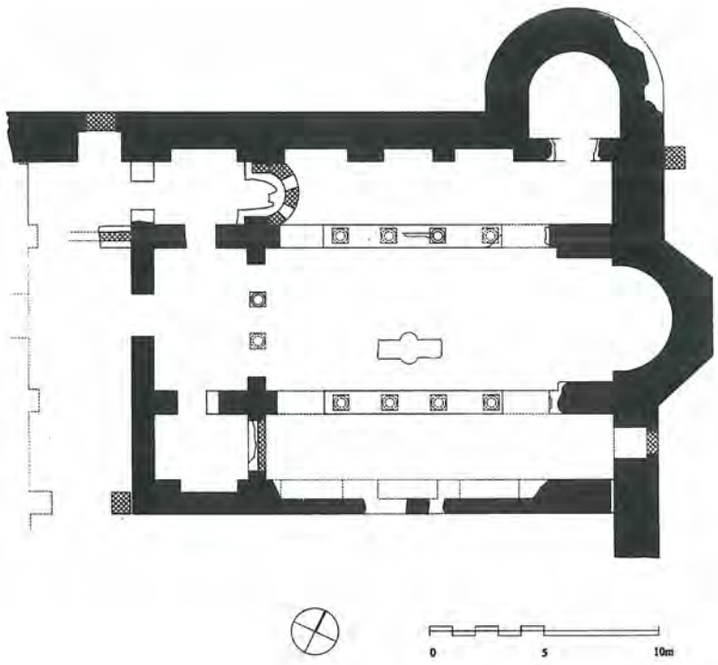
In contrast to the variations on the theme of the basilica seen at Gradina, the appearance of a genuine basilica at Ras, Serbia, may come as a surprise.[122] Located at the foot of a steep hill, dominated by a late antique fortified settlement and its medieval successor, whose true identity continues to be hotly debated, the basilica and its function present a number of questions that are difficult to answer. With some certainty the building has been dated to the second quarter of the sixth century. The three-aisled basilica is 12 meters wide and 26.4 meters long, matching in size the churches at Gradina/Jelica. Unlike those churches, this was a regular basilica, its side aisles separated from the nave by six masonry piers in each arcade (fig. 237). The building was preceded by a spacious narthex, communicating with the main part of the church through three separate doors. The nave terminated in a large apse, almost semicircular internally and externally. The aisles were unusually narrow (only 2 m wide), and were equipped with doors at their eastern ends. A small apsed chapel, constructed separately, abuts the south aisle, with which it communicated through a separate door. Its function remains uncertain, though the possibility of it having served as a baptistery is deemed most likely. The remains of the furnishings were very meager, suggesting even a total absence of any stone carving. If so, the presence of a "standard plan" here would have been accompanied by clearly substandard equipment, possibly reliant on wood as the material of choice.

Though clearly related to a military establishment, the basilica at Bregovina, Serbia, presents a different picture as far as the sophistication of its architecture is concerned.[123] The site of Bregovina, a Byzantine fortress whose original name is unknown, is

237 Ras, Basilica; plan



238 Bregovina, Basilica; plan

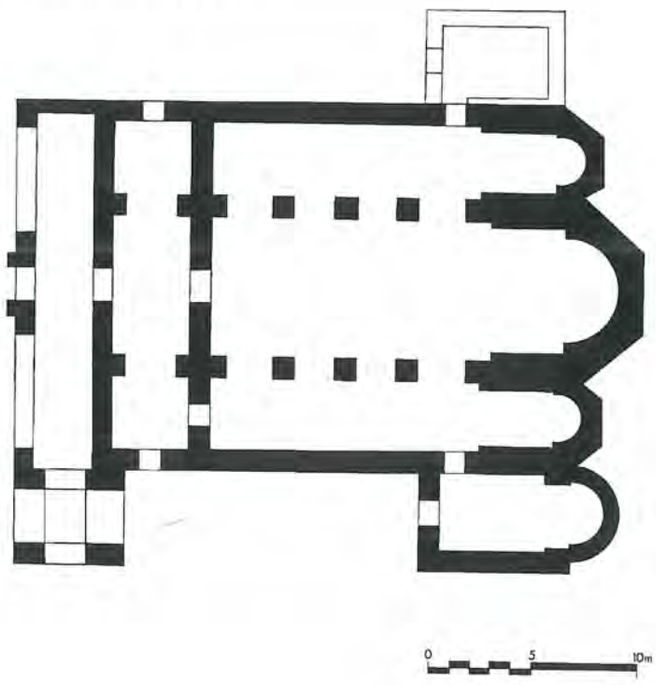


only about 15 kilometers northwest of Justiniana Prima, with which it may have been closely related chronologically and functionally (see pp. 209–14, above). The basilica is curiously tucked into the northeast corner of the fortified acropolis, its north and east walls being the exterior walls of the acropolis enclosure (fig. 238). Its three-sided apse protrudes, much like one of the acropolis towers, while the northeastern semicircular tower of the enclosure was spatially integrated with the basilica, possibly serving as a side chapel of sorts. The three-aisled basilica, measuring 15 meters in width and 25 meters in overall length, is very similar in size, if not in architectural character, to the churches at Jelica/Gradina and Ras. Its nave was separated from the side aisles by rows of four columns supporting arcades. In a curious arrangement, if the hypothetical reconstruction is correct, the basilica appears to have had a gallery over its north aisle, but none over the south. Conversely, the south side featured a row of windows at clerestory level, while the north side had none. Much as in the church architecture of the Aegean basin, the side aisles were further segregated from the nave by means of parapet slabs. The nave and aisles were preceded by a tripartite narthex, whose corner compartments were subsequently (though still in the sixth century) converted into two small chapels. The use of brick as the predominant building material, as well as a selective use of marble, suggests means very different from those witnessed in the more remote locations of Jelica/Gradina and Ras. The most remarkable aspect of the basilica at Bregovina is its architectural sculpture and church furniture, which reveal a considerable level of sophistication. Even so, the style of carving reveals a regional approach that differs from the leading trend set by the Constantinopolitan workshops.

The remains of a basilica discovered in the village of Ćurline, near Niš, Serbia, was long a subject of erroneous interpretations (fig. 239).[124] Originally perceived as a five-aisled basilica, it was believed to belong to the category of very large churches, but its actual dimensions and character are somewhat more modest, as demonstrated by more recent excavations. Measuring 16 × 30 meters, the church was actually a three-aisled basilica, whose nave (5.7 m wide) was separated from the side aisles by rows of three square piers on each side supporting the arcades. Its east end was marked by a bema and pastophories separated by massive walls and featuring apses, semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. There is no doubt that this part of the building was vaulted. It is less clear whether the rest of the church was vaulted, or covered by wooden roofs, as was common in larger basilicas. The church had a narthex, divided into three distinctive bays by strongly projecting spurs that must have supported transversal arches. A semi-open portico preceded the narthex; along its south flank it was abutted by an open rectangular structure with four massive piers at its corners. This may have been a tower in its upper stories, though its appearance in elevation can only be conjectural. Flanking the pastophories on the north and the south-side were two additional spaces, accessible from within the church, as well as independently from the exterior. Of roughly comparable dimensions, the southern room had a semicircular apse (internally and externally), while the northern had no apse at all. The function of these two rooms cannot be pinpointed with precision, though it is likely that they may have been special chapels with possible martyrial connotations. Built of brick, the church at Ćurlina displays a close relationship with architecture at Justiniana Prima, and, indeed, may have been the work of one of the same groups of masons. A comparable basilica has been partially excavated in the village of Krupište, near Štip, FYROM, situated within a fortified acropolis. Its elaborate eastern end, featuring five semicircular apses, has been laid bare, but its length remains unknown. This, too, was a three-aisled, piered basilica, measuring 18 meters in width (28 m taking into account the two lateral chapels). The basilica, like that at Ćurlina, was marked by the presence of two sizable chapels flanking the pastophories. In this case, both chapels had semicircular apses, while their specific function, as at Ćurline, remains unknown.

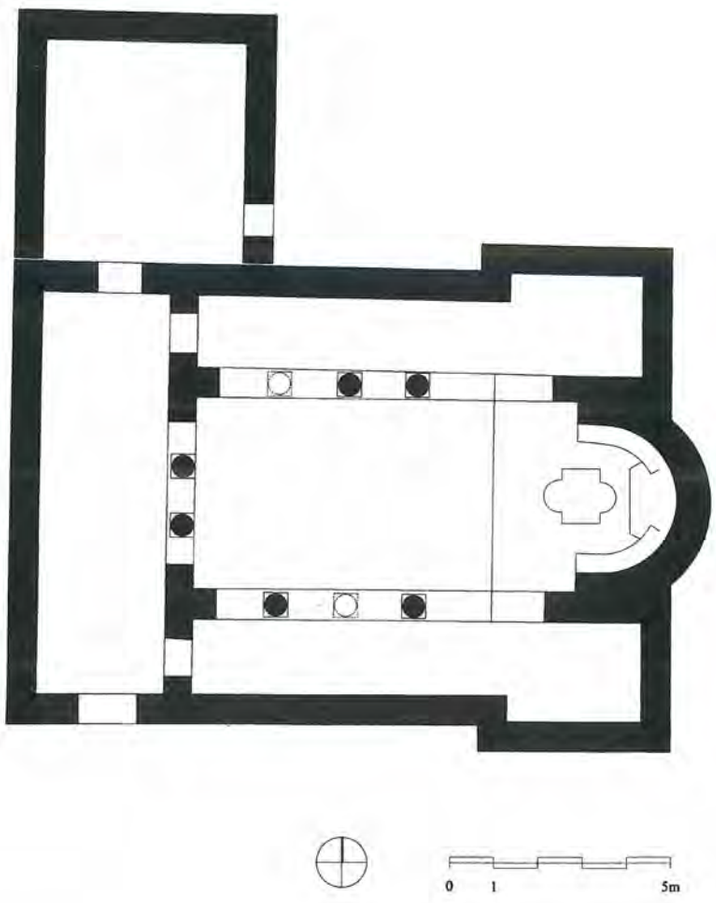
Approximately 4 kilometers south of Kamenica, FYROM, on the location known as Begov Dab, the remains of a small basilica came to light (fig. 240).[125] Despite its small size – 11.5 × 17.5 meters in plan – the church is of considerable interest for a

239 Ćurline, Basilica; plan



number of reasons. A three-aisled basilica, it had a miniscule nave, 5 meters wide, and only 7 meters long. The main vessel was separated from the north and the south aisles by an arcade supported on three columns. A tribelon, supported on two columns, separated the nave from the narthex. The oblong narthex had a floor of square brick tiles and was apparently entered through a single door on the south side. On the opposite, north side it was connected through a similar door with a square room (6.5 × 6.5 m) of unknown function. A simple templon, featuring four colonnettes and four parapet slabs, separated the nave from the sanctuary. The central opening was topped by a monolithic arch whose face was decorated with crosses and six-pointed stars. The massive parapet slabs had only simple large crosses on their main faces. The sanctuary was enclosed by an apse, semicircular both on the interior and on the exterior. The apse, merely 3.7 meters wide, had a small synthronon and a central throne, judging by the surviving foundations. On the north and on the south sides, the main part of the sanctuary was enclosed by two rectangular chambers, with which it freely communicated. The two chambers were also linked directly with the side aisles. Because they have no apses of their own, the two chambers do not look like conventional pastophories. Also, because they have a width greater than that of the side aisles, they resemble miniature arms of a "tripartite transept" present in some of the larger basilicas. The church, built of crude fieldstone and brick (mostly used for arches and openings), was outfitted with architectural elements produced of local sandstone. Thus, neither the choice of materials nor the quality of workmanship suggest the participation of non-native builders. In sum, the small basilica at Kamenica may be perceived as a paradigmatic case of a church constructed under the auspices of local patrons of relatively limited means by local builders exposed to the new ideas current during the sixth century. Basilicas of this type abound on all territories in the Balkans. Discussing any number of them at greater length would not contribute significantly to our understanding of the larger phenomena that remain the main goal of this book.

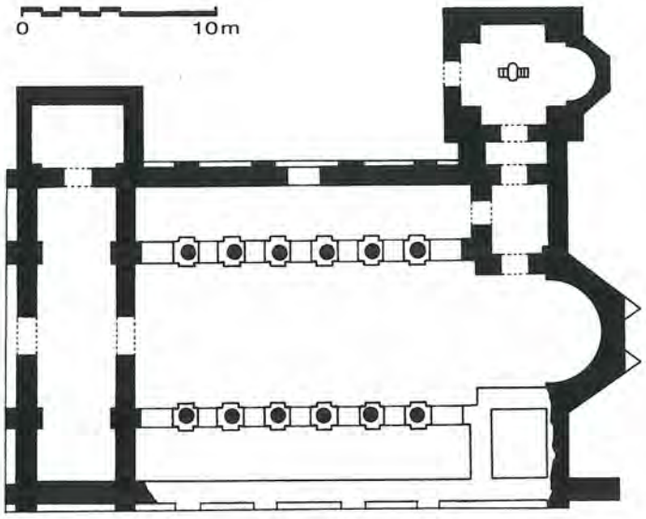
240 Kamenica, Basilica; plan



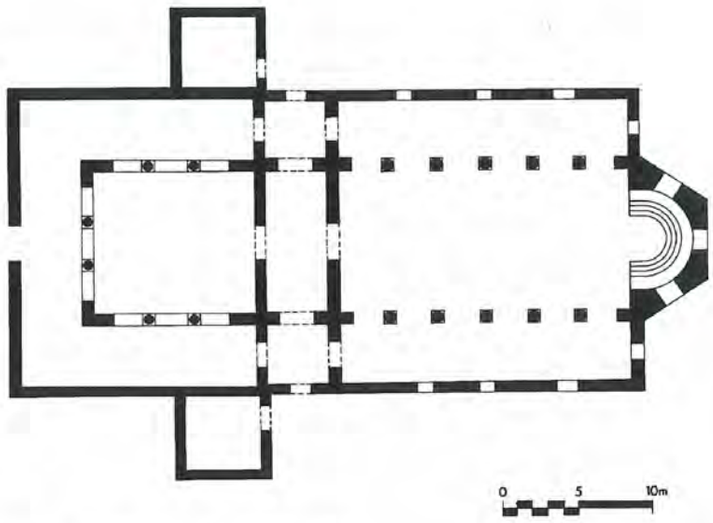
EASTERN BALKANS

The eastern areas of the Balkans, territorially corresponding to the modern states of Bulgaria, eastern Greece, and European Turkey, likewise experienced a considerable volume of church construction. As we have seen elsewhere, the predominant church type in these areas was the basilica, though here we witness a number of modifications, suggesting an awareness of the vaulted and domed constructions employed in Constantinople and the areas under its immediate influence. The impact of Constantinople, understandably, was most readily felt in coastal towns, though for reasons of strategic relevance it appears also to have traveled inland in a number of cases.

The city of Odessos (modern Varna, Bulgaria) through most of the late antique period was the most important port on the west coast of the Black Sea. Unfortunately, very few architectural remains that could be associated with this period survive. The archaeologically retrieved architectural sculpture, now in the Varna Archaeological Museum, tells a very important story. A number of capitals preserved here reveal close ties with Constantinople through much of the sixth century. The number of the so-called Justinianic capitals, predictably, is the greatest and suggests that Varna during the first half of the sixth century must have been a major construction site with direct ties to the imperial capital. What types of building were erected at the time is not known, but most certainly some of them must have been churches. The architectural remains in Varna itself that have come to light are few.[126] A basilica excavated in one of its suburbs, known under the modern name of Pirinch Tepe, fills this gap, at least in part.[127] The basilica at Pirinch Tepe is a three-aisled building whose floor-plan dimensions of 17.5 (without lat-



241 Pirinch Tepe, Basilica; plan

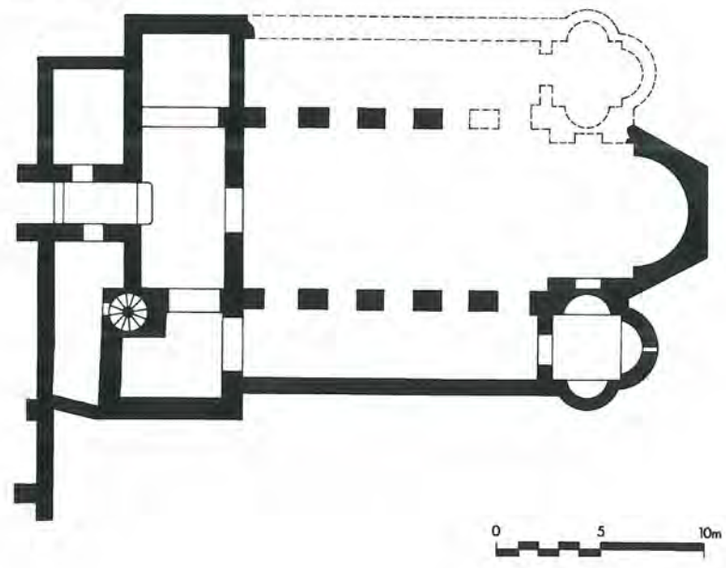


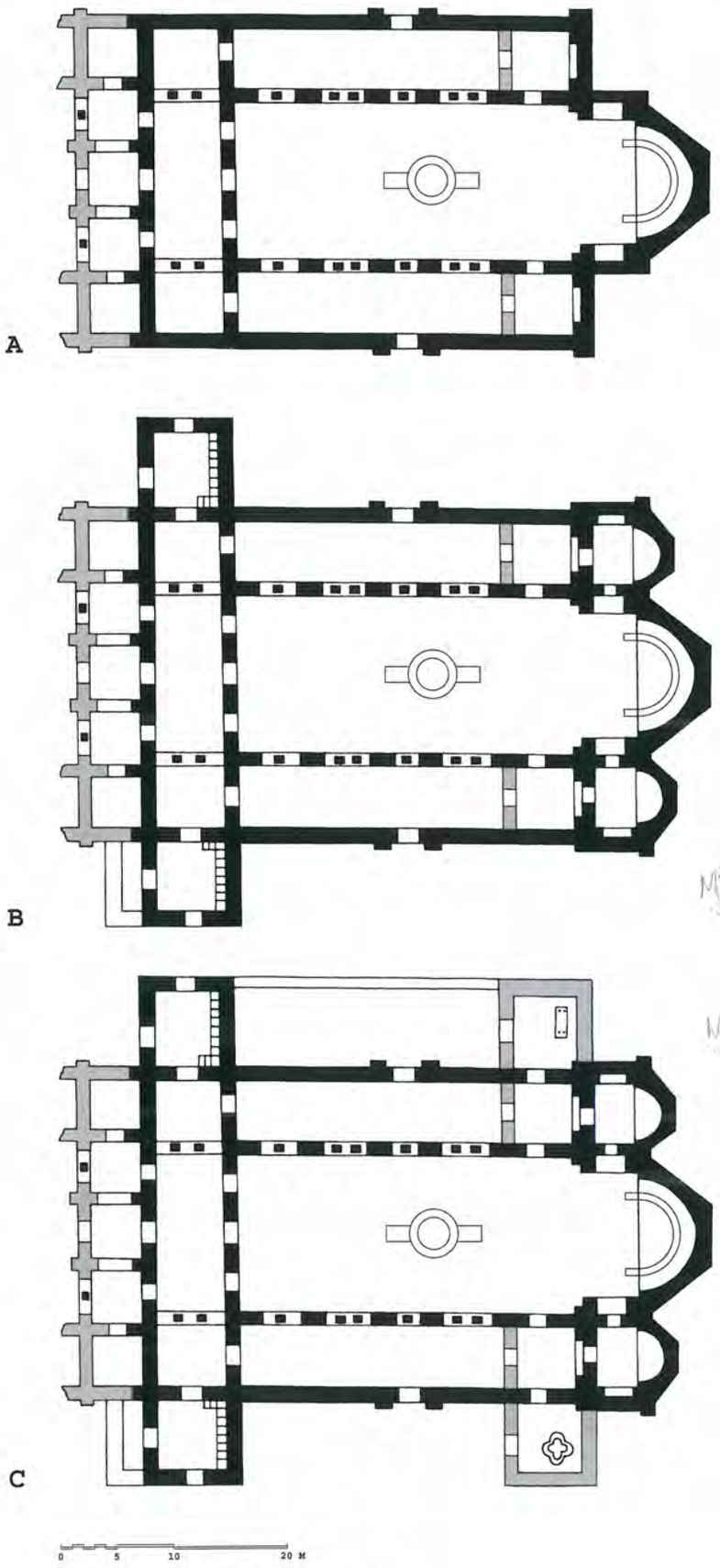
242 Mesembria, Old Metropolis; plan

erally projecting chambers) by 31 meters place it in the category of middle-sized basilicas (fig. 241). Its nave is separated from the side aisles by six piers (initially columns) in each arcade. The main part of the building is preceded by an oblong narthex flanked by pastophories, on its north and the south sides that project beyond the width of the building. At the east end of the side aisles appears a pair of square rooms that may have functioned as vestibules of the adjacent structures, just outside the basilica proper. That on the south side has been destroyed, but the remains of the one on the north side – a square room with a small apse, semicircular on the interior and three-sided on the exterior – indicate that it was a baptistery equipped with a floor font in its center. There is no doubt that this room was vaulted, as was the rest of the east end of the basilica.

Though considerably smaller than the main port of Varna, the town of Mesembria (Nessebur, Bulgaria), to its south along the Black Sea coastline, was also a prosperous community during the sixth century. Architectural remains explored here reveal an impressive level of architectural activity. The best-preserved of the monuments probably belonging, at least in part, to this period is the so-called Old Metropolis (fig. 242). It has been interpreted as having had two distinct building phases: the first, datable to the sixth century, the second, to the tenth.[128] Initially laid out as a three-aisled basilica with a narthex and an atrium, the Old Metropolis was most closely related to the Studios basilica in Constantinople (see p. 98, fig. 91). The main part of the basilica, 20 meters wide and 30 meters long, was approximately three-fourths the size of its Constantinopolitan counterpart and, as such, in keeping with the typical size of basilicas built during the period in question. With its squat proportions, the side aisles half as wide as the nave and also accessible from their eastern ends, and a large apse, semicircular inside with a four-tiered synthronon and three-sided on the exterior, the Old Metropolis was unmistakably a Constantinopolitan import. The same may be said of its building technique, which features alternating bands of multiple courses of stone and brick. Not far from the Old Metropolis, sitting on the waterfront, are the remains of the so-called Basilica-by-the-Sea.[129] Three-aisled in plan, this is only slightly smaller in size (width 18 m, length 28 m) (fig. 243). In contrast to the Old Metropolis, the Basilica-by-the-Sea

243 Mesembria, "Sea Basilica"; plan





244 Pliska, Great Basilica, phases I–III; plan

apparently was built with piers, instead of columns, from the outset. Furthermore, the eastern ends of its aisles terminated in a pair of triconch chapels, covered by blind domes. The degree of separation between the nave and the side chapels, along with the presence of the two domed chapels, suggests that there was a functional separation between the nave and the side aisles, recalling the solutions seen in several other "basilican" churches in the interior of the Balkans.

Since its discovery in 1899, the Great Basilica at Pliska, as we have seen, has been interpreted as the work of King Boris, shortly after the conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity in 864. As argued at the beginning of this chapter, this and the related conclusions have been based on erroneous assumptions that require a comprehensive revision of the problems at hand. A general alternative outline of possible ways of interpreting the architectural activity at Pliska calls for recognition of an Early Byzantine phase *before* the Bulgarian conquest and interventions. The Great Basilica, according to our opinion, falls within the category of Early Byzantine constructions. Built, as has been seen, on the site of an early Christian martyrium, the Great Basilica became the focus of a large fortified monastic complex with a related episcopal palace. The basilica itself was a very large building, measuring 30 × 51 meters (figs. 244 A–C).[130] Constructed in two, or possibly three major stages, in its initial form the basilica may have been the work of Emperor Anastasios I, *circa* 500. At that stage it was a simple three-aisled basilica with a deep, probably vaulted sanctuary, terminating in a characteristically Constantinopolitan, externally three-sided apse. As such, this solution would have recalled Basilica III at Romuliana (fig. 234) and Hagia Sophia at Serdica (fig. 213). Its interior featured a system of alternating piers and columns, possibly required by the shortage of large columns at the time of construction, or possibly by the relatively large span of the nave (14 m). The church had a large ambo situated in the center of the nave, as attested to by its partially preserved stone foundations. It had a large synthronon with a passageway behind it. Both the synthronon and the ambo point strongly to the Early Byzantine origins of the basilica. Somewhat later, probably closer to the middle of the sixth century, the basilica may have acquired pastophories, also marked by externally three-sided apses. This arrangement of the east end, including also a pair of the so-called *mitatoria* associated with a chamber (known as *mitatorion*) used exclusively by Byzantine emperors in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, underscores Constantinopolitan links. At the same time, or possibly later, but still within the sixth century, the Great Basilica may have acquired a square baptistery with a floor font, south of the southern *mitatorion,* and a chapel (possibly a martyrium) in an identical location on the opposite, north side. The "martyrium chapel" was linked by a

passageway resembling another aisle to the narthex of the basilica, thus providing unobtrusive access, presumably for pilgrimage traffic.

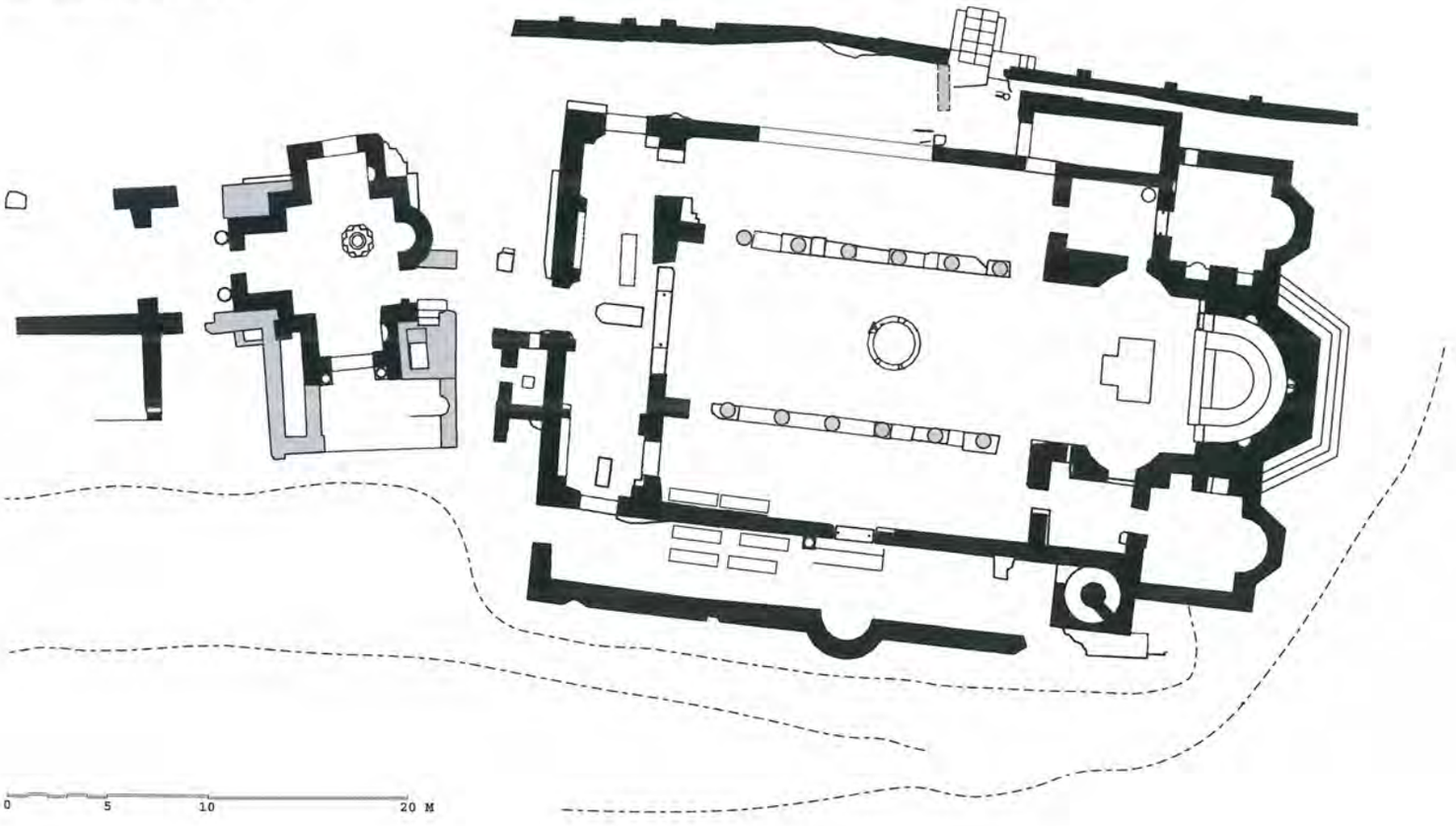
SOUTHERN BALKANS

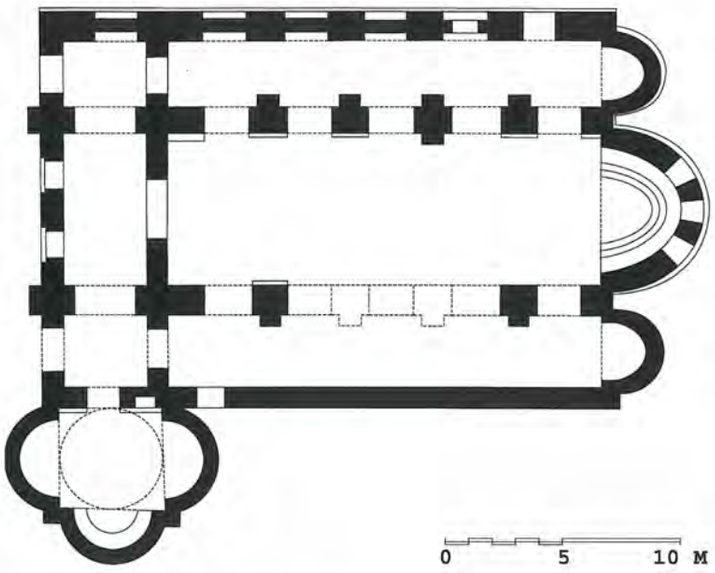
The so-called basilica of Hagios Nikon, situated in the acropolis of ancient Sparta, Greece, is a building that has given rise to many speculations regarding its dating. The church is related in several ways to the Great Basilica at Pliska, while both are of uncertain date. Dating ideas for Hagios Nikon fluctuating from the sixth century to the tenth have been proposed, though a late antique date is now generally favored. Hagios Nikon is a medium-sized three-aisled basilica, measuring 17.5 × 33.5 meters in plan (fig. 245).[131] Even by virtue of its scale, it matches most closely several other churches built during the sixth century. It is the disposition of its bema, however, that suggests a date that must be after *circa* 550. The bema in this case is almost square in plan (7.5 × 7.5 m). Flanked by massive walls, more than 1.5 meters thick, the bema is marked by two shallow lateral niches, 2.5 meters in width. The main apse, 5.6 meters in diameter, accommodates a synthronon with a passageway, 0.80 meters wide, running behind it. The apse has a three-sided exterior, as do the small apses of the two square chambers that flank the east end of the bema. In placement these resemble pastophories, but whether they had such a liturgical function at the time of their creation is not clear. Fronting these two rooms are two smaller rectangular ones that seem to be vestibules of the two eastern chambers. Occasionally, these are referred to by the mistaken name of *mitatoria*, as has been done in the case of the Great Basilica at Pliska. The thickness of the bema walls suggests that it was vaulted, as opposed to the nave and the side aisles, which must have had timber roofing. Whether a dome may have been employed over the central part of the bema cannot be determined.

Vaulted and Domed Basilicas

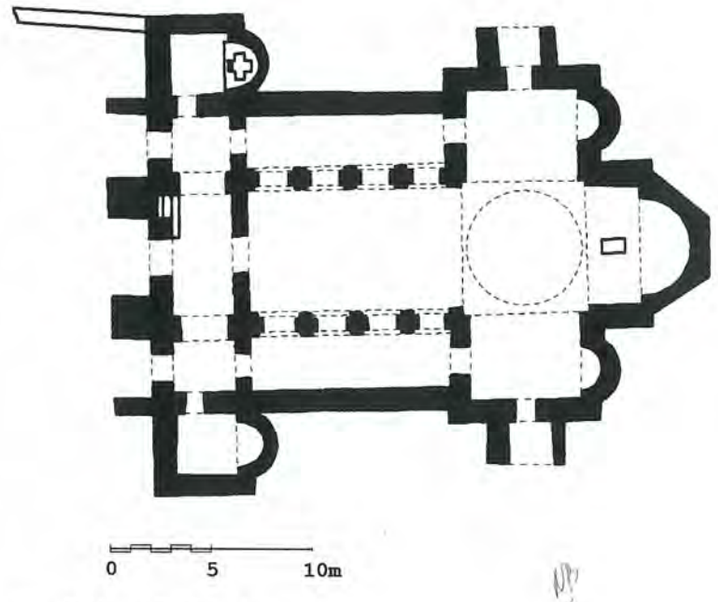
An aspect of church architecture that most sharply distinguishes sixth-century developments is the introduction of vaulting. As we have seen, wooden-roofed basilicas continued to be built in large numbers, but at the same time new church types related to structural needs mandated by the inclusion of vaulting began to appear. Distinguished by massive supports – thicker walls and

245 Sparta, H. Nikon; plan





246 Golĭamo Belovo, Basilica; plan

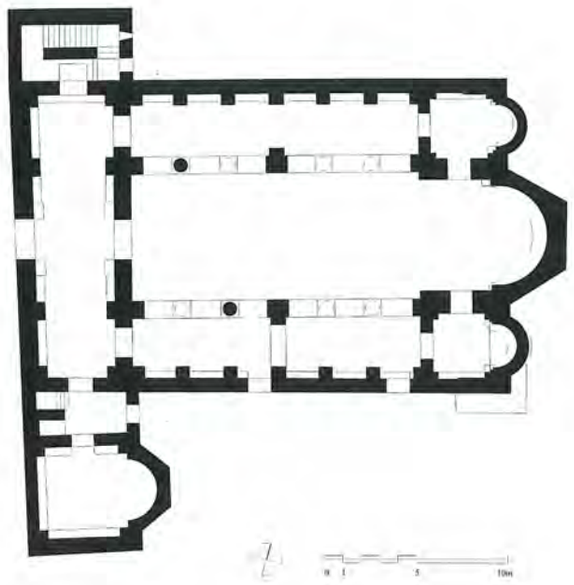


247 Rakitovo, Basilica; plan

piers in place of columns – buildings in this category easily stand apart from their predecessors. Notwithstanding such changes necessitated by the greater weight of vaulting, certain general characteristics of basilican planning persisted in the newly evolving architecture nonetheless.

An example of the relationship referred to above may be seen in the basilica at Golĭamo Belovo, Bulgaria. Situated on a high plateau below the Spasovitsa peak of the Rodope mountain range overlooking the Thracian plain, this impressive church has attracted considerable scholarly attention.[132] A three-aisled basilica in plan, the church has a width of 17.5 meters and a length of 30 meters (fig. 246). Its nave is separated from the side aisles by two rows of four massive piers supporting five arches of the erstwhile arcade. The side aisles as well as the nave terminate in apses, roughly semicircular internally and externally. The appearance of apses in conjunction with side aisles has been thought of as being related to the introduction of the so-called pastophories. This, however, is demonstrably not the case here, as it was not at the Basilica Euphrasiana in Parentium (Porec) (see above, p. 223f). The church did not have an axial entrance leading into its narthex. As was the case with many fifth-century basilicas in mainland Greece, the position of the central portal may have been occupied by a fountain, though the archaeological evidence for the latter is lacking. The same may be said for an atrium that may well have preceded the building. A trefoil structure, possibly a baptistery, at the southwest corner was a later addition. The building was apparently fully vaulted. Its walls were predominantly made of brick, although stone rubble was also used. The original function of the church remains unknown. The possibility of it having been an episcopal seat, serving several surrounding communities, including the fortified settlement on the Spasovitsa peak, has been suggested. Indeed, this may be another example of a countryside episcopal church affiliated with a monastery.

Another important related church has recently come to light in the village of Rakitovo, also in the Rodope mountain range, and near the location of Nikulitsa, or monastery of "Sv. Nikola," Bulgaria (fig. 247).[133] The basilica of Rakitovo is of particular relevance for our understanding of the development of sixth-century Byzantine architecture. Of comparable dimensions to Golĭamo Belovo, the basilica of Rakitovo measures 17 × 30 meters in plan. In this case, the building had the form of a three-aisled basilica with a type of a transept. Its 6.5-meter-wide nave was separated from the side aisles by two rows of three cruciform piers. The arms of the transept projected very slightly beyond the width of the main part of the church. Each transept arm was marked by a small eastern apse, semicircular internally and externally. Though roughly aligned with the side aisles, the transept arms had separate entrances from the exterior of the building and, indeed, may have functioned as separate chapels. At the same time, they were completely open toward the nave, with which they formed a square crossing bay that, in all likelihood, was crowned by a dome. The sanctuary featured a barrel-vaulted bay before the main apse, which was semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. The basilica at Rakitovo illuminates a stage in the experimental process aimed



248 Pirdop, Elenskata Basilica, phase II; plan

at integrating a dome into a basilican structure. The solution seen here most closely fits the description of what is referred to as a "domed basilica." The type, for a variety of reasons, never acquired a high degree of popularity and was shortly superseded by other solutions.

The so-called Elenskata (Stags) Basilica at Pirdop, Bulgaria, east of Sofia, is a major sixth-century example of large-scale rebuilding. Initially built as a three-aisled, timber-roofed basilica with triple semicircular apses at its eastern end, sometime in the course of the fifth century, it was substantially remodeled in the sixth century.[134] The basilica measures 17 × 30 meters in overall dimensions, not including the western chambers attached to the flanks of its narthex. The remodeling involved not only the insertion of massive piers into columnar arcades, but also moving the entire west wall of the basilica westward to accommodate two full square bays in the nave (fig. 248). Both of these were vaulted, the eastern one almost certainly domed. As such, the church would have resembled Hagia Eirene in Constantinople as it appeared *circa* 562. The sanctuary of the new church was also upgraded. Its central apse, semicircular internally and three-sided externally, was preceded by a deep barrel-vaulted bay in keeping with Constantinopolitan practice. The depth of this bay corresponded to that of two lateral square chapels at the eastern ends of the side aisles. These chapels were covered by domical vaults, as indicated by the preserved traces of such a vault on the north side. Because the church also had galleries, there was a corresponding pair of domed chapels on the upper floor. The galleries were accessible by means of stairs accommodated within towers flanking the narthex on the north and south sides. Projecting beyond the southern of these towers was a square baptismal chapel, retained from the first phase. Brick was the main building material used in the second phase, suggesting that the builders, who undoubtedly came from elsewhere, probably set up kilns for the production of brick in the vicinity, though the traces of such kilns have not been found. At the same time they evidently did not rely on local stone cutters for the production of standard ashlars that could have been combined with brick masonry, as was commonly done elsewhere. Three other contemporary buildings on the territory of present-day Bulgaria – the basilica at Goliamo Belovo, the church of Sv. Sofiia in Sofia, and the so-called Red Church at Perushtitsa were also built almost entirely of brick. On the basis of the virtually total reliance on stone as the building material of choice, as seems to have been the case at Pliska, we are led to the conclusion that Byzantine builders readily adapted themselves to local circumstances. This implied reliance on those materials that were most readily available, in departure from what they may have held to be the "ideal" methods of construction, as seen in Constantinopolitan buildings.

Cross-Domed Churches

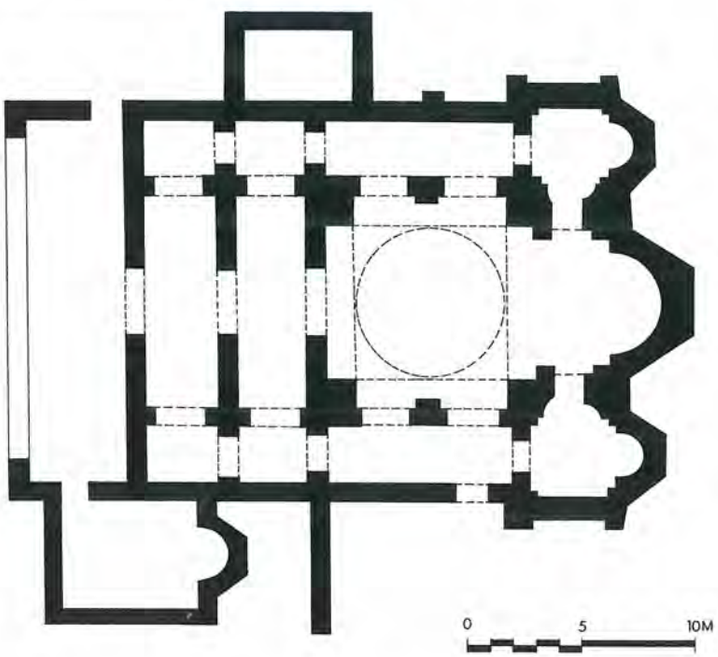
An integral part of the problem of the introduction of a domed spatial unit into the architecture of a basilica was the issue of adequate buttressing. A dome, unlike a barrel vault, exerts lateral forces radially, in all directions. Because of the intrinsic nature of the supporting system invented to carry it, involving four pendentives between the four main arches, the buttressing issue could be partially resolved by masonry surcharges above the pendentives. Generally, these take the form of a cubical element that visually forms a pedestal upon which the dome appears to rest (fig. 198). The weak points of such a solution are at the apexes of the four arches, where the mass of the "pedestal" is practically nonexistent. Major deformations and collapses experienced in great buildings, such as Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene in Constantinople, must have led to intensive rethinking of the intrinsic structural problems. The resolution was found in the deepening of the four arches upon which a dome rests. This involves adding four more massive piers, resulting in the core of a church naos acquiring a characteristic form known as the "cross-domed" element. The notion of the "Cross," it will be noted, as argued above in conjunction with Hagia Eirene, was driven not by symbolic considerations but by strictly technical concerns.

In addition to several domed basilicas, with their widely varied solutions to the issues just articulated, we will turn our attention to three churches in which it is possible to observe the

shaping of the structural resolution along the lines outlined above. The excavated remains of a basilica at Gjuricaj, Albania, reveal characteristics that point strongly to the probability that it belongs to the Justinianic era, despite the presence of some features that might suggest an earlier date.[135] Its three-aisled layout is characterized by extremely squat proportions with a broad but short naos terminating in a large apse, semicircular internally and polygonal externally. The building was preceded by an atrium whose exact disposition and length have not been recovered. The naos is separated from the side aisles by two parallel massive foundations, by far the largest in the building. These carry the remains of four large brick piers, whose function was to support the dome that once must have risen over the naos. The layout of this plan, the exclusive use of brick for the main piers, and the presence of high-quality, albeit *retardaire* architectural sculpture, suggest that this basilica may have been the work of architects either directly from the capital or from another location closely associated with Constantinopolitan practice. The church must have belonged to a small group of domed basilicas, whose presence in areas removed from the capital, generally speaking, was quite rare.

The remains of a domed basilica discovered in the 1980s at the village of Kramolin (near Lovech, ancient Melta), Bulgaria, constitute one of the most important recent architectural discoveries related to the sixth century.[136] Located on the northern slopes of the Balkan (ancient Haimos) mountain range, the basilica at Kramolin is one of the northwesternmost new church types associated with the era of Justinian. Situated on a high plateau, fortified already in the sixth century and again in the later Middle Ages, the site was related to the main north–south and east–west roads passing through the area. The basilica, measuring 17 × 29.5 meters, belongs to the general category of medium-sized basilican churches of this period that are nearly identical in their overall dimensions (Rakitovo, Belovo, and Pirdop). Despite similarities in dimensions, the Kramolin basilica displays some significant differences in its general layout. Although conceptually related to the three-aisled basilican scheme, the Kramolin church had a very different interior arrangement (fig. 249). Preceded by what may have been an atrium, the church also had two narthexes of identical dimensions. Three large portals, axially aligned, led through these spaces into the square naos, the corners of which were defined by four massive piers. Judging by the articulation of the four piers, four arches, 1.3 m deep, carried a dome, 6.5 meters in diameter. The sanctuary consisted of a deep bay fronting the main apse (4.5 m wide), which was semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. The sanctuary was laterally connected with a pair of symmetrical chambers each with its own apse identical in form to the main apse, but much smaller. It is very likely that these chambers may have been pastophories in the true sense of the word. The church, evidently, also had galleries, as may be gleaned from the remains of a stair tower attached to the north flank of the inner narthex. All indications suggest that the building must have come into being during the second half of the sixth century. The discovery of the domed basilica at Kramolin adds credence to the hypothesis that the first phase of the present church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki should be dated to the late sixth century or very early seventh (see Chapter 5).

249 Kramolin, Domed Basilica; plan



Cruciform Basilicas and Variations

Cruciform churches as a distinctive type began to appear in the fourth century. Although they continued to be built through the fifth century and into the sixth, their popularity remained relatively low. The reasons for such low popularity, despite the presumed symbolic advantages the type may have had, is not clear. Just as puzzling is the apparent ambiguity concerning the functions this building type may have been especially suitable for. Perhaps more than any other issue, the uncertainties surrounding cruciform churches should alert us to the risks of research methods focused exclusively on the formal and symbolic aspects of church buildings. In singling out this category of buildings, we must note that their chief characteristic is the fact that two, essentially identical volumes (i.e., two single-aisled, or two three-

250 Paros, Katapolianē; present state from E

aisled basilicas) intersect each other at right angles. Such an intersection results in the making of a unique spatial unit, square in plan and generally referred to as the "crossing." A crossing may be marked by an externally visible feature (a dome, a tower) that rises higher than the rest of the building. The earlier perception in scholarship that saw this building type as a source of domed churches has long since been proven wrong. The type – if "type" is a correct term in the first place – was an exceptional category from the very beginning and was still so in the sixth century, while it essentially disappeared altogether in later times.

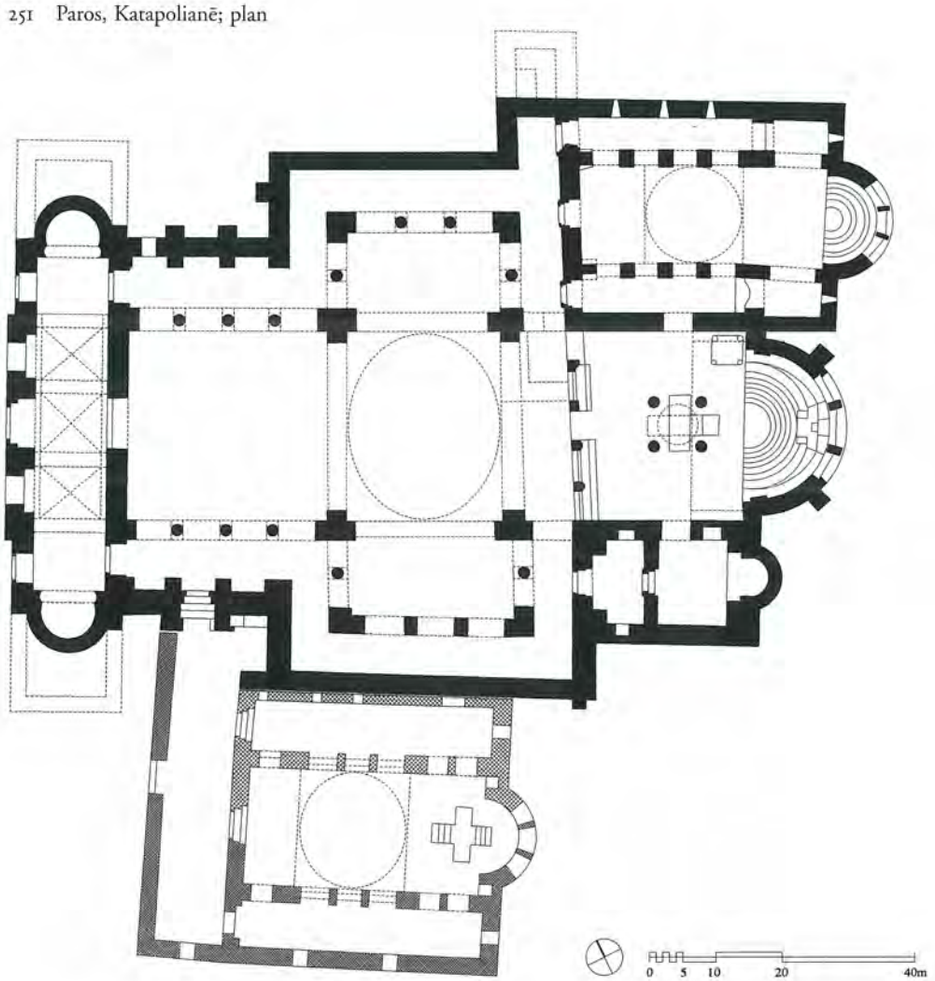
The large complex of double churches built in the early fifth century as the centerpiece of Christian Salona was further modified by the replacement of the southern of the two basilicas by a new cruciform basilica (fig. 127).[137] The rebuilding took place in the years 530–33, under Bishop Honorius II, and was apparently occasioned by the convening of local Church Councils in Salona. Dedicated to St. Domnius and other Salonitan martyrs, this church clearly served a different function from the north basilica, which continued to function as the city cathedral. The cruciform basilica, measuring 42 × 47 meters, abuts the cathedral, although it does not share its neighbor's exterior wall. A large door (3 m wide) connected the north transept wing of the cruciform church with the cathedral, obviously for the purpose of accommodating ceremonial processions. If the function of this building may be assumed to be related to the meeting of local Church Councils, the basilican cross arms must have been created for the purpose of accommodating the participants. Despite the fact that the crossing was marked by four massive

piers, it is very unlikely that there was a dome or tower there. The piers are not properly aligned, which would have seriously compromised their structural role. The church must have retained wooden roofing, which characterized the fifth-century church it replaced. The cruciform basilica and the adjacent cathedral were joined by an enormous narthex, 63 meters long, constructed at the time of the rebuilding of the south church.

The church of Katapolianē in Paros, Greece, has been described as "the cross plan of Holy Apostles . . . fused with that of a basilica," its transept arms being shorter than the nave and sanctuary bay (fig. 250).[138] As such, of course, it does not qualify as a genuinely "centralized" church. Such distinctions notwithstanding, its layout does suggest links with mainland architecture, possibly with Ephesos, rather than Constantinople itself. The building, measuring 25 × 39 meters in plan, is fully vaulted with a large dome upon a drum occupying the central position in the cruciform-shaped building (fig. 251). Built predominantly of stone, this is a work of well-informed, but probably local builders. The solution is impressive, especially from the structural point of view, for it reveals a daring use of relatively slender piers and walls, suggesting, in fact, that the builders did not have direct contacts with the achievements in Constantinople and its circle of influence. Equally interesting here are the two accompanying domed basilicas, each relatively large in its own right, though smaller than the main building. The southern basilica was built as the baptistery, though both its architectural type and the placement of the font within its main apse depart radically from solutions elsewhere. The northern, now dedicated to St. Nicholas, measuring 10.5 × 18 meters in plan, according to some may be older than the main church. It is a genuine example of a fully vaulted, galleried basilica. Its nave separated from the aisles by columnar arcades, the church has a bema segregated from the naos by a pair of piers and an intervening "templon." Both Hagios Nikolaos and the main church have fully preserved synthronons *in situ*.

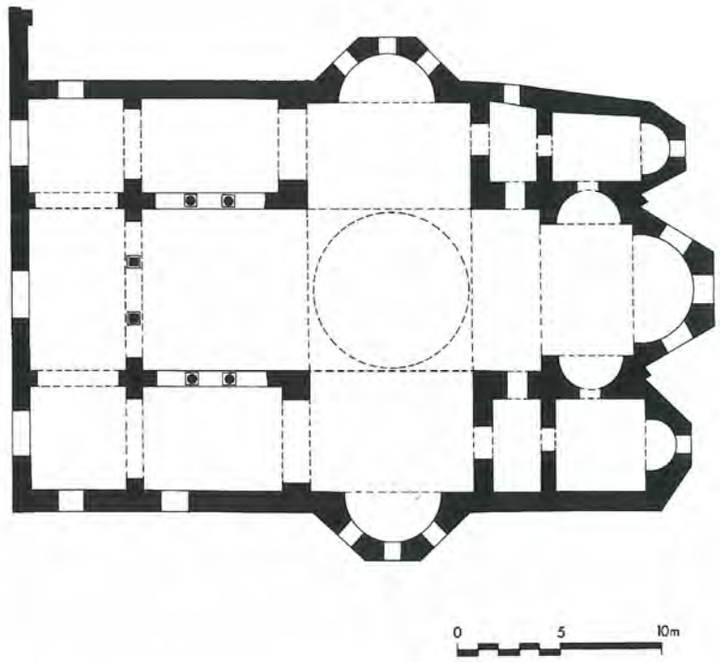
Another large church, whose plan unfortunately remains only partially known, has come to light at Letsena, north of Chora on the island of Chios, Greece. Dedicated to Hagios Isidoros,

251 Paros, Katapolianē; plan



this church underwent a series of rebuildings and enlargements in the course of the fifth, sixth, and possibly seventh centuries.[139] Though the precise form of this building eludes us, it is clear that it was very large (the main apse, semicircular internally and three-sided externally, has a diameter of 10.5 m) and that it contained the remains of an important saint, presumably also functioning as a pilgrimage center. Especially relevant in relationship to the main church of Katapolianē was the surprising discovery of another monumental cruciform basilica in Rodos (Rhodes), on the island of Rhodes, Greece.[140] The appearance of such large churches on the Aegean islands indicates very clearly that in the sixth century, as in antiquity, the islands played a vital role not only in the commercial, but also in the cultural life of the eastern Mediterranean, providing important "stepping stones" between Asia Minor and the Balkans. Their geographic position provided an important alternate cultural route, bypassing the capital itself.

Another island monument related to this group is the church of Hagios Titos at Gortyna on Crete, whose impressive remains stand at the edge of the ancient city. With its width of 26 meters and the length of 35 meters, it belongs to the category of larger middle-sized churches of this period (fig. 252). Here the concept of a domed basilica underwent further modifications. The centrally located transept has the same width as the nave, their intersection marked by four L-shaped piers, originally supporting a dome. The length of the transept matches the width of the building, but its arms in this case terminate in two large apses, semicircular on the interior and three-sided externally, whose size and character match those of the main apse. The side aisles are very short, terminated by an oblong narthex on the west side, with which they and the nave freely communicated. The eastern extensions of the two aisles, on the opposite side of the transept, comprise pairs of rooms flanking the main space of the sanctuary. The sanctuary here consists of a barrel-vaulted bay, extending directly from the domed crossing, followed by a narrower barrel-vaulted bay directly preceding the main apse. The latter bay is expanded sideways by means of two deep, 3-meter-wide conches that, together with the main apse, create the effect of a sizeable triconch serving as the church bema. Each of the conches accommodates a door leading into a small apsed chamber. The two small apses, three-sided externally, frame the main apse symmetrically and form a characteristic tripartite organization of the eastern end of the building. The particular formal organization, with the provision for direct functional linkage with the bema, has been interpreted as an early example of formulaic planning involving a tripartite sanctuary. Such planning, in turn, has been viewed as a formula reflecting certain liturgical changes, and the consequent need for pastophories, whose appearance in theory should not antedate the last quarter of the sixth century.[141] Though some such liturgical association



252 Gortyna, H. Titos; plan

is more than likely, problems in linking architectural developments such as these specifically to the late sixth-century liturgical reforms have been raised, and require further careful analysis.[142]

However this issue may eventually be resolved, the church of Hagios Titos is obviously a highly accomplished work of architecture that embodies ideas and execution of a very high level of sophistication. In addition to the arrangement of its eastern end, we need to comment on yet another of its planning solutions

253 Gortyna, H. Titos; present state from SE

that has not been taken notice of thus far. While the formal arrangement of the two lateral apses has been observed, their functional meaning has been insufficiently explored. A preserved stone sarcophagus within the northern apse appears to be part of the original solution, and as such reflects the custom articulated in the preceding century. According to that custom, notable tombs, particularly those of saints, gained places of prominence, but in a manner so as not to interfere with the primary liturgical functions of the church (pp. 213–14). Thus, Hagios Titos may be perceived as a church in which numerous current ideas were being integrated into a single statement, accounting for its extraordinary layout that shows past conventions, but also looks ahead. A final comment, concerning the construction technique of the church, is in order. Hagios Titos was built entirely of stone, its walls executed from carefully cut, perfectly fitted, and smoothly finished ashlars (fig. 253). The church shows no evidence of any debt to Constantinopolitan architecture, yet many of its details reveal a close relationship to the general trends of the period. Where did the architects of this grand building come from? While an easy answer eludes us, the temptation is to look east, to the Holy Land or Syria. The appearance of comparable sophisticated formal and technical solutions in church architecture in sixth- and seventh-century Armenia and Georgia has been discussed in the context of their own ties with Syria.[143] Syria, whose economic and cultural decline began around the middle of the sixth century, may be viewed as a possible common root of these distant, seemingly disparate, yet comparable developments. While these issues will require much more careful attention in another context, the church of Hagios Titos, for now, stands as an important reminder that sophisticated ideas and important developments in the architecture of the Balkans did not all emanate from Constantinople alone.

Triconch, Tetraconch, and Polyconch Churches

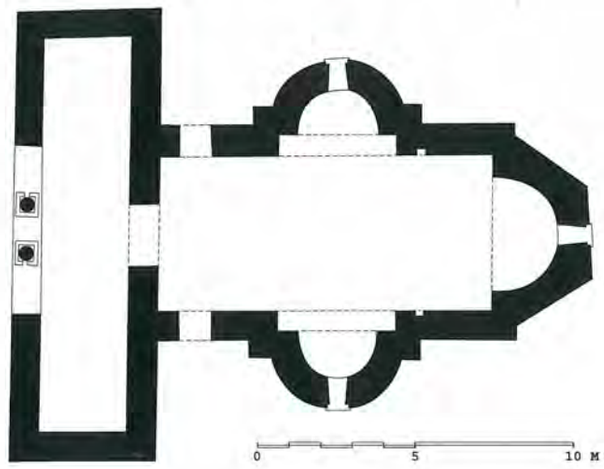
One of the characteristic aspects of sixth-century architecture in the Balkans is the relative decline in the number of centralized church buildings. At first this may appear as a paradox, but the phenomenon can be understood as a function of other changes that we have already observed. The first has to do with the declining construction and eventual disappearance of martyria as a separate building type. The other, which may be considered a corollary of the first, has to do with the increasing use of domes in conventional churches, most notably in basilicas. Without wishing to make a simple equation, it may be said that the incorporation of relics into regular churches may – in a sense – have made all churches martyria. Likewise, the increasing appearance of domes in churches could be viewed as a phenomenon directly linked to the blending of martyria with "typical" church buildings. A number of characteristic types, such as triconchs and tetraconchs, though they continued to be built during the sixth century, underwent further transformations, as well as a decline in numbers. They are grouped here together with other building types that may help shed light on the nature of the transformations taking place in this category of buildings.

Triconchs constitute one of the most common and most enduring church types over a very long time span. Numerous attempts have been made by architectural historians to group them together, but such comparative analyses have ignored their size, idiosyncrasies of disposition, relative chronology, and above all functional intent.[144] Triconchs, as we have seen, played a major role in the development of architecture in the Balkans during the fifth century. In the course of the sixth century their role became greatly diminished. They were built rarely and with essentially unchanged functional intent. Especially relevant was the continuity of their use as funerary monuments for individuals of distinction, the lateral apses commonly functioning as the setting for venerable tombs. An example of one of the triconch church types has already been discussed in conjunction with Church E at Justiniana Prima (see fig. 223). A church of identical plan and measurements, and sharing many other characteristics with Church E, was built at Kuršumlija, Serbia (fig. 254).[145] Measuring 14.8 × 18.3 meters in its greatest extent, the building's foundations were substantially reused in the twelfth century for the construction of the church of the Mother of God. Partially modified, the medieval church retained the basic sixth-century triconch form. Despite the information on the sixth-century building that has been preserved, nothing is known about its original function or dedication. In all likelihood, however, this, too, may have been a funerary church, one, or possibly both, of its lateral apses accommodating important shrines. The church was preceded by an oblong narthex flanked by two square pastophories projecting beyond the width of the main part of the church. Judging by the thickness of its walls and its relatively small size (interior span of 4.8 m), the church may have had a continuous barrel vault, though it almost certainly did not have a dome. This, along with its other architectural features, would have been part of its general conservative character.

The triconch church excavated at Doljani, near Podgorica in Montenegro, is in some ways closely related to the one at Kuršumlija, while in others it differs significantly (fig. 255).[146] The building measures 20 × 18 meters in its overall dimensions; its subsequently added atrium measures 18.5 × 18 meters. A relatively large octagon, with a span of 7 meters, whose east, north, and south sides open into three horseshoe-shaped apses, defines the center of the church. The diagonal, shorter sides of the

octagon are, in fact, angles of the four piers that, in this case, undoubtedly did support a dome. The eastern pair of these piers is externally strengthened by wall buttresses radially placed with respect to the center of the octagon. The western pair of piers, marked also by small semicircular niches cut into their faces, is buttressed by the massive walls of the abutting narthex. The narthex, internally subdivided into three bays by two pairs of spur walls, was expanded laterally by two square chambers. The northern, apsed one was unquestionably a baptistery on account of the fact that it contained a floor font. While the arrangement of the narthex with its two lateral chambers, as well as the form of the three apses – semicircular internally and externally – signals a conservative approach to church design, the fact that the church had a dome suggests a modification of the older triconch schemes in accordance with new design objectives that saw an introduction of domes into regular churches. The exact function of the triconch at Doljani is not known, though it might have been related to the cult of martyrs.

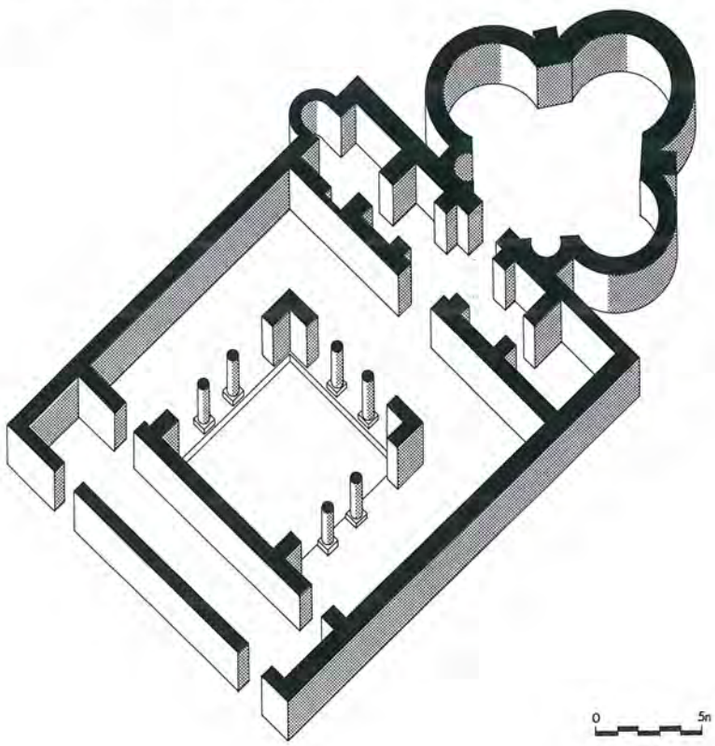
One of the most remarkable buildings of this period, on account of its unique planning scheme, came to light in the 1980s as a result of an archaeological exploration of the Baroque parish church of St. Cyprian at Gata (ancient Gedate), Croatia. Below it were uncovered the remains of a much larger sixth-century complex, including a triconch church (fig. 256).[147] The



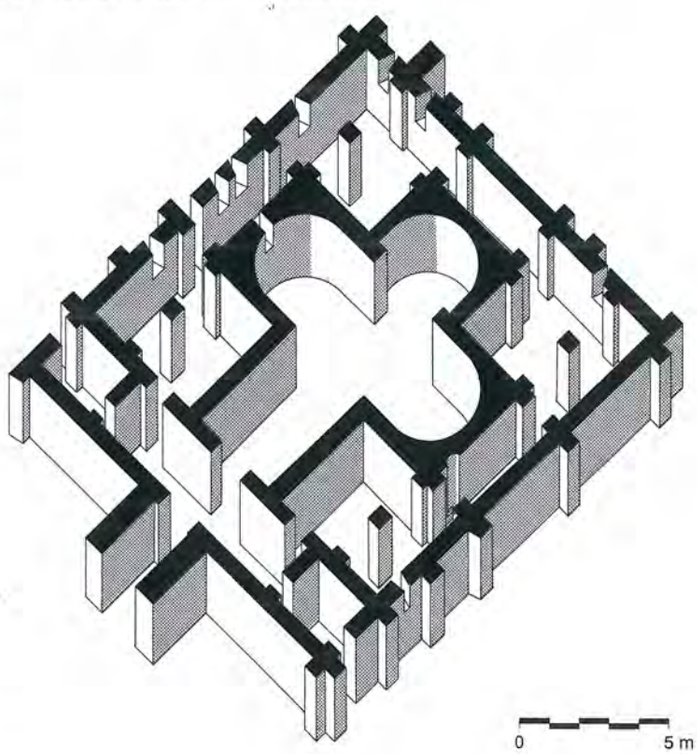
254 Kuršumlija, Triconch church; plan

entire area around Gata abounds with late antique remains, including those of two villas. The geographically complex region surrounding the River Cetina with its tributaries, before it reaches the Adriatic, is extremely fertile and secluded by tall mountains dominated by Mount Mosor. The early settlers in this area seem to have been members of Illyrian tribes, before the entire region was taken over by the Romans. The ancient name

255 Doljani, Triconch church; axonometric

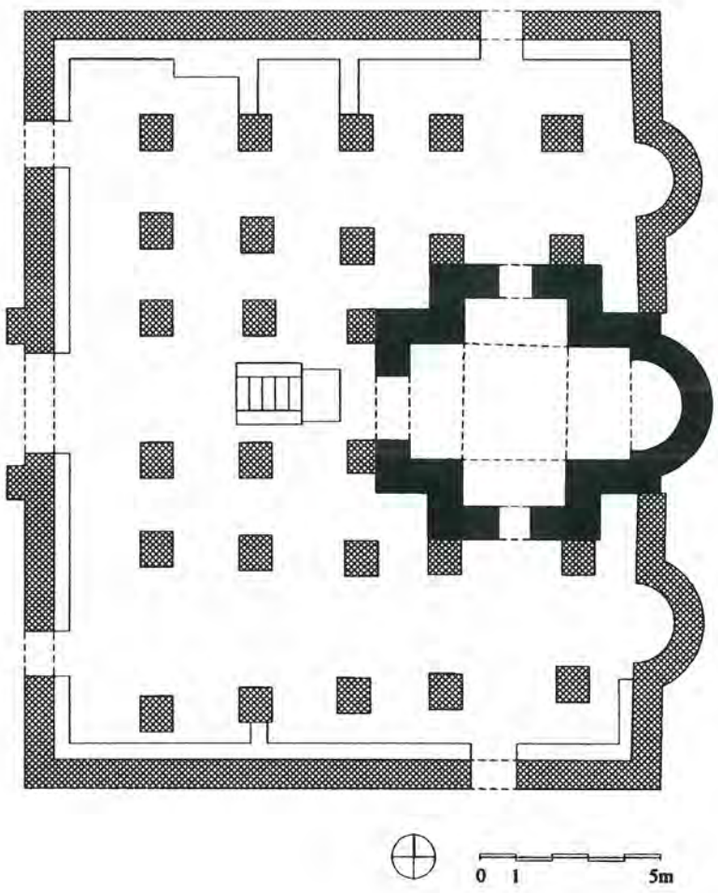


256 Gedate, Triconch church; axonometric



Gedate, from which modern Gata is derived, also appears to be Illyrian in its origin. The triconch church, possibly dedicated from the beginning to the Carthaginian martyr Cyprian, was part of a larger complex that involved a press and a cistern. The complex was insufficiently explored to provide an unequivocal answer whether the church was part of a private estate or a monastery. The church itself is of considerable interest for a number of reasons. Of relatively moderate dimensions, measuring 18 × 20 meters in plan, it consists of a rectangular outer structure and a cruciform-triconch core. The core, whose dimensions are 13 × 15 meters, features a compact triconch, whose semicircular apses measure 4.3 meters in diameter, but are 3 meters deep. Their forms are externally contained within a rectilinear outline resembling a free cross. The fourth arm of the cross is slightly longer (5.5 m). The entire cruciform core was enveloped by a continuous ambulatory of sorts, itself contained within a regular rectangular walled enclosure. Both the church and the ambulatory were accessible from a common oblong narthex. Two small rectangular chambers that may have been the ground floors of small towers flanked the narthex. The church is thought to have had galleries, which would have been accessed by wooden stairs within the two towers. Despite a considerable quantity of broken architectural sculpture found in the excavations, very little can be said about the function of the building as a whole, or of its parts. On account of similarities with fifth-century centralized churches, particularly aisled tetraconchs, it may be postulated that the plan of the church at Gata was predicated on the accommodation of pilgrimage traffic. Nor should similarities with the scheme employed in the church of Hagios Titos at Gortyna, discussed above, be ignored. It should be noted that the only door into the ambulatory, apart from those in the narthex, was on the north side. It should also be noted that the church core was segregated from the ambulatory by solid walls. A window in the northern apse may have provided visual access to a display of relics, which at least in theory, could have been displayed in a location that would have been consistent with many other examples noted elsewhere.

257 Voden, Martyrium church; plan



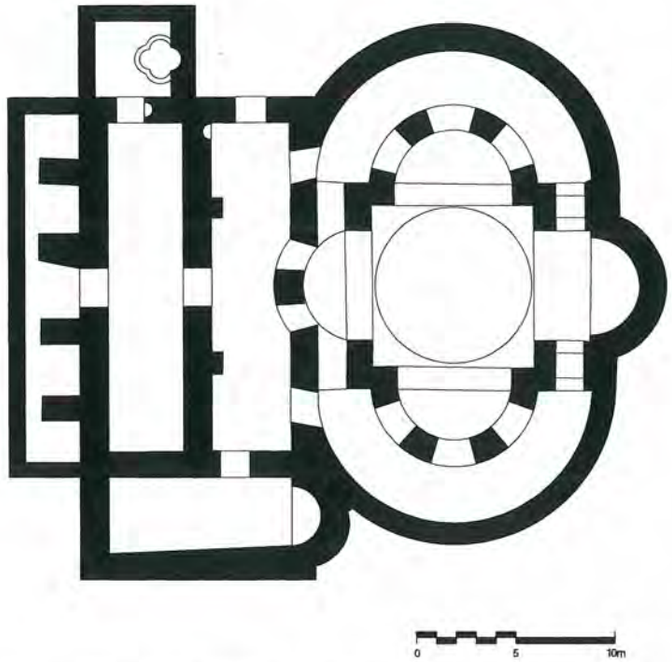
One of the hallmarks of the architecture of the church at Gata is the structurally rigorous external and internal application of pilaster strips. These indicate quite clearly that the church was fully vaulted, possibly with a dome or tower over the central crossing bay. The church, as was the case with most of the fifth- and sixth-century construction in Dalmatia, relied on roughly cut local stone set in large quantities of mortar as the main building material. The church has also preserved evidence of plastering, both externally and internally. Despite its ruined state, the church at Gata provides some invaluable insights into sixth-century architecture in this region of the Byzantine state. At the same time, it sheds new light on the question of continuity between the architecture of late antiquity and that of the early Middle Ages in Dalmatia.

The emphasis given to the subsidiary spaces at the church at Gata, which more than doubled its floor area, may, as we have seen, reflect the growing importance of pilgrimage as a widespread phenomenon in the sixth-century Balkans. This notion seems to gain additional support from a church excavated in the village of Voden, Bulgaria, in the late 1970s and 1980s (fig. 257).[148] Measuring 22 × 19 meters in plan, this church has very similar dimensions and conceptual disposition to the church at Gata. The main difference appears to be the fact that this building grew in two distinct phases. The original one, probably of a fifth-century date, though not a triconch, was a spatially related, small cruciform structure measuring about 7.5 × 9.5 meters, its eastern end marked by a small apse, round externally and internally. Below this small church is a full crypt accessible by a stair starting in front of the building itself. The crypt contains two arcosolium tombs, situated directly below the arms of the cross of the chapel above. In principle, this arrangement recalls early martyria, one of the reasons for the excavators' insistence on an

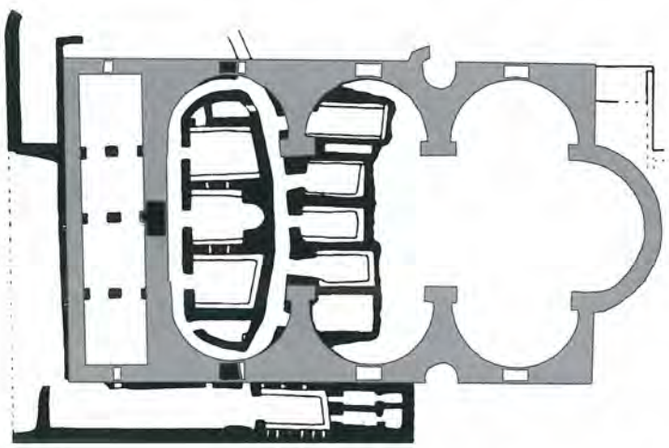
258 Peroushtitsa, "Red Church"; present view from S

erroneous fourth-century date for its construction. In the sixth century a spacious envelope laid out so as to resemble a symmetrical, seven-aisled building was built around three sides of the cruciform chapel. Two lateral wings of this addition terminate in small apses resembling that of the original chapel. In concept, the new building resembles the church at Gata, and may have shared with it the need to accommodate pilgrimage traffic. Unlike the one at Gata, the one at Voden displays a highly irregular system of massive piers, without engaged pilasters, suggesting that its vaulting system must have been considerably simpler than that in the Dalmatian example.

The so-called "Red Church" at Peroushtitsa, Bulgaria, belongs to a distinctive group of tetraconch churches, whose spread in the Balkans is of particular interest and importance.[149] Most were built during the fifth century, and as such they were discussed in the preceding chapter. The introduction of vaulting may have been one, though by no means the only cause of the decline in popularity of this particular building type. On rare occasions, as we noted in the discussion of the church of Hagia Sophia in Adrianople (p. 204, above), older, wooden-roofed tetraconch churches were modified, apparently to bring them up to date with current trends, in the course of the sixth century. The case of the "Red Church" was different. This aisled tetraconch is the only known building in the group apparently to be built with vaulting in mind from the outset. Characterized by massive walls and piers, as well as by a smaller scale than other churches in this group, the "Red Church" reflects the precautionary attitude of its builders in facing new challenges (figs. 258 and 259). Measuring 33 × 32 meters in plan, its general scheme at first suggests that its builder may have had a centralized scheme in mind. The



259 Peroushtitsa, "Red Church"; axonometric



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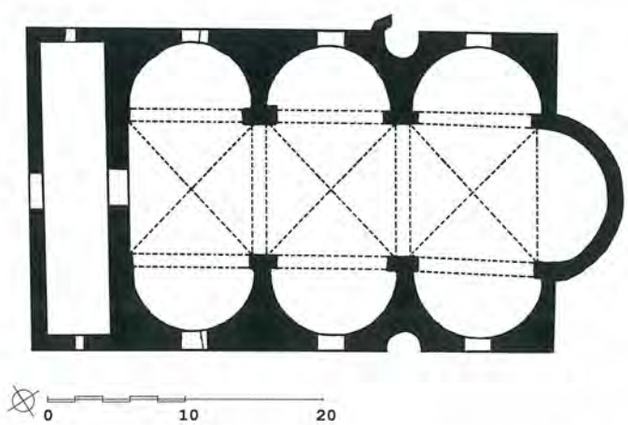


B

260 Saranda, Forty Martyrs: (A) Crypt level (B) Hypothetical reconstruction of church; plans

actual layout reveals that this was not the case. Though its naos features an almost "perfect" tetraconch, significant modifications in its form are apparent; these become especially pronounced in the parts of the building that circumvent the naos. The naos was dominated by a large dome with a diameter of 8 meters, whose physical form, unfortunately, has not been preserved. Carried on four massive L-shaped piers, the dome was directly supported by four arches and intervening pendentives. The sanctuary is expanded by a short rectangular bay and is enclosed by an apse, 4 meters in diameter, semicircular inside and outside. The opposite, western apse enclosing the naos is defined by a single massive pier in the center that supported two symmetrical arches providing access to the naos from the narthex. The arrangement is unusual, for the centrally placed pier obscures the axial view into the main part of the building and deviates from normative church planning in this period. The lateral apses, whose size and general intent are comparable to that of the western apse, feature two piers and three arches communicating with the ambulatory spaces. As in the other "aisled-tetraconchs," mostly discussed in Chapter 5, the lateral spaces of the "Red Church" were laid out concentrically with respect to the two lateral conches of the naos. This is not the case at the western side of the building, where a conventional, oblong narthex took the place of the normative concentric spaces like those seen along the building's north and south flanks. The narthex, in this case, was preceded by an exonarthex, in turn flanked by a square chamber on the north side that accommodated a floor font and by an oblong apsed chamber – possibly a diaconicon – on the south side. All parts of the building were evidently vaulted, as the pieces of vaulting surviving *in situ* indicate. The church was built almost entirely of brick. The choice of material and the methods of construction employed at Perushtitsa point to the impact of Constantinople, whose influence in this part of the Balkans was both direct and considerable.

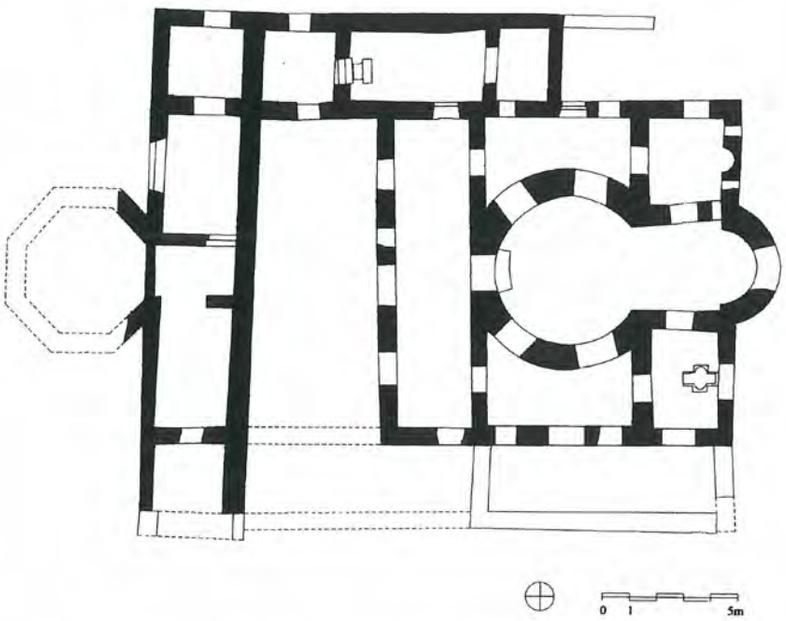
A building of particular interest in this context is the church of the Forty Martyrs at Saranda, in Albania (fig. 260).[150] This relatively large church, measuring 24 × 40 meters in plan, has a unique layout. It is essentially a polyconchal, single-aisled basilican structure ending in a large, 10-meter-wide apse, semicircular internally and externally. Six, slightly smaller apses (9 m in diameter) are symmetrically disposed – along the building flanks. All the lateral apses are embedded within the mass of the exterior walls, whose thickness at some points reaches 7 meters. Built almost exclusively of stone, the structure was undoubtedly intended to be vaulted, though the idea that the church had three domes, as suggested by Bowden and Mitchell, must not be taken for granted. The church stood as an impressive ruin until the 1930s, when it was photographed by L. M. Ugolini. Extensively destroyed since then, under circumstances that are not

entirely clear, the lowest section of its massive walls may still lie in the masonry rubble that survives on the site. Surviving portions of some of the rising walls have preserved what has been interpreted as five Greek inscriptions mentioning the names of the presumed five donors of the church. The appearance of such inscriptions mentioning donors, though known in relationship to interior mosaics, is not known on church façades, nor as being executed with pieces of roof tiles and potsherds during the period in question. The church apparently also had galleries, as attested by the two stories of round-headed windows, and by what appear to be the remains of two spiral staircases, on the north and south flanks of the building. The church was entered through an oblong narthex on the west side. In addition, all six lateral apses had doors, suggesting that it could also be entered in an unconventional way. It has been suggested that the reason for such an unusual arrangement of entrances may have been the building's role as a major pilgrimage center. This has also been seen as an explanation for another curious feature of the church – its large, complex crypt. This, in fact, may have been the *raison d'être* for the building's construction, though neither the location, nor the layout, nor the function of this crypt has a ready explanation. Situated below the west half of the building, it has no association with the sanctuary of the church – a standard characteristic of churches built over preexisting sacred sites. Its layout, involving ten separate underground, vaulted chambers, as well as a full oval ambulatory passageway linked to the main entrance into the crypt on the north side of the church, also have no counterparts anywhere, and must have been by-products of the particular religious functions that took place on this site. Unfortunately, the idea that a local legend, which mentions ten of the Forty Martyrs, who were supposedly "demons" rather than saints, can explain this phenomenon's origins must be rejected; it is probably merely a popular explanation of the church's idiosyncrasies at a time when it had already fallen into disuse. That some sort of a cultic practice was related to this crypt, however, is not in doubt, but its clarification must await more thorough investigations. The architecture of the building, by virtue of its monumental scale and its interesting, albeit unusual layout, does point to the period of *circa* 500, as proposed by its current excavators. The building technique, though at variance with those associated with Constantinople and a large part of the eastern, southern, and central Balkans, is consistent with local building practices along the Adriatic and Ionian littorals, and could be viewed as the work of local building teams using a design scheme imported from elsewhere, or under the direction of a foreign master builder, or both. Whatever the final resolution to several of the unanswered questions may be, this building will remain a major contribution to our understanding of the experimental character of architecture during the first half of the sixth century. Its unusual layout has a particularly intriguing dimension, for it points, yet again, to the remarkable similarities between churches and certain secular buildings. A particularly instructive case in this context is the similarity to the *triclinium* of the Palace of Lausos in Constantinople (fig. 79). Both buildings rely on a long basilican hall preceded by a narthex/vestibule. In both, the main hall terminates in a large apse, while two groups of three identical smaller apses open up the lateral walls of the main hall. The main differences between the architecture of the two buildings lie in the formal appearance of their exteriors. Their typological similarities, however, highlight their fundamental functional differences. Design similarities between ecclesiastical and secular architecture have been alluded to on several occasions. The present comparison underscores the need to bear this issue in mind and to recognize the still-fundamental role of secular architecture in producing innovative ideas.

Circular Churches and Baptisteries

As has been repeatedly stressed and by now should have become sufficiently evident, an overwhelming number of churches built in the sixth century were basilicas. Equally important is the fact that the incorporation of a dome as an important new element in church design did not significantly alter planning, at least not immediately. The longitudinal church layout, with its obvious axial, processional advantages, continued to be favored, at least as far as the functional implications were concerned. Domes, as we have noted, were generally considered a welcome, albeit technically troublesome, addition to church architecture. Their integration into the basilican form, as we have seen, presented many difficult problems, and – probably as a result – produced a number of variant solutions. One of these solutions involved placing the dome in a central position and providing it with bilateral buttressing by four barrel-vaulted "arms of the Cross." This solution, employed as an afterthought in the case of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople, appears to have been recognized as the optimum structural alternative for domed buildings (see p. 260 below).

Centrality of church planning, often viewed as a hallmark of Byzantine architecture, appears to have been used only with specific functional, symbolic and – by the end of the sixth century – structural purposes in mind. The formal symbolism of the Cross, implicit in some later Byzantine churches therefore ma y be a by-product of practical factors. Another point that needs to be clarified is that "perfect" centralized church planning could not be fully implemented in Byzantine churches any more effectively than it could, much later, in High Renaissance church architecture. Ultimately, it seems that our thinking about



261 Episkopē-Kissamos, Archangel Michael; plan

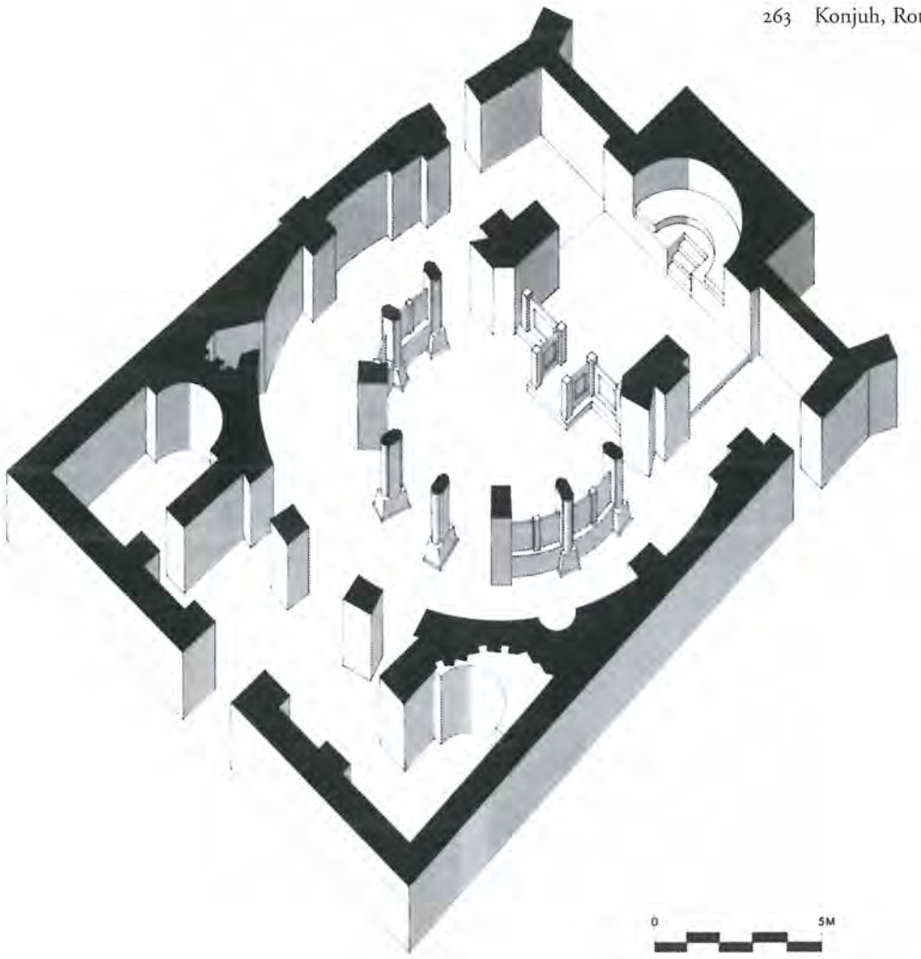
262 Episkopē-Kissamos, Archangel Michael; present state from N

Byzantine church architecture would be helped enormously if we were to be less preoccupied with the notion of "centralized planning" as a relevant criterion. Having said that, we must acknowledge that certain "centralizing" tendencies – variously motivated – did enter the general picture, and that churches of this type did play a role – albeit a limited one – alongside the far more numerous basilicas.

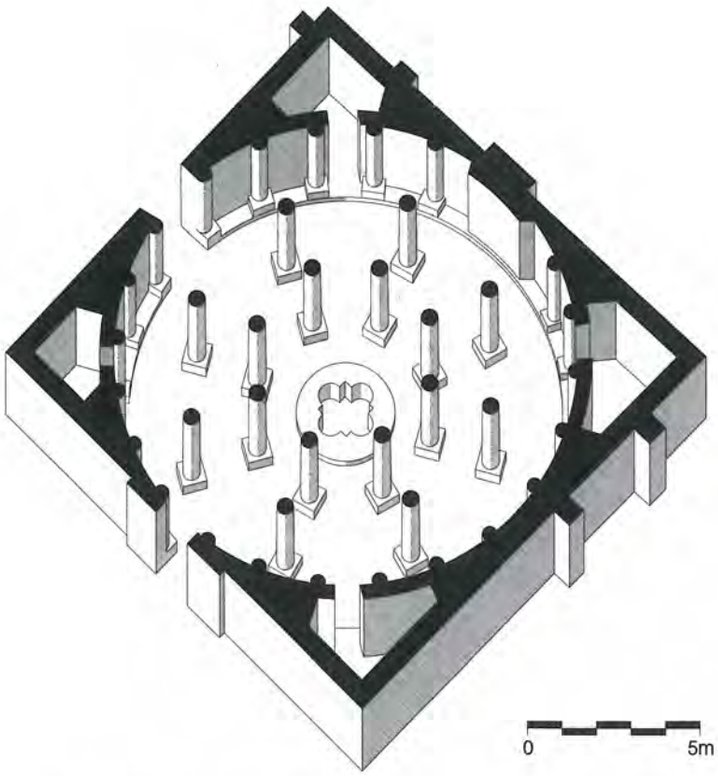
The only surviving example of a "round" church from this period, beyond the ones discussed in the main urban centers, is a small church dedicated to the Archangel Michael in the village of Episkopē, Kissamos, on the island of Crete.[151] Measuring 13 × 15 meters in plan, the church presents a simple rectilinear mass on the exterior (figs. 261 and 262). Only its curiously beehive-shaped dome rises above the relatively low building. Both the archaizing profile of the dome and its system of five large stepped ring-buttresses suggest a highly conservative approach to dome construction. The same may be said of the manner of support of the dome, which rests on a massive circular wall, 1 meter thick, recalling Roman rotundas, here perforated by six openings of varying dimensions that relate this central naos (5 m in diameter) to the surrounding rectilinear rooms. To the west, the cylindrical naos is approached through a narthex, as wide as the building itself. Along its north and south flanks the rotunda opens onto ambulatory spaces that may have functioned in a manner similar to aisles in basilican churches. To the east, it opens through a large arch into a trapezoidal sanctuary covered by a barrel vault and terminated by a semicircular apse, also visible on the exterior of the building. Flanking the sanctuary and forming the northeastern and southeastern corners of the building are two rectangular chambers communicating through arched doors with the sanctuary and with the aisle-like spaces surrounding the rotunda. Because of their position and their relationship to the sanctuary, these chambers recall similar rooms in the cathedral of Justiniana Prima (see fig. 218), where they have been referred to in scholarship as early examples of pastophories. Built entirely of rough fieldstone bonded in large quantities of mortar, the church appears to have had few decorative features of high quality. Only the partially preserved frescoes, several layers of which survive, indicate that it was painted internally already in the sixth century. The church of the Archangel Michael is preceded by an atrium, as wide as the church, but only 4.5 meters long. The atrium was enclosed on all sides by buildings whose function remains unclear. The slow process of building restoration and study may eventually provide answers as to whether the building was an episcopal center at the time of its original construction, a possibility that is also suggested by the name of the village – Episkopē. To the west of the atrium, and directly on the main axis of the church, the remains of an octagonal building, presumably a baptistery, have been uncovered. A comparable arrangement of an octagonal baptistery axially related to the cathedral church to which it is linked via an atrium was noted at Parentium (Poreč), built around the middle of the sixth century and therefore, presumably, roughly contemporary with the church at Episkopē (see p 223f, and fig. 226, above). Such similarities indicate only remote links with Constantinople, where major new ideas in sixth-century archi-

tecture were unquestionably generated. How these ideas reached such remote corners of the empire as Episkopē remains a question without a direct answer at the present.

Uncertain, though clearly non-Constantinopolitan external links appear also to mark the design and the decoration of an impressive, if isolated church of unknown dedication, called simply the Rotunda at Konjuh, FYROM.[152] Discovered on the site of a large (17 ha) late antique settlement, whose name also remains unknown, the church is of considerable interest and significance (fig. 263).[153] Conceived as a rotunda inscribed into an essentially trapezoidal plan, the church had a circular naos (under 7 m in diameter) that was undoubtedly domed. The dome was supported by four piers, situated diagonally in relationship to the east–west and north–south axes. Intervening between the four piers, except on the eastern side, were pairs of columns that supported a circular arcade. The central space was separated from the surrounding ambulatory by parapet slabs installed between the columns. On the east side the church had a conventional sanctuary with a slightly projecting entrance into the bema comprising a square bay in front of a semicircular apse with a small synthronon and an altar table in its center. The bema was accessible through two openings (on the south and north sides) from a pair of square spaces, themselves accessible from the two exterior doors. It has been postulated that these two spaces may illustrate a rudimentary form of pastophories, whose initially planned presence on the west side of the building may have been superseded during the construction of this church. Though the building survives in ruins only, from the preserved evidence it is possible to postulate that at least part of it had a second story. The remains of a spiral stair on the south side clearly indicate that there must have been a gallery. The church is notable for its low-relief architectural sculpture, which also includes animal figurative representations. All of the sculptural decoration, carved in a soft porous greenish stone, substantially differs from that associated with the major architectural centers and suggests the work of yet another local workshop. The possibility of a Syrian connection, on the basis of the overall building design, has been suggested, but this hypothesis remains to be proven.[154] Nor is the comparison between the rotunda at Konjuh and the hexagonal church at Amphipolis



263 Konjuh, Rotunda; axonometric



264 Buthrintos, Baptistery; axonometric

more convincing.[155] Thus, the Konjuh Rotunda, along with the church of the Archangel Michael at Episkopē, Kissmos, remains in a distinctive, albeit uncommon category of centralized domed buildings that made their appearance in the sixth century, but never acquired the level of importance that earlier scholarship has all too readily ascribed them.

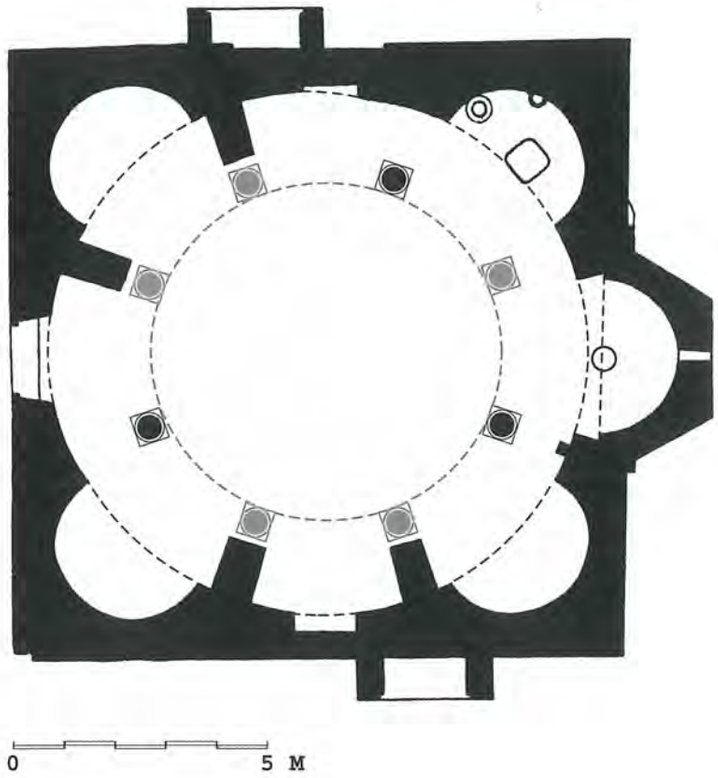
The decline in the number of centralized buildings during the course of the sixth century was brought about in large measure, as we have seen, by the disappearance of martyria as independent structures. The decline in the need for adult baptisms, as a result of advances in the Christianization of the general population, may have been yet another contributing factor. It should be stressed that the number of large-scale baptisteries built in the sixth century, in contrast to the fifth, is substantially smaller. One of the truly exceptional cases is the large baptistery at Buthrintos, Bouthroton (Butrint), Albania (fig. 264).[156] This baptistery is unique in several respects. Originally dated to the fifth century, and by some even to the fourth, it has now been securely placed within the context of the sixth century. Measuring 14.5 meters in interior diameter, the baptistery is a circular structure inscribed in an irregular square enclosure and surrounded by various rooms of uncertain function on three of its four sides. Its main, entrance façade, on the southwest side, appears to have been unattached to other structures. Among the unusual aspects of the Butrint baptistery is the fact that it does not seem to have been directly related to the city's main church, at least judging by the results of the excavations accomplished thus far. Furthermore, it may not even have been built *close* to the city's principal church. In addition, the baptistery was unusually large and complex by the standards known in the Balkans during the period. Some comparisons may be made with buildings in southern Italy, but links with those regions cannot be established with clarity, while links with Asia Minor also remain a distinct possibility. The main part of the baptistery consists of a large cylindrical enclosure, within which stand two concentric rows of columns, eight in each row. The exterior cylindrical wall is articulated by twenty-four engaged half-columns, which must have been related to the freestanding columns in the central part of the building. The baptistery is marked by a centrally located quatrefoil floor font, originally lined with marble and containing what appears to have been a smaller vessel used for baptisms by aspersion. While the latter vessel has been lost, the fact that the font is relatively shallow supports the notion that the switch to infant baptism may have been occurring at the time that the Butrint baptistery was being built. An elaborate, relatively well-preserved mosaic floor, whose stylistic characteristics show affinities with a mosaic workshop active in Nikopolis during the second quarter of the sixth century, surrounded the font. A major enigma is how the building may have been covered. The excavators are noncommittal, though they seem to prefer a "simple timber structure." The likelihood of vaults should not be dismissed, however, although this would not have been a simple task. It stands to reason, in any case, that the central eight columns would have held up a cylindrical drum that would have risen above the rest of the roof. In all likelihood it was domed, and the drum may have been perforated with windows admitting light into the interior, directly above the font. This would have been symbolically consistent with surviving baptisteries from this period. The case of a somewhat smaller sixth-century building, perhaps a baptistery, dedicated to Hagios Ioannis, on the island of Kos in the Aegean, supports the notion of vaulting having been used at Butrint as well.[157] Somewhat smaller than the baptistery at Butrint, Hagios Ioannis has an inner diameter of 10 meters (fig. 265). Its cylindrical interior is inscribed into a square exterior wall mass, the corners of which accommodate four semicircular niches, 3 meters in diameter, open to the interior of the building. Eight freestanding Ionic columns once stood 1 meter from the peripheral wall, defining the central domed space (7 m in diameter). In addition to the planning resemblances, this building is notable for its use of vaulting.

* * *

The sixth century witnessed one of the most expansive, most creative, and most diversified building sprees in the history of the Balkan peninsula. While the construction of church buildings in the fifth century may have exceeded in number that of the sixth, the overall diversified nature of construction in the sixth century is unprecedented within the, strictly speaking, Christian imperial context. The architecture of the sixth century, beginning with the patronage of Anastasios I, and continuing later with that of Justinian I, was driven by many objectives, the most visible among which was fortification architecture, appearing as it did along the threatened frontiers, around old and new cities, in the form of scattered forts, and other military and non-military outposts. Fortification architecture, very much in the spirit of the pagan Roman Empire, became the backbone, if not indeed the *raison d'être*, of architectural production altogether.

This was also the age of major design and technological innovations paralleling changes in functional needs and requirements, especially in church buildings. Eminent martyria that had played an important, highly visible role in the preceding centuries ceased to be built. Although the cult of the saints was on the rise, the accommodation of their relics within regular churches became a new norm. While this can be viewed as symptomatically related to the disappearance of martyria as a building category, it should be borne in mind that the presence of saints' relics within conventional churches made *each of these churches* into a veritable new martyrium now subsumed into a new, broader context. The rising importance of domes as an innovation in church architecture, therefore, must be viewed not only as a reflection of advances in building technology, but above all as a reflection of symbolic changes in church architecture. The basilica – the early Christian meeting hall par excellence – was gradually transformed into a symbolic "house of God," a "Heavenly Jerusalem," whose meaning became substantiated by the relics that each church now housed within its walls. By the same token, other changes in the needs of the Church also affected the course of architecture. Thus, monumental baptisteries, required in the first centuries of Christianity as places for the public baptism of masses of converts, gradually gave way to spaces intended for baptising children. Large baptisteries as a result began to disappear, giving way to smaller chapels attached to churches, much like other chapels intended to accommodate special liturgical needs. Added haphazardly at first, these chapels, beginning in the sixth century, increasingly became carefully integrated into larger church schemes, affecting the overall building forms.

The changes marking the period were far broader and deeper than those that merely related to the needs and the functions of the Church. While the gradual decline of urbanism may be recognized at a certain level, it must be remembered that continuing construction of urban entities was still taking place. Some of these, notwithstanding their small scale – as was the case with Justiniana Prima – were still planned as the urban centers of old, featuring colonnaded avenues lined with shops, large fora decked with public monuments, public baths, etc.



265 Kos, H. Ioannis; plan

The sixth century may be viewed, with reason, as the twilight of classical antiquity, but it cannot be thought of as its end. The extent to which certain classical norms had become assimilated into the general Christian framework by *circa* 550 is quite remarkable. This is no less true of architecture, marked by a definitive break with classical design principles on all levels. At the same time, variants of classical columns, still being mass-produced, had become fully "Christianized" while being stripped of all remnants of the classical understanding of their design roles. The "Orders," in other words, were no more – at least not in the classical manner of thought. Notwithstanding the fact that rigorous ancient design principles had broken down, it is remarkable that the taste for the components of the old system was never completely lost. Those "vestiges of the past" – as we will see – continued to play a role in the architecture of the Balkans for centuries to come. It was the sixth century that gave the classical tradition a new, Christian meaning, making it an inseparable part of a new architectural tradition, not only within the Byzantine Empire, but also among all those cultures that sprang from its roots.

5

Transformation

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

The fate of the late antique Balkans was sealed during the last decade of the sixth century. During that time, the economically and militarily exhausted Byzantine Empire permanently ceded control of large territories to the latest in a long series of invaders – the Slavs – whose several tribes made the Balkans their new, permanent home. Thus, the medieval history of the Balkan peninsula may be said to have begun, by *circa* 600, with a significant demographic shift. The following two centuries in the Blakans, as elsewhere in Europe and the Mediterranean world, witnessed major upheavals whose specific results are difficult to gauge. On account of the paucity of written and material evidence, this period has occasionally been referred to as the "Dark Ages." As was the case in the historiography of western Europe, by now this term has been largely superseded. Archaeology, along with other disciplines, has been steadily contributing toward our growing understanding that the period in question was marked as much by "continuities" as it was by "discontinuities," previously considered the exclusive hallmark of the era.[1]

The abandonment of large northern and central areas of the Balkans to the Slavs must be understood in a larger context of shifting priorities. Indeed, by *circa* 600 the Byzantine Empire was confronted by a double threat – from Sassanian Persia in the East and from the Avars and the Slavs in the West. In a last-ditch effort to campaign on both fronts, Emperor Maurice marched against the Avars during the last decade of the sixth century. Having lost the main frontier city of Sirmium in 582, the Byzantines attempted to regain their foothold on the Danube, but in the long run this effort proved futile. By 597 the Avars, using efficient siege tactics, devastated the Dalmatian coast, destroying as many as forty fortresses in the region.[2] Only two years later, in 599, they were at the gates of Constantinople, where the plague intervened to save the capital from a major catastrophe. Byzantine successes on the eastern front under Emperor Maurice came to an abrupt end with his murder in 601. His death reignited the war with Persia, as well as with the Avars. In 610, at the time of the accession of Emperor Heraklios (610–41), the empire was practically in ruins. The events of his reign continued the string of transformations that enabled it to survive in a new, greatly modified form. Its center of gravity had clearly shifted eastward in all respects. The Balkans, at least temporarily, were abandoned, and by the second decade of the seventh century had been virtually overrun by the Slavs and Avars. Many cities were taken and razed in the process, while the main centers barely survived major sieges – Thessaloniki by the Slavs and the Avars in the years 614–17, Constantinople by the Avars and Persians in 626. Heraklios concentrated his

266 (*facing page*) Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, exterior, east end (see fig. 274)

Map 4

Key to Map 4

Constantinople	1
Salona	3
Thessaloniki	2
Tigani	4

military efforts in the East. His defeat of the Persians, however, coincided with the rise of the Arabs as a major new power player in the eastern Mediterranean basin. Thus, the gains that the Byzantines made in the war against the Sassanids were transformed in a matter of years into far more extensive losses to the Umayyads. The latter soon became a direct threat to the Byzantine capital, when their fleet sailed into the Sea of Marmara in 674, spreading terror throughout the region as far as the walls of Constantinople. Meanwhile, the consolidation of the first Bulgarian state took place on Balkan soil, with Byzantium compelled to recognize its existence officially in 681. The successful military campaign against the Slavs led by Emperor Justinian II in 688–89 came as the first sign of relief after a long period of humiliating defeats. His celebration of triumph in Thessaloniki must have been a bittersweet reminder of erstwhile imperial glories.

The Byzantine Empire entered the eighth century as a totally transformed state – shrunken in size, its society militarized through far-reaching administrative reforms, its politics driven by religious zeal. These, along with a somewhat stabilized economy, provided the means of confronting new enemies – the Muslim Arabs and the pagan Bulgarians. Religious zeal, however, also proved to be a lethal factor internally. In the course of the eighth century and well into the ninth the Byzantine Empire was consumed by the so-called Iconoclast Controversy, an all-out civil war, whose most visible formal manifestation was the bitter struggle between the opponents and the defenders of religious images – icons.

The Heraklian dynasty came to a violent end with the murder of Justinian II in 711. This episode was but a part of the general turmoil that embroiled the Byzantine court for over two decades, coming to a conclusion in 717 with the accession of Leo III (717–41). Leo's first order of business as emperor was to manage the defenses of Constantinople, besieged by the Arabs for more than a year in 717–18. His success against the Arabs marked the beginning of the Byzantines' good fortunes on the military front. These would continue under Leo's son and successor, Constantine V (741–75). The popularity that these two emperors may have enjoyed on account of their military achievements was wiped out by their highly unpopular iconoclast policies. Begun somewhat more timidly by Leo III, these took on a violent form during the reign of Constantine V, with numerous public humiliations and executions of court and Church officials suspected of harboring sympathies for icon veneration. Following a period of moderation during the short reign of Leo IV, the century ended with a brief return of icon veneration as a state policy. This was accomplished amidst bloodshed and treachery in an extreme form, practiced by Irene (the widow of Leo IV), who presided over the demise of the so-called Isaurian (or Syrian) dynasty that had been inaugurated by Leo III.

The eighth century – marked by a form of restored external stability, but also by internal upheavals owing to the Iconoclast Controversy – was a century of social and economic decline for the Byzantine Empire. Significantly contributing to this state of affairs were various natural calamities, which struck the empire in a relentlessly repetitive pattern. Violent volcanic eruptions on Thera (718 and 726?), a major earthquake that devastated Constantinople and large areas of Thrace and Bithynia (740), famine, as well as the great plague (747), were the main events among many lesser comparable ones. Its population greatly shrunken and its revenues diminished, the empire was in no position to sponsor major building programs, short of emergency reconstruction brought on by natural disasters. The situation in the Balkans was no different in this context from the rest of the empire. The sparse architectural remains bear out this state of affairs in no unequivocal terms.

The paucity of physical and textual evidence for the seventh and eighth centuries has been noted in earlier scholarship, while the surviving buildings have been used in various ways for speculation on what may have occurred, and how, during this lengthy span of time.[3] Notwithstanding the limited nature of the evidence, some general observations are possible. The prevalent form of building activity in the Balkans during the seventh and eighth centuries would seem to have been confined to rebuilding and adaptive work. Major new projects were rare, and when they did materialize they were located in the main urban centers.[4] Forms of urban survival, as noted earlier, did mark the period. At the same time, it must be remembered that the territorial shrinking of the empire led to the depopulation of many once-important urban centers, which were substantially destroyed and often abandoned. The situation in the Balkans was especially drastic in this regard, in stark contrast to Asia Minor, where the rate of urban survival appears to have been much greater.[5] Yet, it is worth noting that the only cities in the Byzantine Empire that maintained populations of more than 50,000 inhabitants – Constantinople and Thessaloniki – were both situated in the Balkans. Because these two centers provide us with the most important evidence of architectural activity during this period, our attention will turn to them first. Isolated examples of buildings of different types, but predominantly in the category of churches, can be found in other parts of the Balkan peninsula as well. A consideration of this material will conclude this brief chapter.

URBAN SURVIVAL

The question of the survival of late antique cities has become a topic of considerable interest to historians in recent years. Unlike the previously held view that various invasions between the

fourth and seventh centuries spelled a complete end to urban civilization in the Mediterranean, historians are now inclined to view the problem differently.[6] Various aspects of urban survival have attracted the attention especially of textual historians, as well as field archaeologists. A revised picture, therefore, is slowly beginning to emerge. The process is slow indeed, hampered as it is by the firmly entrenched earlier views that are difficult to supersede. While a new understanding of urban centers during the seventh and eighth centuries is being formulated, the importance of the countryside and aspects of the general "ruralization" of society are now also being recognized as factors contributing significantly to the general process of transformation.[7]

Constantinople

The capital of the Byzantine Empire changed its appearance dramatically during the period in question.[8] Devastated by major earthquakes, fires, and substantially depopulated, largely as a result of several outbreaks of plague, the great city did manage to survive, with many of its former architectural glories still intact, albeit substantially deprived of their original functions.[9] The nature of reconstruction, adaptive work, etc., took on new meanings. Equally important is the change in attitude and outlook of people who lived at the time and who wrote about the city. Changing religious attitudes, views of the past, and the perception of the role and the place of Constantinople influenced much of what was written about the city. Consequently, interpreting textual sources of the seventh and eighth centuries is an entirely different matter from reading similar earlier texts.[10]

Constantinople survived several major sieges – most scholars agree – on account of "Greek fire" and, above all, the city's fortifications.[11] Unsurpassed in their engineering sophistication, the city walls of Constantinople proved unassailable time and again, and would guarantee its safety for several more centuries to come. The walls proved vulnerable only to the periodic earthquakes that shook the city, causing serious damage and inducing the need for rebuilding. Strengthening and extending the line of walls occurred twice during the period. Emperor Heraklios (610–41) is credited with major repairs and the extension of the walls at the northernmost corner of the fortified enclosure. The repairs were marked by a substantially conservative repetition of the rectangular tower type, and arched cells reinforcing the wall and providing the necessary platform for the walkway at its top. The extension of the walled enclosure was necessitated by the emperor's desire to protect the church of the Theotokos in the suburb of Blacherna. This church was the home of the mantle (*maphorion*) of the Virgin Mary, one of the most precious relics, and, being outside the city walls, it was very vulnerable to potential enemy attacks. Begun immediately after the Persian-Avar siege of 626, this may have been Heraklios' main building enterprise in the capital. Repairs and reinforcing of the Sea Walls took place under the emperors Tiberios II (698–705) and Anastasios II (713–15), just in time for the Arab siege of 717. These repairs are characterized by the extensive use of spoils, especially of huge stone elements from some fallen monumental building of sixth-century date (fig. 267). The proximity of the area of this intervention to the Imperial Palace suggests that the spoils may have been pilfered from there. The dire economic conditions in which Constantinople found itself during this period of time and their effects on building practice are best illustrated by two eighth-century episodes.[12] The first was directly related to the disastrous earthquake of 740 that left large sections of the city walls destroyed, and thus the city vulnerable to potential enemies. The state and the city government were too poor to respond to this crisis, and special taxes had to be levied on the remaining population of as few as 50,000 inhabitants to raise the funds. These funds were apparently needed to hire outsiders, for the city no longer had an adequate labor force to do the job. In another case, we learn that it took nearly a century and a half to restore the Aqueduct of Valens, damaged by the Avars during the siege of 626.

The last major patrons of architecture in Constantinople between the later sixth century and the ninth appear to have been emperors Justin II (565–78), Maurice (582–602), and Tiberios (678–82). In their various ways they are credited with building activities in the Great Palace. Justin II is remembered as the builder of the famous, no longer extant, Chrysotriklinos – the "Golden Hall" – whose functions and decoration changed in the course of time. The initial decoration of this hall was the work of Justin's successor, Tiberios. Blocked from taking full possession of the palace by Justin's widow Sophia, Tiberios also resorted to building a new palace wing on the site of one of the former gardens. Thus, the process of "filling in" of the once open, loosely organized palace complex, which may have begun even earlier, was certainly intensified at this time. Another glimpse at the changing image of the palace comes from a seventh-century Chinese source where the buildings within the palace complex are described as being "decorated with glass and crystal, gold, ivory and rare woods." Their roofs are said to be flat and made of cement (*sic*), while in the summer months "machines worked by water power carry water up to the roof, which is used to refresh the air by falling in showers in front of the windows."[13] Justinian II, during his first reign (685–95), may have given the Great Palace a new and final form. He is known to have built an enclosure wall around the entire palace complex. Thus, what was once a veritable extension of the city in the best

267 Constantinople, Sea Wall repairs; sixth-century material from Great Palace in secondary use

tradition of late antique imperial palaces now became a physically segregated compound, off limits to all but its permanent occupants. Projecting its new, fortified image toward the city, the Great Palace after *circa* 700 must have looked more like a medieval fortified palace than what the Roman emperors would have recognized as a *palatium imperatoris*. The change is of considerable importance and has more than symbolic significance. The reign of Justinian II was marked by an ever-increasing degree of terror, which left the emperor increasingly isolated from his own people. On the one hand, the changes in the imperial palace fit well chronologically with the growing incidence of urban violence in the city. Security of a heightened order must have emerged as a new priority, reflecting the significantly changed economic and social conditions in the city. On a broader scale, this change corresponds with what historians have observed as the mid-seventh-century watershed between the waning "Roman" and the emerging "Byzantine" imperial traditions.[14] As the economic crisis set in during the seventh century, none of the emperors, not even Heraklios, is credited with any building within the Great Palace. The silence of the written sources is surely not accidental.

With the economy of the empire having undergone a precipitous decline, new construction must have been undertaken sparingly and only under circumstances that were deemed exceptionally meritorious. Constantinople was no exception to this rule. Owing to the fact that much of the city must still have been in ruins after the great disasters of the preceding century or so, adaptive work on abandoned, partially ruined buildings must

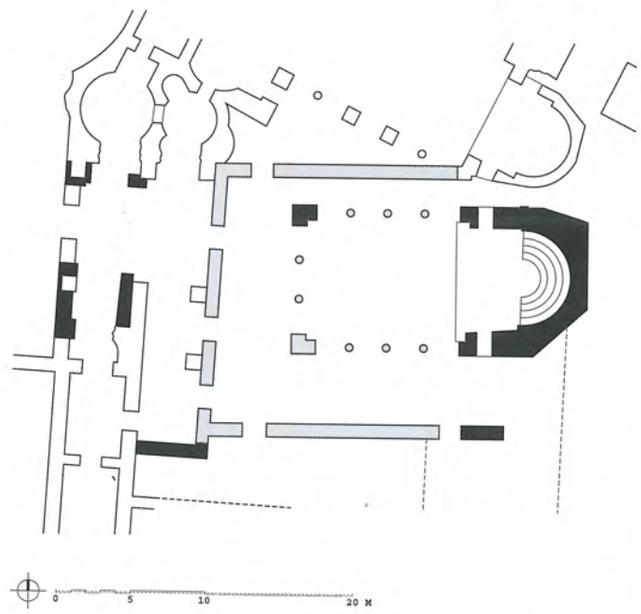
have become the first priority. Likewise, at the same time, the use of spoils appears to have superseded the production of new architectural members completely (fig. 267). Yet another aspect of change characterized the city of Constantinople, beginning already with the sixth century. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the conquest of the Holy Land by the Arabs, the city became a major repository of Christian relics. As such, it gained immeasurably in importance, while its perception in the eyes of contemporaries took on a new meaning.[15] Divinely protected by the Theotokos and the growing collection of saints' relics deposited within its walls, Constantinople became a veritable holy city, a "New Jerusalem." This new perception was shaped by the imagination of believers, as reflected in surviving eighth-century texts related to the city and its monuments.

Beyond the building activity in the Great Palace around the beginning of the seventh century, we can meaningfully refer to a number of churches that appear to have been built, modified, or adapted between *circa* 600 and *circa* 800. Each of these, in their differing ways, illustrates the changing character of religious architecture in Constantinople. The first, in fact, represents the conversion of an older structure into a church. Built originally as the main hall of a fifth-century palace belonging to one Antiochos, part of the building was converted into the church of Hagia Euphemia. According to the excavators of this important complex, the conversion took place in the sixth century, while the relics of the saint were deposited there during the second or the third decade of the seventh century, in any case, during the reign of Emperor Heraklios.[16] The new church was a sizeable building, dominated by a large dome, measuring 18.5 meters in diameter. As such, this would have been the largest church dome in Constantinople after Hagia Sophia, larger probably than either Hagios Polyeuktos or Hagia Eirene. On account of its location, close to the Imperial Palace and the main processional road, the Mese, Hagia Euphemia must have been one of the most visible monuments on the skyline of seventh-century Constantinople. Owing to the original building form and its orientation, certain planning adjustments were necessitated by the sixth-century conversion. Thus, the liturgical east–west axis of the new church did not coincide with the original one. The change involved cutting a new door in the western niche of the structure, while the opposite, eastern niche was outfitted with a synthronon enclosed within a sanctuary with an axially positioned altar table. The main question, however, is where the reliquary containing the body of the miracle-working saint may have been placed.[17] Because of the size of the individual original niches, with a clear span of more than 7.5 meters, it is conceivable that one of the three remaining niches, possibly the one opposite the original main door, may have contained the new shrine. The final creation of the new church of Hagia Euphemia, in keeping with by then established tradition, would have combined the roles of a martyrium with that of a regular church. The presence of the martyr in the building, not surprisingly, would have made it an attractive place for burials of people of some distinction. Breaking with the earlier custom that prohibited burials within the original city walls, Hagia Euphemia became a funerary church of some significance. In fact, it acquired four sizable mausolea – two cruciform, inscribed into externally octagonal masses, and two hexagonal. The final adaptive work on the church must have been one of the more significant building enterprises in the city during the seventh century.

Meager as the remains of Hagia Euphemia may be, our knowledge of another seventh-century church, dedicated to Hagios Ioannis o Prodromos (St. John the Baptist), provides us with a wealth of information gleaned from the written sources. The church was well known because of an important martyr shrine, that of the healer-saint Artemios, contained within its crypt.[18] The church is known to have been a relatively small, three-aisled basilica. Preceded by some sort of atrium, it had an enclosed narthex, while its sanctuary appears to have been tripartite. Its central portion – the bema – contained an altar and a synthronon, and was enclosed by a chancel screen. This space appears to have been flanked by a pair of rooms (inaccessible from the bema), a *skevophylakion* (type of a sacristy) and a chapel dedicated to St. Fevronia. The north aisle of the church was separated from the nave by screens, so that those seeking medical help from the saint could sit or lie there. The most important aspect regarding the healing function of the church was its crypt, which contained St. Artemios' body in a lead coffin. Accessible by two staircases flanking the templon, this crypt could accommodate several patients, who could be quarantined within it overnight. The main chancel screen, specifically referred to as the templon, may be the first use of the term to identify a columnar screen supporting a horizontal beam (epistyle), here evidently decorated with images of Christ, St. John the Baptist, and St. Artemios. As such, this arrangement has been viewed as an important step in the evolution of the so-called iconostasis screens that became common during later centuries. The church evidently also had a gallery for women, made accessible by a single stair on the south side of the narthex.

Possibly related to the church of St. John the Baptist may have been another seventh- or early eighth-century basilica that has come to light on account of meticulous archaeological work. The church, of which only substantial portions of the bema and a few other wall sections remain, embedded in the later medieval phases, is unknown in the sources, and has been dubbed simply as the "Bema Church" by the archaeologists in charge of its investigation (fig. 268).[19] The church, highly irregular in plan, has been hypothetically reconstructed as a three-aisled basilica

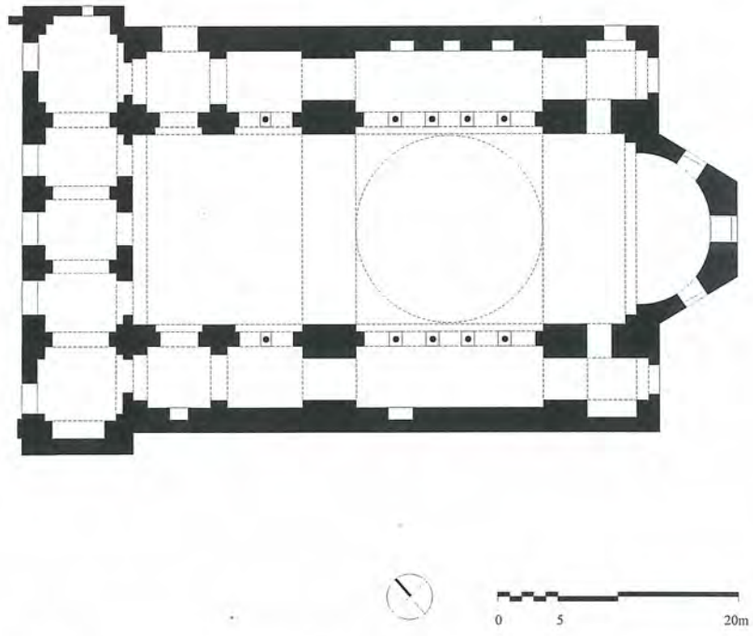
with a wide nave, separated by four columnar arcades from the side aisle on either side. The southern aisle is believed to have been 5 meters wide, while the northern one would have been remarkably narrow, having a width of just over 2 meters. The irregular preexisting conditions on the site are believed to have been responsible for such a layout. The church obliquely abutted the so-called North Church, which for a period of time may have coexisted with the "Bema Church" within what appears to have been a monastic complex. The preserved vaulted portion of its sanctuary shows that the "Bema Church" was very tall, and it has been hypothetically reconstructed with galleries. This, too, would have related it to the church of Hagios Artemios. It would follow from these two examples that the new church architecture in seventh-century Constantinople was very conservative, following fifth-century models and ignoring the vaulted and domed experiments of the age of Justinian. Hagia Euphemia, it will be recalled, was a case of conversion of an older private palace, and therefore cannot be viewed as reflecting current preferences with regard to church design.



268 Constantinople, "Bema Church"; plan

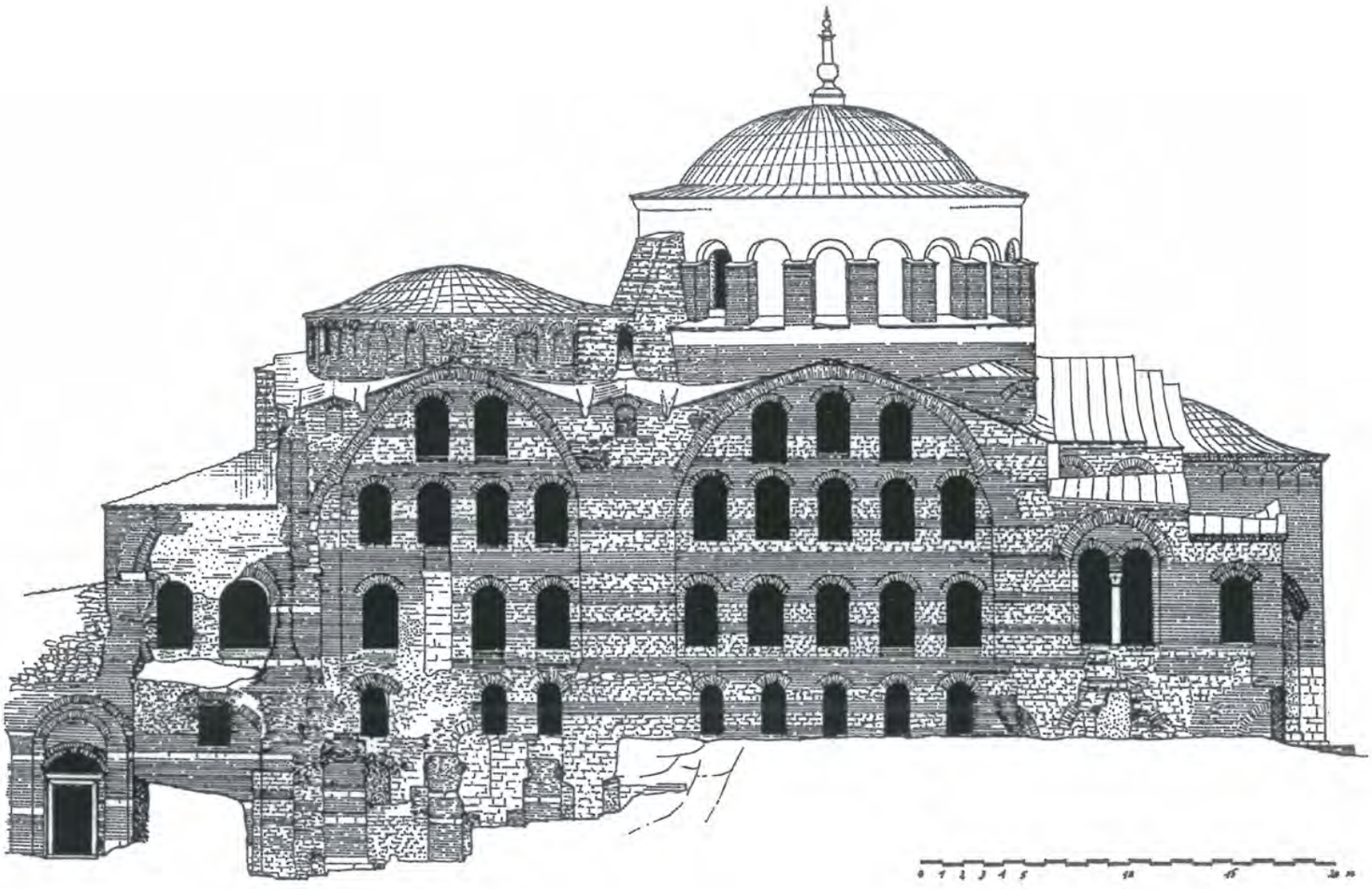
269 Constantinople, H. Eirene; interior, central bay looking NE

270 Constantinople, H. Eirene, interior, vaulting looking W



271 Constantinople, H. Eirene, as rebuilt in 740; plan

The last church building that can be associated meaningfully with the period between *circa* 600 and *circa* 800 in Constantinople is Hagia Eirene. One of the largest churches in the capital, Hagia Eirene, like its great neighbor Hagia Sophia, was a product of the age of Justinian. In its original form it was a vaulted and domed basilica with galleries. A major earthquake that shook Constantinople and the surrounding area in 740 brought down its dome and a portion of its vaulting. The building was subsequently reconstructed, apparently responding to the perceived causes of the building's failure (fig. 269).[20] The relatively shallow lateral arches were expanded into deep barrel vaults oversailing the galleries. As a result, the domed unit now became buttressed by a more-or-less cruciform system of barrel vaults, using a solution that – as a concept – would dominate Byzantine church architecture for centuries to come. The new solution appears to have been thought of as a viable remedy for the scheme initially introduced in the first domed basilicas. Thus, the cruciform layout of vaulted bays below the central dome – commonly viewed as the symbolic paradigm of Byzantine church architecture – can be said to have emerged not as a conscious symbolic creation, but as a by-product of structural experimentation by several generations of builders. The new dome, presumably in contrast to the original one, was raised on a drum, perforated with windows, several of which have been subsequently blocked up. The church underwent another significant modification. Its western bay having collapsed, it was decided to push the naos westward at the expense of the original narthex (figs. 270 and 271). The new bay that was thus created practically doubled the length of the original west bay of the naos. Instead of covering it with a barrel vault, as was done initially, the eighth-century builders resorted to building a curious blind dome, elliptical in plan, roughly constructed, and embedded in a crude low drum. Irregularities of the eighth-century interventions on Hagia Eirene are dramatically apparent on its lateral façades, where the great tympana and the arches that enclose them are all contemporary (fig. 272). These reveal, on the one hand, the survival of the banded brick and stone construction characteristic of Constantinopolitan buildings at least from the early fifth century. On the other hand, they also display an unsophisticated effort at improvising certain shapes in order to make them fit the preexisting conditions. In all respects, despite the ability of contemporary builders to rise to the occasion of rebuilding so large a church as Hagia Eirene, their work



272 Constantinople, H. Eirene, as rebuilt in 740; S. elevation

reveals the significantly declined standards of workmanship in eighth-century Constantinople. The large imperial building workshops were certainly no longer operational, new large-scale building having long since come to a complete halt.

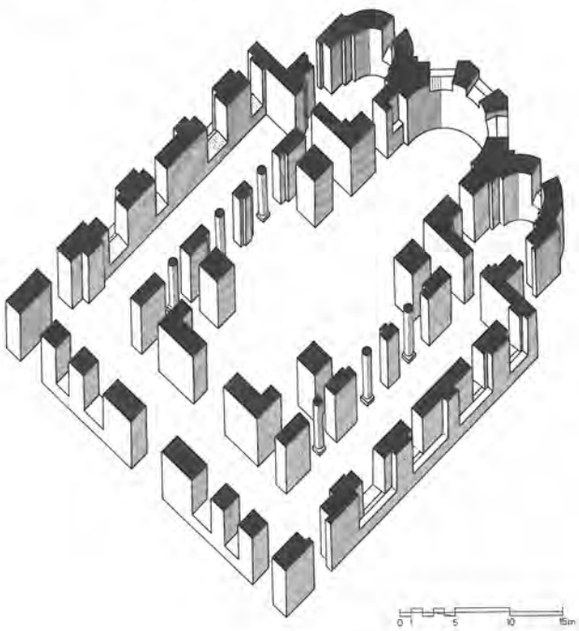
Thessaloniki

Along with Constantinople, Thessaloniki was the only major Byzantine city in the Balkans to survive the seventh and eighth centuries without succumbing to foreign invaders. As with Constantinople, its good fortunes were largely predicated on its massive late antique city walls. According to popular lore, however, the city owed its survival to its patron saint, Demetrius, whose relics were kept and venerated in his basilica. Much like the Theotokos in the case of Constantinople, it was St. Demetrius in whom the citizens of Thessaloniki entrusted their salvation, and under similar dire circumstances. As with Constantinople, our knowledge of the city during this critical period is based not on historians' accounts, but on the famous *Miracula sancti Demetrii* – a collection of legends spun around the miracles performed by its patron saint from the late sixth century until the 670s. During the crucial years of 614–17, the city survived major Avar and Slav attacks. With the eventual disappearance of the Avars from the scene, the Slavs remained an enduring threat, with which several Byzantine emperors dealt with considerable success during the second half of the seventh century. Unlike Constantinople, Thessaloniki appears to have enjoyed a period of relative peace and even prosperity during the eighth century.

Notwithstanding its somewhat more favorable conditions in the eighth century, the general architectural scene in Thessa-

loniki during this period was no brighter than that of Constantinople. Building was essentially restricted to repair work necessitated by earthquakes, fires, and sieges. Extensive repairs are known to have occurred on various sections of the city walls.[21] Fallen or damaged buildings were adapted to serve new functions. Thus, the vestibule of the destroyed great octagon within the imperial palace was evidently converted into a cistern after the earthquake(s) of 620–30. The same apparently happened concurrently with the cryptoporticus below the ancient agora. Both of these conversions seem to have been precautionary measures undertaken at a time of frequent sieges, and consequent risks that these would have posed to the system of water supply provided by aqueducts alone.[22] The construction of these sizeable cisterns in addition to the previously built ones suggests indirectly that the city was far from depopulated at this time. Within the city, a reconstruction is known to have taken place in the basilica of Hagios Demetrios, devastated by a fire following the earthquake of 620. The church was restored under the auspices of the archbishop of Thessaloniki and a city eparch by the name of Leo. The restoration involved the use of several architectural elements brought as spoils from elsewhere. As in Constantinople, production of new architectural elements in Thessaloniki had ceased by the end of the sixth century. Large-scale new construction had also ground to a halt, with the remarkable exception of a single building. The present church of Hagia Sophia appears to have been the unique product of this age of crises. According to a recent study, the church was begun probably in the late sixth century or the early seventh, but certainly before the disastrous earthquake(s) of 620–30 (fig. 273).[23] The church was located on the very site of the giant late fifth-century basilica, probably the cathedral of Thessaloniki (see p. 105). In fact, it was the destruction of that basilica that led to the construction of the present church. Within the new building are several late fifth- and early sixth-century capitals, clearly architectural spoils that most likely came from the old church. Unfortunately, neither the date nor the circumstances of the destruction of the old basilica are known. An equally important question – at the present also without an answer – is what took up the rest of the open space left by the destruction of the giant basilica. Considering that building's size, a space measuring approximately 60 × 60 meters – that is, larger than the present church – would have been left vacant behind its east end (fig. 99).

273 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia; axonometric



It has been determined that the present church includes two early phases of construction. The second of these has been related to the catastrophic earthquake(s) of 620–30, thus pushing the original construction back in time. The new church, considerably smaller in size than the original basilica, was still a sizeable building. Measuring 35 × 43 meters in plan, it must have been the largest building built *ex novo* in the Balkans during the seventh century, maintaining the general scale and character of Justinianic architecture. The building occupied the width of the nave and the two side aisles of the original basilica combined, its west wall almost coinciding with that of the original nave. The narthex of the old basilica appears to have survived, and to have been integrated into the design of the new building. In terms of its relative position and its physical size, it was closely related to the rebuilding of the church of the Theotokos at Ephesos, around the middle of the sixth century.[24] The main difference between the two undertakings would appear to be in the handling of their foundation walls. At Ephesos, they were made to coincide with the foundations of the older basilica, while in Thessaloniki an effort was made to avoid using the old foundations at all cost. The precautions were so great that, in places where the new foundations had to straddle the old ones, special relieving arches were built into the new foundation walls, so as to avoid direct contact between the new construction and the old. Some sort of thinking regarding the possible effects of the old foundations of a failed building on the stability of a new work must have occurred in this context.

The exact form of the new church begun before 620 is not certain. Yet it is clear that it was intended to be a domed basilica with massive pier clusters designed to support the short barrel-vaulted arms of the "cross" and that a dome was to have risen over the central square bay. The eastern arm of the cross was extended into a slightly narrower barrel-vaulted bema, itself terminating in a large semi-cylindrical apse. The bema is flanked by a pair of subsidiary apsed rooms, conventionally referred to

274 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, exterior, east end, present state

as pastophories (fig. 274). These communicate directly with the bema, but also with the large barrel-vaulted side aisles. The doors that lead from the side aisles into these chambers are not centered, either with respect to the aisles or to the chambers themselves. Such lack of visual alignment suggests that the builders may not have had a very clear idea of the integral overall form of the building. This, in turn, would seem to support the early dating, when such planning features would not yet have been worked out in a satisfactory manner. A particularly interesting aspect of the first phase of construction is the use of a building technique that is unique in Thessaloniki. The employment of alternating bands of several (mostly five) courses of brick with several courses of small, cut ashlars has correctly been associated with Constantinople, where the technique was used regularly.[25] Similarities with Constantinopolitan architecture are also notable in the three-sided exterior form of the main apse. Each of its three sides is perforated by a large round-arched window. Such apses were common in the architecture of the capital from the fifth century. At the same time, it should be noted that earlier Thessalonikan churches featured round apses with large windows (usually in series of five) supported on freestanding marble mullions (fig. 103).

The first phase of the church must have either been unfinished or, as has been argued, just finished when the catastrophic earthquake(s) of 620–30 struck. The second phase of construction has been interpreted as a direct result of the damage inflicted to the building at that time. Reconstructed in the course of the second half of the century, it was that building that is thought to have been dedicated *circa* 690, following Justinian II's expedition against the Slavs in Macedonia. In the rebuilding, the original design is thought to have been modified. Most notably, the original fully vaulted galleries were probably replaced with much lower ones, with wooden lean-to roofs.[26] These would have left the large windows in the main tympana externally exposed, a concept that was subsequently altered again by the raising of the lean-to roofs to a much higher level than that pre-

275 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, north gallery, present state

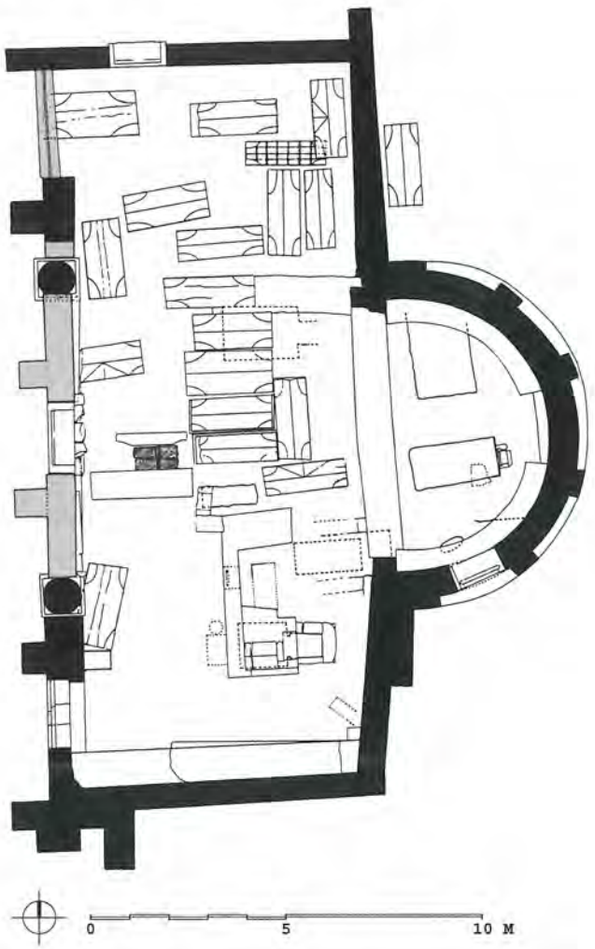
served today (fig. 275). At this time the church may have also acquired its present dome. Though thought to be of one build it is probable that the bulky cubical base was the result of yet another restoration following earthquake damage, possibly in the ninth century.

The most notable aspect of the new church of Hagia Sophia is its structural system, and its effect on the overall design. Its large dome, as we have seen, rests on four pier clusters, each consisting of four lesser piers. Structurally, each of the clusters functions as a huge pier, but in fact lacks the physical mass of such a pier since it is perforated by longitudinal and transversal passages. Thus, not only was its bulk, and therefore the building cost, substantially reduced without jeopardizing the structural integrity of the building, but also the spatial articulation of the naos was greatly enhanced. Experiments with structural solutions seen here occurred already in the architecture of Justinian, but there evidently only in buildings using sequences of domed units, such as the church of St. John the Evangelist in Ephesos and, presumably, the lost church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Here, in Thessaloniki, the domed unit is unique, and occupies the entire area of the naos. Thus, a structurally stable solution, known in literature as the "cross-domed" scheme, came into being. Its other important characteristics have to do with the separation of the enveloping spaces – "aisles" – from the central core by means of columnar arcades. These columns were inserted between the massive pier forms that supported the superstructure. An alternating pattern of solid piers and lighter columns was therefore introduced that differed fundamentally from the familiar continuous arcades of earlier basilicas. Despite the amount of ink spilled in analyzing the precise "sequence of events" in the evolution of Byzantine church architecture, there can be no doubt that the seeds of the new architectural forms that would eventually become common can be seen in Thessaloniki's Hagia Sophia. This building, better than any other, illuminates at once transformations as well as "continuities" associated with the period *circa* 600–800.

OTHER EVIDENCE OF BUILDING ACTIVITY

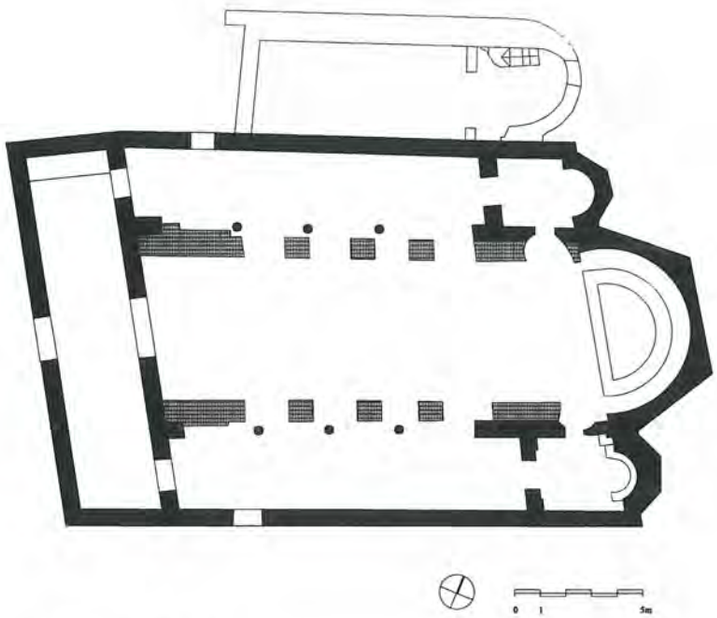
Evidence of datable buildings outside the two main centers that have been discussed is even more meager. Because the evidence is physically so widely scattered, and the numbers of buildings so few, it has been decided to group them together here without any attempt to draw particular broad conclusions.

We will begin with a discussion of building activity in the city of Salona, Croatia, the former capital of the province of Dalmatia. The city, still relatively prosperous in the sixth century, was destroyed by the Avars and Slavs in 614. Earlier scholarship saw in this date not only the end of Salona itself, but also the symbolic end of Byzantine control over the western part of the Balkan peninsula. More recently, largely thanks to archaeological work in the area, it has become apparent that, in some form, the city survived this disastrous event, finally succumbing to its causes only around the middle of the seventh century.[27] At the same time, this survival has been viewed in the context of the city's environs, where, as elsewhere in the Balkans, countryside developments reveal stronger affinities with those in the city than had been the case in earlier times.[28] Salona's churches, though badly damaged, were not all abandoned. Archaeological evidence points to a limited amount of restoration in the aftermath of the early seventh-century damage. At the cemetery churches of Manastirine and Kapljuč, the interventions amounted to the restoration of a part of the original structure. At Manastirine, the three-aisled basilica with a transept was reduced to just the transept, while at Kapljuč a long single-aisled church was practically cut in half, only its eastern part continuing to function as a church. The case of Manastirine is particularly interesting. Here the original transept effectively became the "new church," physically severed from the nave which was probably too damaged to merit restoration (fig. 276). The transept, from its inception, was focused on the cult of St. Domnius. In the course of time, a large number of representative sarcophagi were introduced into this space, adjacent to the martyr's tomb, a clear indication of the custom of burials *ad martyres*. In the original church, the functions of the liturgical needs were juxtaposed with those of the "martyrium." The regular church services, and the needs of pilgrims visiting the shrine of the martyr, as we have noted time and again in our discussion of fifth- and sixth-century architecture, were ingeniously intertwined in a single building that provided room for both. The seventh-century adaptive work at Manastirine leaves one with a number of questions. First of all, how could regular services have actually been conducted in this space? In fact, was this still a functioning church at all, or was it simply reduced to a cult building reminiscent of such edifices in the fourth century, before the custom of fusing martyria and regular churches became the norm? These questions do not have ready answers. We are merely in the position to note that a sufficient number of citizens of Salona had survived the destruction of their city to warrant restoration of the building used for the veneration of their main saint – Domnius. We are also sure that when in the 640s Pope John IV, a Dalmatian by birth, took an interest in the relics of the Dalmatian martyrs, and had some of them translated to Rome, the process of Salona's final decline had begun. The last chapter of this saga probably did not come too long after the middle of the century, with the transfer of the remaining relics from Salona to nearby Split. Despite our inability to establish precisely when these events took place, there is no doubt that Split's rising fortunes as a new town were directly linked to the ultimate demise of Salona.



276 Salona, Manastirine, "New Church", plan

Far from Salona, in the southernmost reaches of the Peloponnesos, we find the remains of another building, dated by its excavators to the seventh century. The three-aisled basilica at Tigani, on the Mani peninsula in Greece, measuring roughly 25 × 36 meters, may be classified as a medium-sized church by the



277 Tigani, basilica; plan

standards of fifth- and sixth-century architecture (fig. 277).[29] Skewed in plan, the basilica was built against a preexisting single-aisled church on its north side. The new church had two major phases of construction. In the first phase its nave had arcades supported by freestanding columns. In the second phase, the columns were eliminated and replaced by piers, and their spacing was decreased, all evidently the result of damage caused probably by an earthquake. The original phase reveals the presence of two separate chapels (pastophories) flanking the bema. The layout in general recalls that of the cathedral of Iustiniana Prima (fig. 218). The date of this building remains conjectural, but on account of general irregularities in its construction a date around 700, proposed by the excavators, is plausible, albeit hypothetical. A general decline of professional standards, even in the main centers of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, as far as we know was a fact that characterized seventh- and eighth-century building practice. The basilica at Tigani, therefore, may well belong to that particular context.

The paucity of documents, combined with the paucity of physical evidence, coins, securely dated pottery, and other archaeological material, makes the task of identifying buildings that belong to the seventh or eighth century extremely difficult. Likewise, building typologies often employed by historians of architecture have proved especially problematic for this period. Adding a few more buildings of uncertain date to our list, therefore, would contribute little to our understanding of this era of transition. On the basis of our evidence, sparse as it is, we can conclude that it was the basilica that continued to dominate as the main architectural type. Of all the new churches that we have analyzed, only Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki was a cross-domed building; all of the others were basilicas. This notion appears to be confirmed, at least implicitly, by an often-quoted text, attributed to Patriarch Germanos I, and dated to the early eighth century.[30] The text, known as the *Historia mystagogica*, offers a detailed symbolic interpretation of the church building and its parts. Though the actual form of the building is not mentioned, the parts that are (apse, ciborium, chancel enclosure, ambo, etc.) all readily relate to basilican architecture. No mention is made of a dome, the quintessential element of church architecture in the centuries to come. To be sure, several cross-domed churches were built outside the Balkan peninsula, but on its territory architectural conservatism appears to have been especially pronounced. This is not surprising, especially given Heraklios' policies of turning the back to the Balkans and concentrating on the affairs of the empire in the East. The demographic and economic decline that followed in the region only made matters worse. Both construction resources and technical skills largely disappeared. It would be no exaggeration to state that during the seventh and eighth centuries the art of building in the Balkans came close to extinction.

The slow economic upswing that began after *circa* 750, and the equally slow resolution of the Iconoclast Controversy, apparent already toward the end of the eighth century, ushered in new realities that would dominate the scene in the Byzantine Empire generally, and throughout the Balkans more specifically, in the following centuries. These new realities reflected the emergence of a military aristocracy and monasticism as dominant factors in the social and political life of the empire and its new neighbors in the Balkans. With them, as we shall see, a new Byzantine architectural tradition was born whose products would dominate the Balkans in the coming centuries.

6

Renewal

NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

In the preceding chapters the history of the Balkans could practically be equated with that of the Byzantine Empire. Beginning with the ninth and tenth centuries, this notion no longer holds true.[1] Though the empire remained an unavoidable player in Balkan affairs, its role was continuously challenged by the newly risen, or rising states – Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia – that often joined forces with Byzantine external adversaries of long standing. These new realities notwithstanding, the ninth and tenth centuries can genuinely be said to constitute a period of renewal in the Balkans. However, specific understanding of the term "renewal," though commonly discussed by historians in the earlier literature under the heading of "renaissance," must be qualified in the present context. In a general sense, "renewal" implies revitalization within the Balkan peninsula following the profound economic and social crises of the preceding two centuries. In specifically architectural terms, this could be understood to imply a dramatic increase in the volume of construction, but it could also be interpreted as a "rebirth" of certain past schemes and forms. Here is where the potential confusion in the understanding of the concept of "renewal" as related to architecture may occur. "New" architecture, though undoubtedly reflecting a form of consciousness of past achievements, did so in ways that reveal subtle differences between the Eastern and Western attitudes toward the past and modes of interpreting it. The concepts of the "Carolingian Renaissance" and the "Macedonian Renaissance" provide us with potentially useful, parallel paradigms, but at the same time they can be confusing and even misleading.[2] As in the preceding chapter, our understanding of "continuities" and "discontinuities" will have to be carefully measured against various forms of available evidence. The Balkans, as will be demonstrated once again, was a world unto itself, a stage of apparent contradictions that not only coinhabited the same geographic space, but frequently interacted, generating new results charged with surprising creative energy.[3]

The ninth century may be said to signal the return of Byzantium to the Balkan scene. Initially not very successful, this shift in policy revealed the empire's determination to claim its central role on the peninsula. To do so proved to be a protracted and costly struggle destined to last as long as the empire itself. In the process, the empire had to face various adversaries, some old, some new, but all of them intent on challenging its historically determined role in Balkan affairs. The century began with a showdown whose profound historical consequences could hardly have been apparent to contemporaries. The coronation of Charlemagne as the Emperor of the Romans by Pope Leo III in

LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
Sava
Danube
BELGRADE
Drina
Morava
BUCHAREST
Danube
BLACK SEA
SARAJEVO
Neretva
ADRIATIC SEA
SOFIA
Maritsa
PODGORICA
SKOPJE
Vardar
TIRANA
Strymon
Axios
Evros
SEA OF MARMARA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
ATHENS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0 100 200 300km

Map 6

Key to Map 6

Arta	30	H. Petros	40	Monē (Island of Naxos)	39	Redina	7
Aulis	58	Hosios Loukas Monastery	12	Morodviz	45	Sedem Prestola	57
Bizye	25	Kaisariani Monastery	56	Nikli	60	Servia	19
Buthrintos	16	Kariyes	17	Nin	47	Sipërme	50
Chalkē	23	Kastoria	22	Novi Pazar	66	Stamna	42
Constantinople	1	Kaynarça	55	Ohrid	34	Synaxis Monastery	11
Djunis	41	Kotor	61	Orchomenos	24	Terenci	46
Drama	28	K'rdzhali Monastery	54	Patleina	5	Thebes	44
Dubrovnik	62	Krupište	38	Peristerai	64	Thessaloniki	2
Duklja	43	Küçukyali	9	Philerimo Monastery	10	Vatopedi Monastery	14
Evrytania	48	Kulata	59	Pieria	26	Vinitsa	32
Gavrolimnē	51	Labova	29	Pliska	3	Vodoča	52
Gorica	36	Martinići	6	Potamia (Island of Naxos)	49	Zadar	65
Great Lavra Monastery	13	Mentzena	21	Prčanj	63	Zlešti	37
H. Achilleos	20	Mesembria	15	Preslav	4	Zourtsa	18
H. Germanos	53	Metamorphosis tou Sotirou	33	Pydna	27		
H. Kyriakē	31	Monastery of St. Naum	35	Ravna Monastery	8		

St. Peter's basilica in Rome on Christmas Day 800 seriously undermined the established, carefully maintained political dogma regarding the role of Byzantine emperors as the only legitimate heirs of the emperors of Old Rome. The conflict provoked by this incident, and the tensions that followed, were but the beginning of a new pattern of confrontation that would endure not only throughout the Middle Ages, but also, in a sense, to our own times. According to Ostrogorsky, "from the year 800 onwards two Empires, an Eastern and a Western Empire, stood face to face."[4] This condition affected not only political realities in the region, but it also left a lasting imprint on the shaping of regional cultures. Architecture, as will be seen, provides a particularly clear record of these new realities.

The reign of Nikephoros I (802–11), notwithstanding his talents and abilities, did not bring about the decisive reassertion of Byzantium's central role in the Balkans that this emperor was aiming for. Despite a planned re-Hellenization of the Peloponnēsos, and the establishment of new administrative units throughout the Balkans, the empire had to confront a tough adversary in the new state of Bulgaria under Khan Krum (*circa* 803–14). Starting with the loss of Serdica (Sofia) in 804, Byzantine bad luck reached a low point in 811. Following an initially successful campaign that resulted in the burning of the Bulgarian capital of Pliska, the Byzantine army was ambushed and annihilated on its way to Serdica, while Emperor Nikephoros lost his life in battle. The continued losses of strategic Byzantine cities (Mesembria in 812, Adrianople in 813) finally came to a halt only after Krum's sudden death in 814. The peace treaty that the Byzantines were able to negotiate with Krum's successor Omurtag (814–31) in 816 lasted for three decades, giving the Byzantines much needed breathing space. During this interval the continuing Iconoclast Controversy also came to an end in 843. The so-called Triumph of Orthodoxy witnessed the restoration of icons as the most visible accomplishment of the Iconodule party. The Triumph of Orthodoxy, however, signified much more. It marked a major shift in the social and cultural life of the empire. At its root lay the triumph of the monastic movement, which gained an upper hand in the general affairs of the Church and exercised tremendous influence on the political affairs of the state. The period also saw the rise to power of a military aristocracy, bringing to a climax the process of social transformation that had begun during the preceding centuries. Equally profound economic and legal changes resulted in the complete transformation of the empire into a medieval state. While certain old ideological concepts remained in place, the actual power of the state was substantially reduced. Obliged to finance extensive wars and the building of necessary defenses, the state was no longer able to sustain great building programs. Another major symptom of decentralization came in the form of the shifting patterns of patronage – from the state into private hands. While a number of new buildings sharply increased during this period, their individual size became markedly reduced, reflecting, in part, the process of the decentralization of patronage. This is particularly true of church architecture, whose symbolic and aesthetic aspects also underwent a major paradigm shift, though not necessarily for the same reasons.

Emerging religiously and culturally revitalized during the second half of the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire became an aggressive exporter of its values, its monks becoming the prin-

cipal instruments of this new form of colonization. Monastic missions that went out to Moravia and Bulgaria, in 863–64, brought about new confrontations with the papacy. Better equipped to dictate the terms, Byzantium was in a position to induce the process of Christianization of the Bulgarians, following the conversion of their ruler Boris (852–89) in 864. The bloody suppression of the resistance staged by his pagan boyars made Boris a true champion of the new faith and an ally of sorts of Byzantium. His youngest son and eventual successor – Symeon (893–927) – though as a youth schooled in Constantinople and trained for an ecclesiastical career – became not only the most important Bulgarian ruler, but also a real match for the Byzantine emperors. During his reign Byzantium, for the first time, had to face a challenger of its own caliber on Balkan soil. Simultaneously confronted with Symeon's great ambitions, the rise of Serbia and Croatia in the western Balkans, and the Arab raids in the Adriatic and the Aegean, the Byzantine Empire entered the new century with similarly gloomy prospects to the ones it had faced a hundred years earlier.

Although his father, Boris, had accepted Christianity as the new religion in Bulgaria, it was Symeon who presided over its ultimate triumph in the region. His removal of the capital from Pliska to Preslav put the final seal on this process, terminating any further prospects of pagan insurgence. On account of his military strength or of Byzantine weakness, or probably because of the combination of the two, Symeon was in a position to extract from the Byzantines various humiliating concessions. Relying on a full range of the tactics of deceit and treachery, however, the Byzantines were able to postpone or avoid altogether some of the conditions imposed on them by Symeon at the peak of his strength after 913. The question whether his coronation in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, by the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos, was legitimate, whether it implied that Symeon was only the "Emperor of the Bulgarians," or also of the "Romaioi," continued to be debated until his death in 927. A new peace treaty with Symeon's successor, Peter, provided Byzantium with an unexpectedly easy escape. Its engineer, on the Byzantine side, was Romanos I Lakapenos, who had become the caretaker emperor for the young Constantine VII in 920. Romanos' skills as a military man and as a diplomat were exceeded only by his own ambitions. In the process of achieving his vain goals, he downgraded the office of the patriarch and thus undermined the authority of the Church. Eventually, his ways brought about his own downfall after an unsuccessful coup led by his two sons in 944. In 945 Constantine VII finally became the sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire. The remaining fourteen years of his reign, in contrast to the preceding fourteen years under Romanos I, saw little action on the military front, but a flurry of diplomatic activity. Constantine VII was a man of letters, best remembered for his compilation of Byzantine history and court ceremonial. Thanks to him we have some notion of the character of the Byzantine court, what ceremonial rituals at court were like, what parts of the imperial palace were used on what occasion, and so on.

The last four decades of the tenth century saw three able military men at the head of the Byzantine state. The first two – Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) and John Tsimiskēs (969–76) – both rose from powerful aristocratic families. Nevertheless, their approaches to governing were radically different. Nikephoros II was a zealot, whose uncompromising views on religion and justice earned him both admiration and scorn. Having declared "Holy War" against the Arabs and an economic war against wealthy landowners, above all the Church, Nikephoros overextended himself. It took an unfaithful wife and another capable general to bring about his downfall. John Tsimiskēs steered Byzantium successfully through some crucial military as well as diplomatic trials. By the time of his death in 976, Bulgaria had been effectively brought under Byzantine control, its capital Preslav sacked; the Rus had been defeated and pushed out of the Balkan arena; while a relative of the emperor, Princess Theophano, had been married to the Western emperor Otto II. Thus, the terrain was prepared for what is uniformly hailed as the most important period of Middle Byzantine history – the reign of Basil II (976–1025). Like his two immediate predecessors, Basil II was a great general. Unlike they, as a grandson of Constantine VII, he was a legitimate successor to the Byzantine throne. Basil's ultimate victory over the Bulgarians in 1014, which earned him the unsavory epithet "Bulgaroktonos" ("Bulgar-Slayer") was the fulfillment of his lifetime goal – the total defeat of the Bulgarians and the establishment of Byzantine hegemony in the Balkans. The reign of Samuel (986–1014) and his shifting of the centers of power of the Bulgarian state to Prespa and Ohrid had encroached even more on Byzantine turf. Basil's campaigns in the Balkans began as early as 986, the year Samuel became sole ruler. Basil's initial setback suffered on account of another civil war in Byzantium that led to an alliance with Prince Vladimir of Rus. The by-product of this alliance forged out of dire Byzantine need was the conversion of Rus to Christianity (988) and the marriage of the emperor's sister Anna to Vladimir. Once again, the Byzantine position of humiliating weakness was transformed into a major diplomatic triumph that paved the way toward the eventual annihilation of Samuel's state.

Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens, writing *circa* 1200, at a time when the Byzantine Empire appeared irrevocably doomed, alluded to Basil II and Heraklios as the greatest Byzantine emperors.[5] His choice was certainly motivated by these emperors' major accomplishments on the battlefield and

by a longing for the glory thus achieved, by his time but a distant memory. Unwittingly, Choniates made another comparison of these two great figures of Byzantine history and did so *ex silentio*. Neither Basil II nor Heraklios before him were known as great builders. Unlike their great predecessors Constantine I and Justinian I, lauded for their architectural achievements, Basil II and Heraklios had no building projects of any significance associated with their names. To Choniates, confronted with the realities of his day, architectural patronage was clearly no longer a measure of a ruler's greatness.[6] This is not to say that certain emperors did not take an active interest in building projects. While Basil II and his two immediate predecessors, Nikephoros Phokas and John Tsimiskēs, apparently took no interest in major construction programs, other ninth- and tenth-century rulers did. Basil I, the great-great-grandfather of Basil II, for example, stands out as a champion of the opposite approach. Even more remarkable is the architectural activity associated with the rulers of the new, rising states. The architectural patronage of the Bulgarian rulers Boris, Symeon, and Samuel is well attested, though the precision in identifying the various monuments associated with them is not always beyond reproach. Even murkier is the question of patronage among the Croats and the Serbs, though architectural activity among them during this period of time is not in doubt. Generally speaking, though few ninth- and tenth-century buildings in the Balkans are dated securely, the picture that emerges is fairly coherent, largely because the rich textual evidence and architectural comparanda provide us with important additional clues.

As in the preceding chapters, our attention will focus first on urban centers. Various examples of urban survival will be analyzed in some depth. At the same time, although we cannot really speak of a genuine urban revival, aspects of new urban developments did occur, within the Byzantine Empire and among its neighbors, most notably in Bulgaria. The period also saw a rise in organized monasticism in the Balkans. Monastic planning, as we will see, is paradigmatically related to aspects of urban planning, and as such will be taken up as a separate subject of our analysis. Although the construction of fortresses, as well as a variety of secular building types, played a visible role in this period, it will be examined integrally within the context of different individual cities and monasteries. The chapter will end with a consideration of ecclesiastical architecture. Though churches formed a significant part of new construction in individual cities, many of them were built in the countryside, either as village churches or within the small private monasteries that began to proliferate during the period. The total number of surviving monuments is not enormous, but enough can be said about the different trends to illustrate the major shifts in architectural design from the preceding epochs.

URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

In the preceding chapter the issue of the "continuity versus discontinuity" of late antique cities after the sixth century was addressed as an issue that has significantly preoccupied modern historians. In that context we saw that both aspects applied to cities in the Balkans. In some cases, notably Constantinople and Thessaloniki, a form of "continuity" took place. In most other instances, by contrast, "discontinuity" was the norm. Destroyed and depopulated, some of these cities – Naissus (modern Niš, Serbia) being a good example – took centuries to restore their urban form of existence. The same issues, to some degree, apply to this chapter as well. Urban life in the ninth and tenth centuries can hardly be said to have gone back to late antique standards. Yet, forms of urban habitation and building activities undoubtedly were on the rise.[7] Not only were the main centers, such as Constantinople, undergoing extensive rebuilding as a result of population growth, but also entirely new settlements with certain new urban characteristics began to emerge. Here, we must take note in particular of the appearance of new urban formations among the Bulgarians.[8]

Constantinople

Having survived its darkest moments during the crises of the seventh century, the Byzantine capital experienced the first signs of revival in the course of the eighth century.[9] Fully fledged revival, however, may be said to have begun only after 800.[10] By the tenth century the volume of building in the city was sufficiently great to warrant the compiling of a code of regulations governing the performance of professional and trade guilds in Constantinople. Known as the "Book of the Prefect" (also "Book of the Eparch"), this tenth-century legal collection, more than any other written source, suggests that the demand for artisans in the capital was great and building opportunities abundant.[11] As a result of these conditions, builders and other artisans were apparently often tempted to finish their work in haste, or not finish it at all, in order to move to another, better paying job. The decline in the quality of work, and the potential dangers of structural instability resulting from poor construction, evidently brought about the introduction of these regulations, prescribing severe forms of punishment for the offenders.

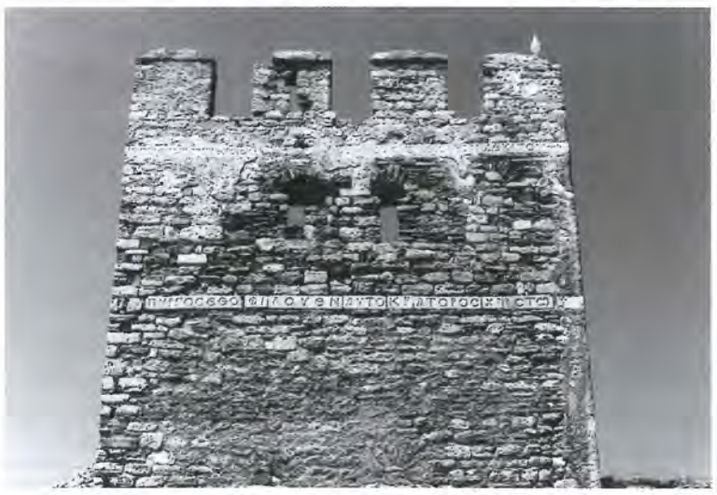
A substantial amount of our information about architecture in Constantinople comes from written works. The genres within which descriptions of architecture appear vary amongst themselves. Among these texts are general histories ("chronicles"), lives of certain individuals, and saints' lives. A particular category of writing known as *ekphraseis* (formal descriptions) was

generally applied within other literary genres to describe a building or a work of art.[12] Such *ekphraseis* can be useful, but those who analyze them must bear in mind their primary, literary function. A frequent tendency among the writers of *ekphraseis* appears to be the singling out of the unusual aspects of a building. Such an approach can be limiting at best; at worst, it can become a major distorting mirror. There are exceptions, of course, as appears to be the case with a tenth-century epigram by John Geometres, who devoted this lengthy poetic work to a single tower within the city walls of Constantinople that presumably survives and could be identified.[13]

FORTIFICATIONS

Judging by the surviving textual information, the greatest ninth-century builder must have been the last Iconoclast emperor, Theophilos (829–42). Theophilos' building program was largely centered on the city of Constantinople and its vicinity. Some of his constructions have survived the test of time, and may still be seen. This is the case with the Sea Walls along the Sea of Marmara, substantially rebuilt after 825, under his auspices.[14] Somewhat smaller than the towers of the Land Walls, those of the Sea Walls in design and general construction principles resemble the fifth-century work. Their execution is inferior, however, and reveals the extensive use of spoils.[15] The main faces of the Sea Walls towers bear long inscriptions commemorating their construction by Emperor Theophilos (fig. 278). The inscriptions were incised into marble blocks, while the letters made of metal, probably lead, were inlaid so that their faces were flush with the polished marble surfaces. Although nothing survives of the enclosure wall of the Great Palace, Theophilos is said to have had his hand in its rebuilding as well.

278 Constantinople, Sea Walls, Tower with an inscription of Emperor Theophilos



Theophilos was responsible also for the completion of another project begun already by Leo V (813–20) and continued by his own father Michael II (820–29) at the northernmost point of the Land Walls. Known as the Pteron, the section of wall at the Blacherna Gates was first protected by a hastily built outer enclosure, commissioned by Leo V after the Bulgarian attack on the capital in 813.[16] The project was finally completed by Theophilos, who was responsible for the three massive pentagonal towers added to the rebuilt line of the main wall. The towers, whose form and construction are unique, were built of reused stone ashlars in their lower section and of brick in their upper parts.

PALACES

Our main written source for architecture during the reign of Emperor Theophilos, "Theophanes Continuatus," a work compiled in the ninth century at the orders of Constantine VII, provides a wealth of information on constructions within the Great Palace. Since practically nothing survives, and the few parts that have been excavated cannot be successfully identified, our understanding of this palatine complex par excellence is dependent almost exclusively on textual information. The so-called Theophanes Continuatus is the most remarkable and unusual, if not unique source, from the point of view of the architectural descriptions included in it. Notwithstanding the author's extraordinary ability to communicate various aspects of architecture, including form, space, interior, and exterior articulation, with a fair degree of accuracy, he still falls short of giving us enough information to facilitate a feasible reconstruction of the whole. From the text it is clear that Theophilos added substantially to the complex of the Great Palace, altering some of the earlier arrangements. The centerpiece of his addition was the so-called Triconchos. Accurately describing the building's form, the text fails to illuminate its function.[17] From the rather lengthy description, it would appear that the building was a type of audience hall, such as those that were relatively common in late antique palatine architecture. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the actual size of the building, but we can assume that it was probably much smaller than its late antique prototypes. The building was oriented in the manner of a church and was preceded by a curving portico, referred to as the Sigma, recalling fifth-century palatine examples from Constantinople (see pp. 87–89). Lined with fifteen multicolored marble columns, the walls of this portico, as well as those of the interior of the Triconchos, were sheathed with variegated marble slabs. From the text it is clear that the entire building lay above a comparably planned lower story. The use of undercrofts, as has been noted, was common in the Great Palace and in other constructions in Constantinople. Occasionally these may have been planned with

a specific function in mind. Most of the time they appear to have been necessitated by the need to elevate the main floor of a complex to a desired level. The only "function" of the undercroft in this case, referred to as a *mysterion*, we are told, had to do with its acoustical properties, carrying whispers from one side of the chamber to the other. Clearly, this must have been a by-product of its form and execution, and not a primary intended function.

According to the text, the Triconchos was flanked by other buildings and fronted by an open court featuring a fountain in the middle. The court was surrounded by various structures, including a flight of steps that had an almost theatrical function. Here, under an arch supported by two exceedingly slender columns, various musical and dancing performances took place in front of the seated emperor, for whom this was a form of pleasurable entertainment. This image should be combined with an understanding that water flowed, not only from the axially situated fountain in the center of the open court, but also from the mouths of two brazen lions that flanked the Sigma portico. Adjacent to the complex were formal gardens on artificial terraces. The sense of the entire ambience underscores the eclectic taste of Theophilos, whose suburban palace of Bryas is said to have been built "in imitation of Arab [palaces] and in no way differing from the latter either in form or decoration."[18]

Work on the Great Palace complex resumed on a large scale under Basil I (867–86), one of the great emperor-builders in Byzantine history. Within the palace complex, Basil was noted predominantly for his construction of churches, and these will be discussed below. For now, we will concern ourselves briefly with two non-ecclesiastical additions to the Great Palace associated with his patronage – the Kainourgion and the Pentakoubiklon.[19] The descriptions of these two buildings, along with other works of Basil I, come from the so-called *Vita Basilii*, which constitutes the fifth book of Theophanes Continuatus, and is believed possibly to have been written by Constantine VII himself. In any case, the manner in which the various buildings are described, despite the amount of detail provided, lacks the architectural clarity associated with the descriptions of the buildings of Theophilos. The Kainourgion, presumably a hall and an imperial bedchamber, is described, without any reference to its function, as a building of "novel aspect" and as being "supported on sixteen columns standing in a row." "Novelty" in this case must apply to the columns made of Thessalian stone (eight) and onychite (eight), fourteen of which had populated scrolls carved on them, while two evidently had twisted fluting. The building must have been a basilica featuring two rows of eight columns in each arcade and terminating in an apse – hardly a "novel" design by this time.

The Pentakoubiklon, on the other hand, was an entirely different matter. At first sight the term appears simple enough, implying a building with five spaces or rooms. The exact configuration of such a building has not been satisfactorily resolved, however.[20] The term may imply a central rectangular hall flanked by two smaller square rooms on two sides, adding up to five spaces in all. Equally plausible, however, would be a configuration consisting of a centrally located cruciform hall with four small square rooms filling out the spaces between the arms of the cross, together making an overall rectangular form. The former arrangement is known from late antique palace audience halls (e.g., Palace of the Giants, Athens); the latter, though anticipated in related late antique contexts (e.g., Rhegion), suggests a scheme of planning that would be more at home in the context of architectural design after the end of Iconoclasm.[21] A component of the Great Palace that fits the above description was brought to light during the excavations of 1952–54. Measuring approximately 15 × 17.5 meters, this hall has neither been identified nor discussed (fig. 282A). Its meager remains may, indeed, be those of the Pentakoubiklon; if so, they would be the only surviving evidence of ninth-century architecture in the Great Palace. We will return to the implications of the architecture of this find below, when we turn to other aspects of physical evidence pertaining to ninth-century church architecture in the capital. For now, we will stay with the written evidence, which provides us with an abundance of details. Admittedly, however, this information produces little more than frustrating leads.

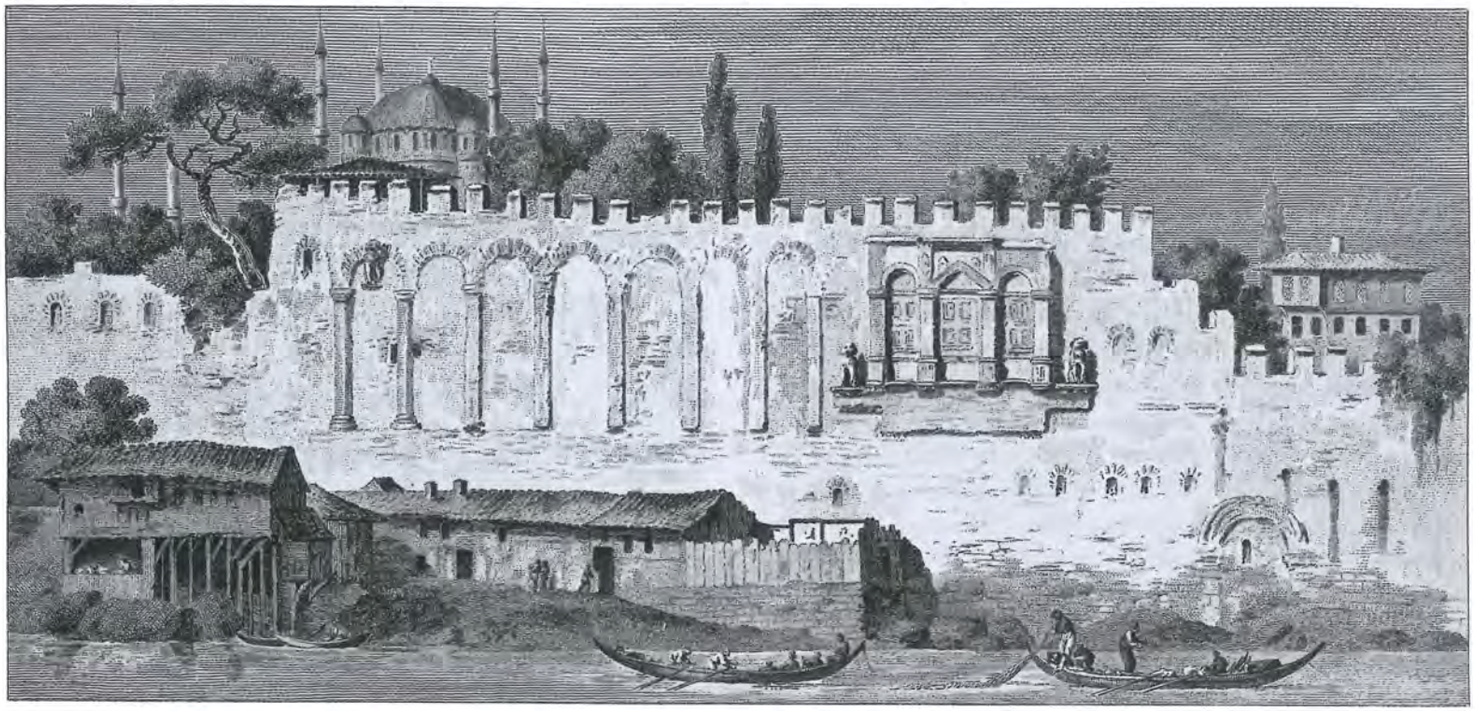
Theophanes Continuatus provides us with further information about the Great Palace in relationship to the work carried out there under the auspices of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. This learned emperor is credited with many accomplishments, in addition to the lavish praise heaped upon him for his knowledge of the art of painting, his abilities as a teacher, and so on. When it comes to the specific description of architectural characteristics, the text again becomes remarkably vague. Constantine VII is credited with the restoration of the Dekaenneakubita ("Hall of the Nineteen Couches"), the ceremonial dining hall of the Great Palace.[22] From the text we learn very little about the architectural features of this great hall. Almost inadvertently one finds out that the hall had a wooden ceiling, which required restoration on account of the fact that its structural members were rotten. No more helpful from the point of view of architecture is the detailed description of the court ceremonial as experienced and described by one Liutprand of Cremona, an envoy of the emperors Otto I and Otto II at the Byzantine court.[23] This text provides the famous passage on the use of spectacular *automata*, whose presence in the Magnaura, an imperial audience hall, has long since been associated with Arab influence. Liutprand also provides us with the explanation that the name of the imperial dining hall – Dekaenneakubita –

derives from the nineteen couches symmetrically disposed in this great room. The "couches" are said to be "flat for lying down on, and have curved ends."

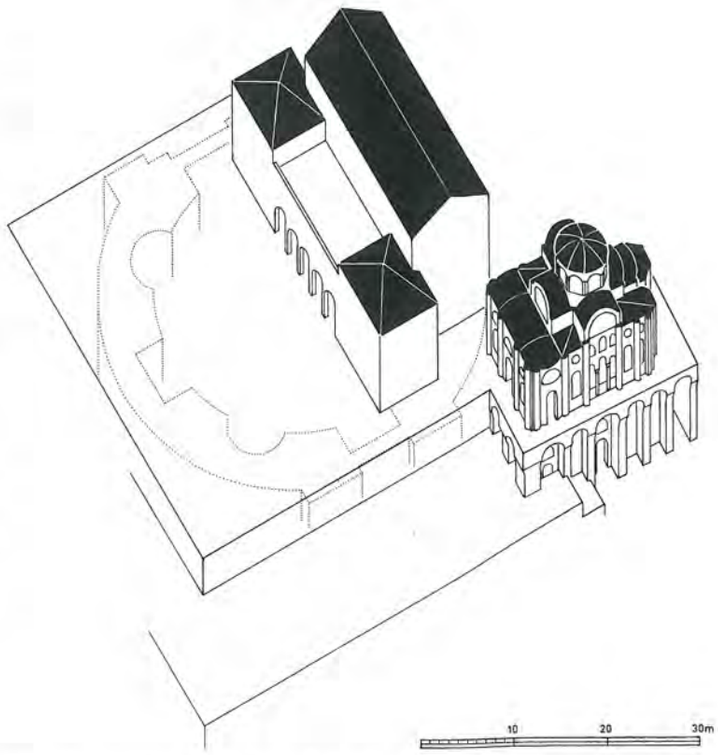
The only attested portions of the Great Palace may be the parts facing the sea, once overlooking the so-called Bukoleon Harbor. Partially destroyed in 1871 to make room for the railroad tracks, the appearance of these impressive façades has been preserved on a number of drawings made prior to their demolition. Consisting of two wings, each marked by an elevated and partially open gallery overlooking the sea, this part of the Great Palace – once labeled the "Bukoleon Palace" and the "House of Justinian" – is now believed to belong to the ninth- and tenth-century reconstructions of the complex.[24] The larger part is credited to Emperor Theophilos, whose extensive re-shaping of the Great Palace and the general rebuilding of the Sea Walls are well attested. One of the hallmarks of the façade facing the "Bukoleon Harbor" is the extensive use of late antique spoils, which give it a flavor of a late antique palace façade, comparable to that of Diocletian at Split (fig. 279). A particularly interesting feature was an elevated "loggia of appearances," an arrangement consisting of a triple arcade featuring two arches and a central gable supported directly on engaged columns. Flanked by two corbeled crouching lion statues, the lateral arcades contained false marble doors, while the central intercolumniation under the gable may have contained a window that could be opened for some ceremonial purpose. Another part of this complex that may have belonged to the ninth- or tenth-century rebuilding was a monumental stair that once led from a landing dock at its base into the palace complex, some 10 meters above sea level. The tapered shape of this stair in plan, possibly the result of attempts to regularize the external façades, displays remarkable similarities to Gian Lorenzo Bernini's celebrated Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace, built under similarly constrained circumstances some eight centuries later.

The descriptions of the Great Palace provide us with the largest, but not the only, body of information about palatine architecture in Constantinople during the ninth and tenth centuries. Another building, the so-called Myrelaion Palace, associated with Emperor Romanos I Lakapenos, gives us further insights into the changing character of this category of architecture.[25] Initially believed to be his imperial residence, it is now thought to antedate his ascent to the throne in 920. Thus, the edifice should be considered as representing the urban residence (*oikos*) of a high-ranking aristocrat. The building, of which only the foundations remain, was itself constructed upon the massive remains of the fifth-century Myrelaion Rotunda. The stub of this impressive building, comprising the lower portion of its rising walls, with an outer diameter of 41 meters, was leveled. Its interior space was filled with even rows of columns supporting modular vaulting units that carried a platform upon which the

279 Constantinople, "Boukoleon Palace", sea façade, as of ca. 1780 (M.G.A.F. compte de Choiseul-Gouffier)



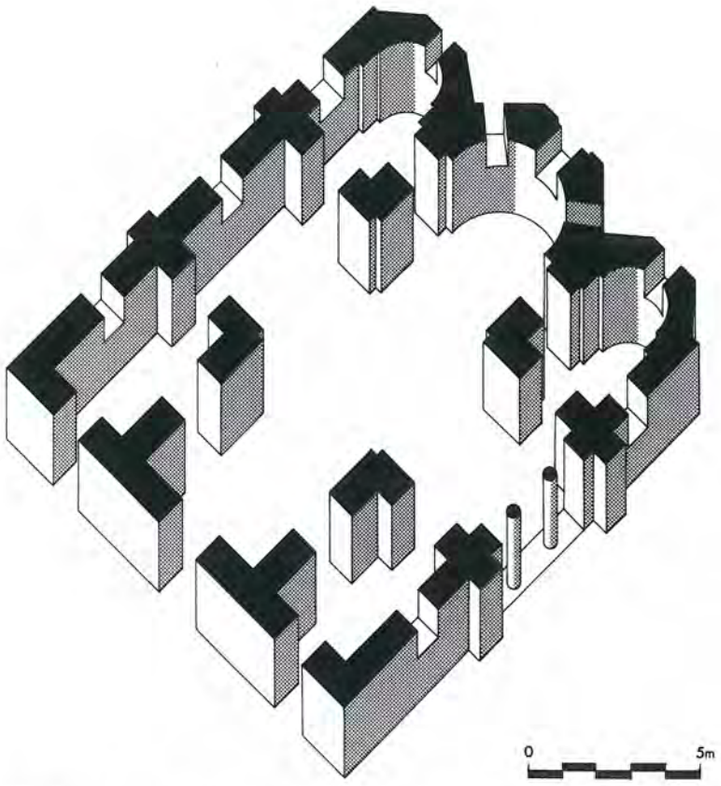
palace and a presumed open space in front of it stood (fig. 280). The vaulting units of the structure directly below the palace were domical, as opposed to the cross-vault units in the rest of the substructure. Identified as a cistern, it belongs to a large group of substructures – especially in the category of palatine architecture – whose main purpose may have been the creation of an elevated platform for the main floor of the palace. Such ideas, as we have seen, were in circulation from the time of the Tetrarchy. The palace itself was obviously a symmetrical block, possibly featuring a pair of towered pavilions at the far (northern and southern) ends, and also perhaps with a portico between them. The resulting form has been compared to the much later Venetian palaces, most notably to the so-called Fondaco dei Turchi. While that comparison may be irrelevant, the symmetrical, block-like appearance of the Myrelaion Palace, however, cannot be doubted, and it is that aspect that signals a new direction in the development of later Byzantine palatine architecture, in stark contrast to late antique trends.[26]



280 Constantinople, Myrelaion Palace; hypothetical reconstruction

URBAN MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES

Equally important in the development of Constantinople was its ecclesiastical architecture. On account of the drastic interventions of the Iconoclasts, after 843, potential patrons of large building projects faced multiple challenges. A major category, undoubtedly, was the restoration of the existing buildings. Basil I is credited with the restoration of as many as twenty-four urban and seven suburban churches. He is also known to have built eight new ones within the Great Palace alone.[27] All of these churches are known exclusively from the written sources. Attempts in earlier scholarship to identify some of the surviving churches in Istanbul, as belonging to the period in question and to draw some meaningful conclusions about the beginnings of new Byzantine architecture after the end of Iconoclasm, have proven largely misguided. The situation, however, is far from being as hopeless as it may appear.[28] The main problem, it would seem, is not the paucity of evidence, but our overly selective use of it. One of the particularly drastic aspects of this phenomenon is our continuing insistence on looking at "religious" and "secular" categories of architecture as separate and unrelated entities. Though scholars have acknowledged the potential dangers of this kind of thinking, few have actually managed to avoid this pitfall in their own written work. This is not the place for getting embroiled in an extensive debate of this issue. Sticking to the main line of our analysis, we will concentrate on some relevant observations that can be gleaned from considering the meager evidence of both religious and secular architecture during the ninth century jointly. Little is known about the specific architectural characteristics of the eight churches built by Basil I within the compound of the Great Palace. Perhaps the only thing on which scholars will now agree is that these churches were relatively small in size. Small-scale construction appears to be the single unmistakable hallmark of post-Iconoclast churches, in contrast to their considerably larger pre-Iconoclast predecessors. The phenomenon has been interpreted variously, but the emphasis on more private uses and patronage patterns appears to be the most rational of explanations.[29] Along with the new, smaller scale, a set of new building types also appeared. Among these, the so-called cross-in-square type was long ago singled out as perhaps coming closest to representing the "ideal" architectural form of this period of "Byzantine Revival." Believed to originate in Constantinople, it was seen as emerging directly from the inspired imperial patronage of Basil I and his followers. This appealing notion was shaken by the revelation that several monastic churches of this type on the Asian shores of the Sea of Marmara may actually date from the eighth century and that, therefore, they may antedate the end of Iconoclasm.[30] As a result, the question of the origins of some of the so-called Middle Byzantine architectural church types has become a subject of new enquiries.[31] While this debate continues, the related question of possible links between the "religious" and "secular" architectural realms again comes into focus as an insufficiently explored problem. At this point, only certain crucial points will



281 Constantinople, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii; axonometric

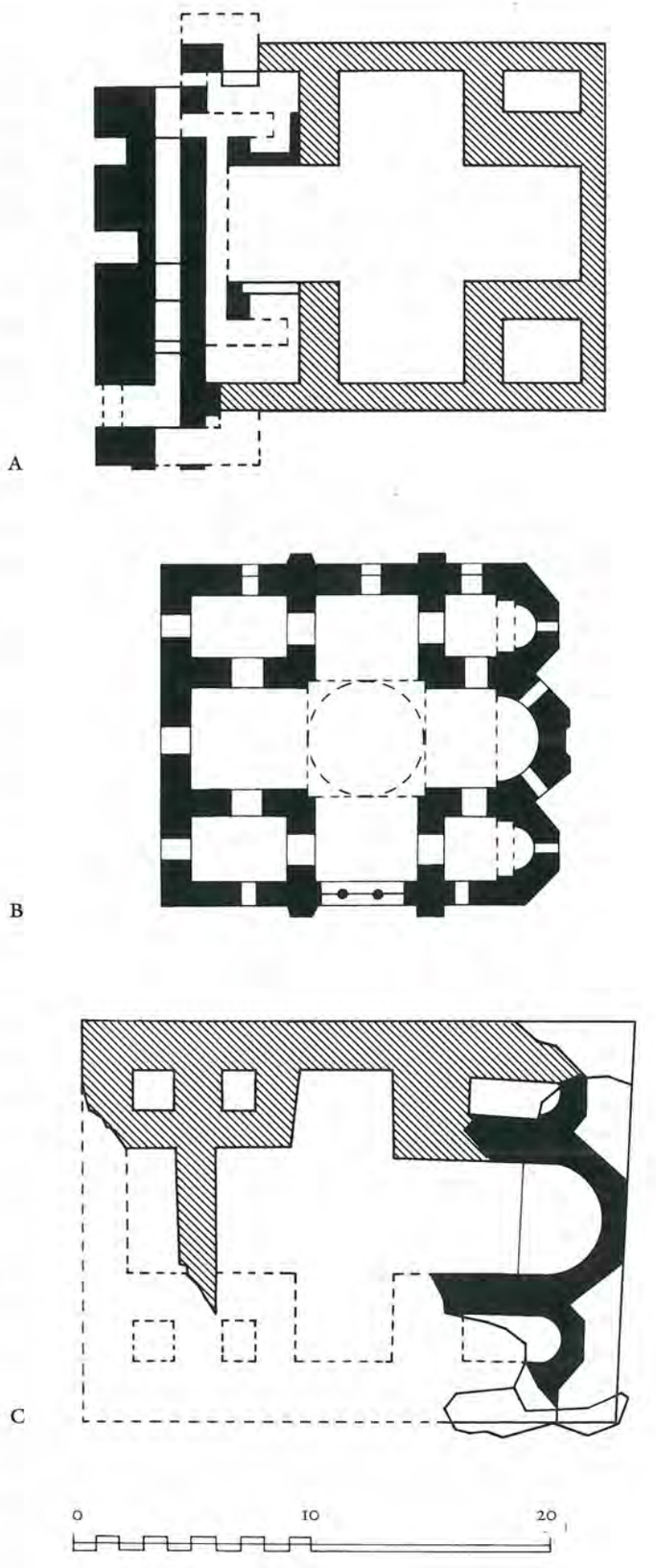
be raised. The abovementioned group of churches in eighth-century Byzantine monasteries near Trilye, in Bithynia, indicates that the four-columned scheme had become popular in monastic circles, certainly by the end of the eighth century. The core of all these churches is a square naos, featuring four freestanding columns that support four arches, pendentives, and a dome over the central bay; four barrel vaults arranged so as to resemble a cross with even arms extend from the central bay. Of the several churches and chapels built within the Great Palace by Basil I and Leo VI, only one is adequately described to make its internal disposition clear – the chapel dedicated to St. Anne, built by Leo VI. According to the text, its "roof is likewise upheld on four columns."[32] Very significantly, in the same part of the text by Theophanes Continuatus, four other "secular" rooms – all attributed to Emperor Theophilos (829–42) – are also described in a similar manner. This unmistakably suggests two things. First, that the four-column scheme apparently had no distinctive "religious" connotation. Second, it seems that in scale, and in general disposition, the new churches were comparable to "secular" halls, and were routinely built integrally with them within the residential context of the Great Palace. The latter point is of particular significance, because of a similar relationship between church buildings and residential parts that may be seen within contemporary monastic complexes. After 843 monastic culture, whose members often belonged to the Byzantine elites, appears to have borrowed from, as well as had an impact on, Byzantine society and "secular culture."[33]

Before turning to a different type of church associated with the period, we must consider another one from the complex of the Great Palace, the so-called Theotokos of the Pharos, the imperial palace church par excellence. Dedicated before 864, it was plundered by the Latins in 1204 and subsequently abandoned. The church was situated on one of the terraces of the Great Palace, adjacent to the Chrysotryklinos, with which it communicated directly. The vague descriptions in various written sources are not at all helpful in architectural terms, but leave an unmistakable impression that the church was one of the most important reliquary treasuries in Constantinople. Several relics of Christ's Passion – the Crown of Thorns, the Lance and the Sponge, the Nails of the Crucifixion – all held pride of place in its collection. Other relics in the church included the *mandylion*, the tunic of the Mother of God, the head of the Apostle Paul, and the body of Apostle Philip.[34] The Pharos church, embedded within the imperial palace and intimately associated with the throne room of the Byzantine emperors, was at once a private palace chapel and the chapel of the state. Its treasures and the splendor of its decoration must have made a profound impression on those privileged to enter it. This, one might argue, was as close as one could come on a private scale to experiencing the "Heavenly Jerusalem" on earth. The power, the splendor, and the functional symbolism of the relics kept at the Pharos were not lost on the Latins after their conquest of the Byzantine capital in 1204. When the relics of the Passion of Christ were sent from Constantinople to Louis IX of France, they were given a comparable location and symbolic function within the interior of the newly completed Sainte-Chapelle (dedicated in 1239) within the royal palace on the Ile de la Cité in Paris.

In addition to the "cross-in-square," four-column scheme, another Byzantine church type also deserves closer scrutiny in the same general context. The so-called cross-domed type, as we have seen, made its appearance much earlier. In the church architecture of Constantinople, however, it may have its earliest surviving example in a church of unknown name and uncertain date – the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii.[35] Measuring roughly 15 × 17.5 meters, the church constitutes a compact variant of the type, scale-wise related to Middle Byzantine architecture in general (figs. 281 and 282B). Consisting of a cruciform main unit, a dome occupying the center and four barrel vaults covering the arms of the cross, the church also has four separate chambers between the arms of the cross. Such schemes, of different scale and purpose, are known from many earlier examples. However, another undated church near the Bayazit Camii complex, and

known only from its foundations excavated in 1971–72, appears to agree in many of its features with the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (fig. 282C).[36] Measuring approximately 16 × 18.5 meters (excluding the narthex), it comes very close to the size of the other building. Its foundations indicate that it would have had a cruciform main unit, probably domed, with four corner chambers accommodated between the arms of the cross. On its east side, as in the case of the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, it had three three-sided apses. The spatial analysis of the two churches brings to mind the Pentkoubiklon in the Great Palace, built under the auspices of Basil I, and the structure of unknown function excavated near the well-known "Peristyle Court" (fig. 282A). That structure, discussed above, had a practically identical layout of foundations to the church near the Beyazit Camii complex, its cruciform core complemented by four small rooms between the arms of the cross. Equally important, it would seem, is the remarkable similarity of dimensions, the palace hall measuring 15 × 17.5 meters (fig. 282A). A clear link seems to have existed between the spatial and structural planning of "secular halls" and churches during the period. Differences between the two categories, other than the obvious ones deriving from the mandatory inclusion of a sanctuary in a church building, must have existed as well. These, however, are not so readily apparent from the building plans or from the brief descriptions left by Byzantine writers.

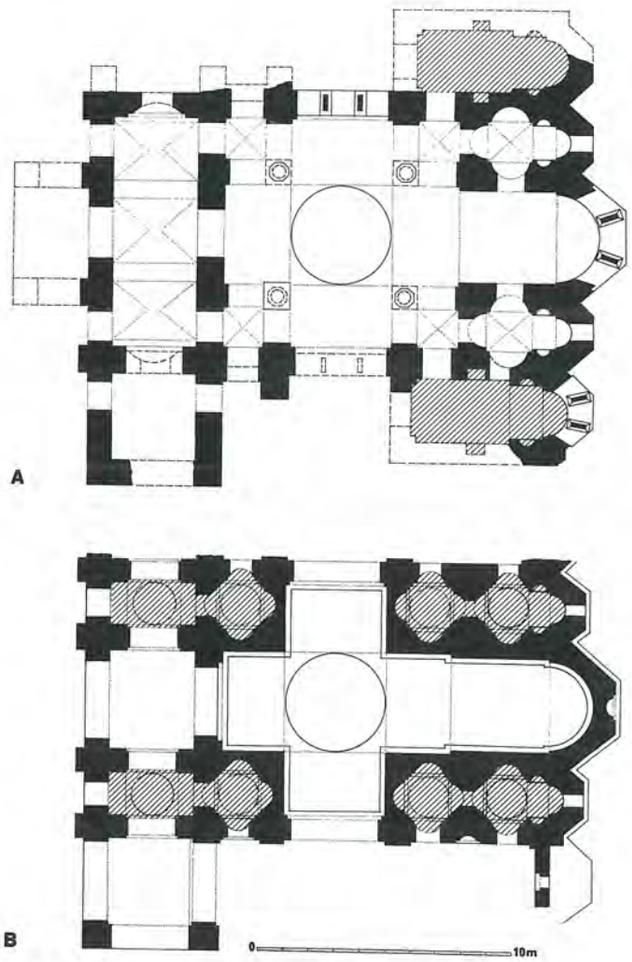
Another ninth-century church, albeit known only from a verbal description, may provide further indication that the type we have been analyzing may have had greater currency in ninth-century Constantinople than previously thought. This is the celebrated Nea Ekklēsia of Basil I, built *circa* 880.[37] Constructed along with several other churches commissioned by this emperor, the Nea was unquestionably the most distinguished achievement in the group. By virtue of a lengthy description, preserved in the *Vita Basilii*, we are in a position to shed additional light on the larger issues under discussion here.[38] Described as a church with five domes gleaming with gold mosaics, and externally covered with brass "that resembles gold," the building is also known to have had five dedications, its exterior form evidently reflecting this functional disposition. In fact, I have argued that the church was of the "cross-domed" type, with the four corner chapels with separate dedications each covered by a dome of its own. The central building core was enveloped on the north and south sides by barrel-vaulted porticoes. It was preceded by an atrium with two fountains, while on the east side it had a garden, referred to as the Mesokipion. Because its core was embedded within a larger building mass, including the lateral porticoes, the church probably would have seemed relatively low and bulky. Such is the impression conveyed by the image of a five-domed church that appears on one of the



282 Constantinople: (A)Pentakoubiklon (?), foundations; (B)Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii; (C) Church near Bayazit Camii, foundations. Plans

283 Constantinople, Nea Ekklēsia, general view; engraving detail (after 15th-century drawing by O. Panvinio) (?)

284 Constantinople, Monastery of Libos, "North Church": (A) ground floor, (B) gallery; plans

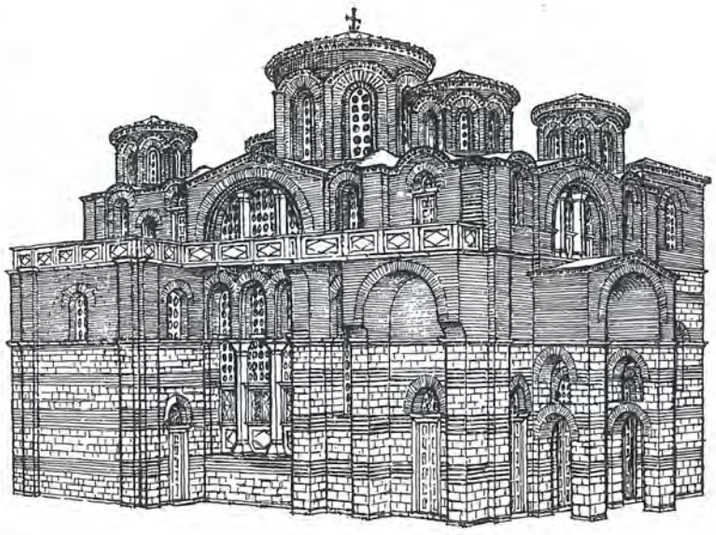


earliest modern views of Constantinople, attributed to Panvinio (fig. 283). The image reveals a church with a cluster of domes, in which the central, large dome dominates amidst the four smaller ones. We cannot be certain that the church depicted on these engravings is the Nea. Its location, within the area once occupied by the imperial palace, along with our knowledge that it had five domes, and the fact that it survived into the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed in a gunpowder explosion, however, all support such an identification. The impression of the Nea would not be complete without a few additional words about its interior appearance and contents. Its walls, as was customary in the church architecture of the capital from at least the sixth century, were lined with marble revetment, while its vaults and domes contained mosaics. Silver and gold were used to embellish the sanctuary and the templon screen separating the sanctuary from the naos. The synthronon steps and the altar tables (clearly indicating the presence of separate chapels) were apparently all covered with gilded silver sheets and precious stones.[39] The effect of these materials must have been stunning in itself. An assortment of most unusual relics, focused on Old Testament figures, made the Nea an imperial palace church of particular distinction. The sense of heavenly atmosphere and mystery must have been intensified by the clouds of incense smoke rising through special openings in the floor from the crypt below the church. For centuries to come, the "New Church," by virtue of its unique exterior form, set a standard of architectural design within the Byzantine sphere of influence. Indeed, its five gleaming domes may be thought of as having their most distant echoes in the five-domed cathedrals (*sobori*) of the Kremlin in Moscow.

Related and now much more accessible in physical terms is another church belonging to this era – the so-called North Church of Constantine Lips (*tou Libos*; also known by the Turkish name Fenari Isa Camii).[40] Built in 907, this is the oldest surviving securely dated church in Constantinople built after the end of Iconoclasm. The church was substantially modified by the addition of the late thirteenth-century church of Hagios Ioannis Prodromos, built by Empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII (see Chapter 8), and again after the conversion of both churches into a mosque *circa* 1460–80. The North Church was two-storied and belonged to the so-called cross-in-square type (figs. 284A and B). In it, the plan associated with this type achieved a level of perfection and sophistication that presumes some earlier experimentation. Its main body measures 16.5 × 21 meters, and thus relates closely to the other contemporary churches discussed earlier. Though this is the oldest surviving "cross-in-square" church in the capital, we now know that the type had been in use for at least a century before 907. The plan consists of a perfectly square naos that originally had four free-

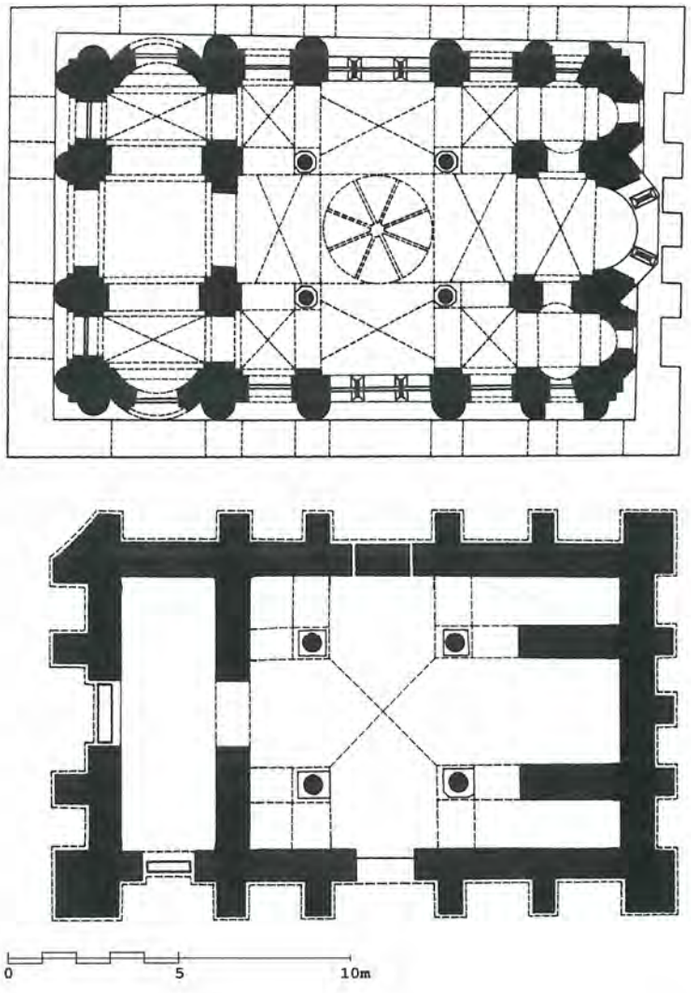
standing columns in the middle, supporting the four barrel-vaulted arms of the cross and a dome above the central bay. The present columns and the dome are all the results of Ottoman intervention. To the west, the building was preceded by an oblong narthex, externally flanked by two tower-like structures on the north and south sides. Neither of these is preserved, but enough information has been retrieved through archaeological excavations and the studying of the monument to indicate that at least the southern one had an internal stair that led to the upper story of the church. Furthermore, these towers were in all likelihood connected with a monastery enclosure, of which nothing survives, but which may have been comparable in general disposition to the monastery of Ravna, excavated in eastern Bulgaria (see fig. 312). To the east of the naos, and separated from it by a templon screen, of which fragments have been retrieved, was the bema. As wide as the naos, this consisted of three parts – the main sanctuary, and two flanking chapels, the so-called pastophories. The main part of the sanctuary was barrel-vaulted. This barrel vault was enclosed by the semi-dome of the main apse on the east side; on the west side it abutted the east arm of the naos cross. The vault of the eastern cross arm had a slightly greater diameter resulting in a skewback arrangement between it and the slightly narrower and lower vault of the main sanctuary bay. The point is of some significance in the architecture of Constantinople. It tends to appear in its church architecture with some regularity thereafter. Elsewhere it appears only sporadically, and when it does it often signals Constantinopolitan connections. Equally "Constantinopolitan" is the articulation of the chapels flanking the central sanctuary. Each is treated as a miniscule tetraconch in plan, revealing both a sophistication of formal design and a high level of technical skill in execution. The final point about the North Church of the Lips that needs to be made concerns its subsidiary chapels.[41] Two of these flanked the main body of the church to the north and south, while four more occupied the corner spaces between the arms of the cross on the upper level. Functionally, these would have served private worshiping needs, and may have been reserved for privileged individuals, sequestered within the monastery.[42] Relying on tetraconch design schemes, these chapels repeat, in principle, the scheme of the chapels flanking the central sanctuary on the ground floor. Unlike their ground-level counterparts, the upper chapels were domed. It has been postulated that four of these domes may have been elevated on tall drums, and as such made visible externally (fig. 285). Thus, a five-domed composition would have been created that, in certain general ways, may have echoed the scheme of the Nea.

Smaller in size and simpler in disposition is the church of Myrelaion (also known by its Turkish name Bodrum Camii) (figs. 286 and 288).[43] Built by Romanos I Lakapenos, it was



285 Constantinople, Monastery of Libos, "North Church"; hypothetical reconstruction

286 Constantinople, Myrelaion Church; plan



287 Constantinople, Myrelaion Church; dome, exterior view

288 Constantinople, Myrelaion Church; general view from S, ca. 1912

attached to his urban palace, built before he rose to the imperial throne in 920. Because of its relationship to the palace, elevated on the huge platform described above, the church itself required a separate substructure that would elevate it to a suitable level. Drastically altered, most recently by a crude "restoration" and its subsequent reemployment as a mosque, requiring a complete whitewashing of its interior, the church bears little resemblance to its original form, still substantially recognizable after the damage caused by fire in 1911. Measuring only 10 × 17 meters in plan, the Myrelaion is the smallest of the group of churches in Constantinople discussed in this chapter (fig. 286). It belongs to the "cross-in-square" type. Its square naos is preceded by an oblong narthex whose short ends terminate in shallow niches that bulge out on the exterior. To the east the naos expands into a "tripartite" sanctuary using a design formula similar to that seen in the North Church of Constantine Lips. In both cases the original four columns that upheld the main dome have disappeared, as have the templon screens and all of the church furnishings. Likewise, both churches have lost the marble revetment and mosaic decoration that must have covered their walls and vaults, respectively. The Myrelaion has preserved its original dome (fig. 287). Elevated on an eight-sided drum, pierced by eight round-headed windows, this is the oldest surviving dome in the capital postdating the Iconoclast era. Built entirely of brick, as is the rest of the "upper" church, the dome is characterized by triangular "buttresses" that project between the windows from its basically cylindrical drum. Internally, the shell of the dome is scalloped in a manner that constitutes yet another distinctive "Constantinopolitan" design trait. The exterior walls of the church were originally substantially dematerialized through the presence of a large number of windows, which produced a relatively light effect in the interior (fig. 288). Individual windows, or groups of windows, filled the bays, internally and externally marked by structural elements that reveal principles that belie an understanding of classical architecture. It may be unwise to see here anything more than the builders' familiarity with the surviving buildings from the era of Justinian, of which many more must have stood in those days than is the case today. The structural rigor and almost skeletal framing of the building do suggest extensive building experience, but also an approach to architecture that is learned, and basically very different from the approaches we will see in other parts of the Byzantine world. The presence of massive semi-cylindrical buttresses on the exterior adds an emphasis to this understanding of structural form. They also magnify the sense of "plasticity" that marks this architecture. That sense was originally far greater when the exterior forms were brought into high relief by projecting horizontal string-courses, whose forms and shadows played a crucial aesthetic role. Their removal has irretrievably altered our perception of the building, whose exterior was probably originally also plastered and painted. The Myrelaion, as well as most surviving churches in Constantinople, emphasizes the degree to which the imagination of the present-day beholder must be engaged if the original appearance of these buildings is to be recaptured even in part.

We may never know with certainty the full range of functional intentions regarding the Myrelaion church. One aspect of its presumably multiple functions is beyond any doubt. Shortly after its construction, in 922, it became the resting place of the emperor's consort, Theodora, who died that year. In 931 and 946 two of the emperor's sons were also buried here. Finally, in 948, the sources tell us that the remains of Emperor Romanos I were laid to rest in the church as well. The excavations carried out in 1965 in the substantial crypt revealed no traces of burials earlier

289 Constantinople, Christos tēs Chalkitēs; engraving (G. Indjidjian)

than the fourteenth century. This has left open the question of where the four Lakapeni may have been buried. The sources do speak of the transfer of three marble sarcophagi from Hagios Menas to the Myrelaion, but they do not specify where in the church they may have been situated. It is difficult to visualize how these sarcophagi would have fitted in so small a building. An earlier hypothesis that the "lower church" was planned for burials having been proven wrong, the two-storied burial church "type" has lost one of its key "examples." Another potential case in this category is the church dedicated to Christos tēs Chalkitēs (also known by its Turkish name Arslan Hane), a two-storied building related to the famous Chalki Gate of the Great Palace.[44] The church was constructed in 972 by Emperor John I Tsimiskēs (969–76) as a replacement of an older and smaller chapel that occupied the same site. Intended as a victory monument over the Rus, it was also planned as the eventual resting place for the emperor, whose embossed gold and enamel sarcophagus was situated in the narthex, and therefore on the upper level of the church. The church is known only from old descriptions and views of the city, including an early nineteenth-century engraving made shortly before its final demise (fig. 289). Its layout and design are difficult to judge, but it would appear that its large, possibly scalloped dome, was elevated on a tall drum with buttresses between the windows. Initially, Mango believed that the church was of the triconch type, but in a more recent study he opted for a tetraconch scheme.[45] Mango also recognizes this church as an early example of Armenian influence on the architecture of the Byzantine capital, and ties this to the Armenian origins of John Tsimiskēs himself.

Links with Armenia deserve another mention in this context. When the earthquake of 989 brought down the great western arch, the western semi-dome, and part of the great dome of Hagia Sophia, Emperor Basil II undertook, at great expense, to repair the damage. At least two Byzantine sources refer to the incident and its aftermath, but an Armenian source interjects that the famous Armenian architect Trdat was brought in to supervise the reconstruction.[46] Although no other source makes any mention of this fact, the episode is an interesting possibility, for it suggests mechanisms that were undoubtedly at work – the great capital of the empire always attracting talent from the periphery, especially when special skills for specific tasks were being called for. This, it must be remembered, was continually a characteristic of building practice in Constantinople.

Thessaloniki

The volume of architectural activity in the second city of the empire during the ninth and tenth centuries cannot be compared to what we have seen in the capital. Without any doubt, the economic and the related cultural revival made its most profound impact in Constantinople, from where its ripples reached into other parts of the empire. Having undergone a period of relative economic recovery during the eighth century, Thessaloniki suffered one of the worst disasters of its long history – the sack by the Arabs in 904. According to John Kaminiates, an eyewitness of the event, the city, though warned of the impending attack, was ill-prepared to deal with the situation. The vivid descriptions of the hasty campaign of reinforcing the sea walls under the direction of General Petronas are instructive in several ways.[47] Finding the original plan to heighten the relatively low sea walls impractical because of time constraints, the general, apparently, ordered columns (sarcophagi ?) from ancient Greek tombs in the eastern and western parts of the city to be brought and deposited in the water, in front of the sea walls. Thus a type of underwater barrier was to be formed that should have made it impossible for the Arab ships to make a landing. The use of spoils for new construction is a well-known and widespread practice during this period. The reference to columns coming from "ancient Greek" tombs is of some interest. Columns were not commonly used in tomb contexts in late antiquity, while the likelihood of ancient Greek cemeteries surviving into the tenth century also seems very small. What may be read into Kaminiates' account is that General Petronas may have ordered the despoiling of the abandoned early Christian cemetery basilicas located outside the city walls, such as the large three-aisled fifth-century basilica probably destroyed in the Avar raids of 618 (see p. 103). This building and others like it, built during the era of the city's greatest prosperity, and subsequently destroyed and abandoned, could have provided the necessary material, particularly columns, for Petronas' project. The intended underwater

290 Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia; dome from NE

barrier that would have been created in this manner directly in front of the sea walls signaled the beginning of a process of the artificial filling in of the sea front that has continued to the present. Over the centuries, the sea front of Thessaloniki has been steadily advancing into the bay, its present line being some 50 meters or more in front of the late antique sea walls. General Petronas' plan, however, was evidently scrapped half-finished, and the original project of heightening and reinforcing the walls was resumed. The efforts ultimately proved futile and the city succumbed after a three-day siege on 31 July 904. After ten days of pillage, plunder, rape, and murder, Thessaloniki was left devastated by its invaders, facing the beginning of yet another period of painful recovery.

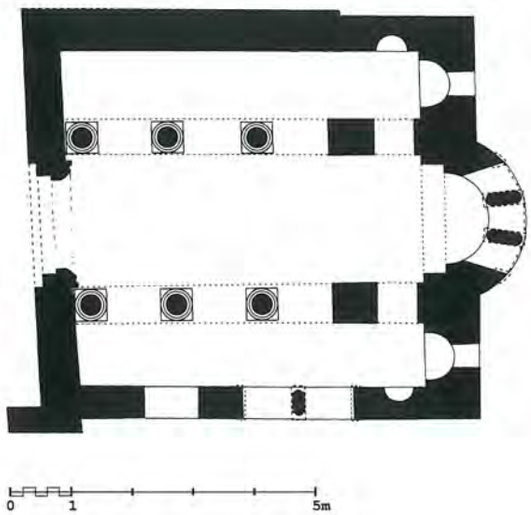
The fortifications of Thessaloniki, judging by the preserved inscriptions, were being repaired both before and after the terrible event of 904. A well-preserved inscription, dated 862, on the southernmost tower in the west line of the city walls mentions that the tower was repaired ("renewed") in the time of the imperial *protospatharios* Marinos, and under the supervision of an imperial *strator* by the name of Kakikis. Another inscription, discovered in the ruins of the sea walls, and now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki, encapsulates the historical moment in extremely precise terms. It mentions that the wall "renewal" under a *protospatharios* Leo, a General Chitzilakis, and John, archbishop of Thessaloniki, took place during the reign of the co-emperors Leo and Alexander (886–912) and under the ecumenical patriarch Nikolaos I (901–07), the latter dates narrowing the span to the period of the Arab siege.[48]

While we know of no major buildings being built in Thessaloniki during the ninth and tenth centuries, several significant restoration projects did take place, evidently as responses to major damage caused by earthquakes.[49] Archaeological evidence in these cases provides the clues, while the written records are silent. We must start with the church of Hagia Sophia, whose main dome received a remarkable mosaic depicting the *Ascension of Christ* around 880. Along with the mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, this constitutes one of the first large-scale figurative mosaic compositions executed in a church following the end of the Iconoclast Controversy. The richly articulated garland band that provides the lower border of this mosaic includes two sections of an older inscription that was incorporated into the new work. Much ink has been spilled attempting to explain the significance of these inscription fragments in this context. Everyone now seems to be in agreement on one thing only – the inscriptions belong to an older mosaic that was for some reason destroyed, with only these two pieces left *in situ*. A hypothesis has been advanced that the cause of destruction may have been one of the earthquakes recorded between 813 and 820.[50] Two addenda may be suggested in connection with this plausible hypothesis. First is that the earthquake may have been the one alluded to only indirectly in the reference to repair work carried out on a tower of the sea walls in 862. The second point is that, if the dome had to be partially rebuilt at this time, its original design may have been partially modified as well. Thus, it would stand to reason that a thinner, and therefore less stable, drum upon which the original dome may have rested was externally strengthened by being embedded into a massive cubical base, which is one of the hallmarks of the present church (fig. 290). Four arguments may be advanced that support this hypothesis. First, the present drum of Hagia Sophia has no parallels in Byzantine architecture. Second, the principle of thickening the wall mass as a means of solving earthquake-related structural problems has been identified as a factor affecting Byzantine church design.[51] Third, the varying forms and proportions of the windows on the exterior face of the present drum can be understood only as products of an "afterthought" solution. Fourth, the present cubical drum, close to its base, reveals a band of several courses of bricks, the surfaces of which are not smooth, but have resulted from projecting bricks having been broken off to create a flat surface. The original arrangement must have involved a double "dogtooth" cornice of a much lower, conventional dome base, which would have carried the original dome and drum that probably collapsed in part in 862.

Closely related to this repair project in several ways was the reconstruction of the dome and the apse of the Rotunda. The interventions here involved a partial rebuilding of the main dome, the rebuilding of the collapsed main apse, its reinforcement by two lateral flying buttresses, and the painting of the *Ascension* fresco in the conch of the apse. Iconographically and

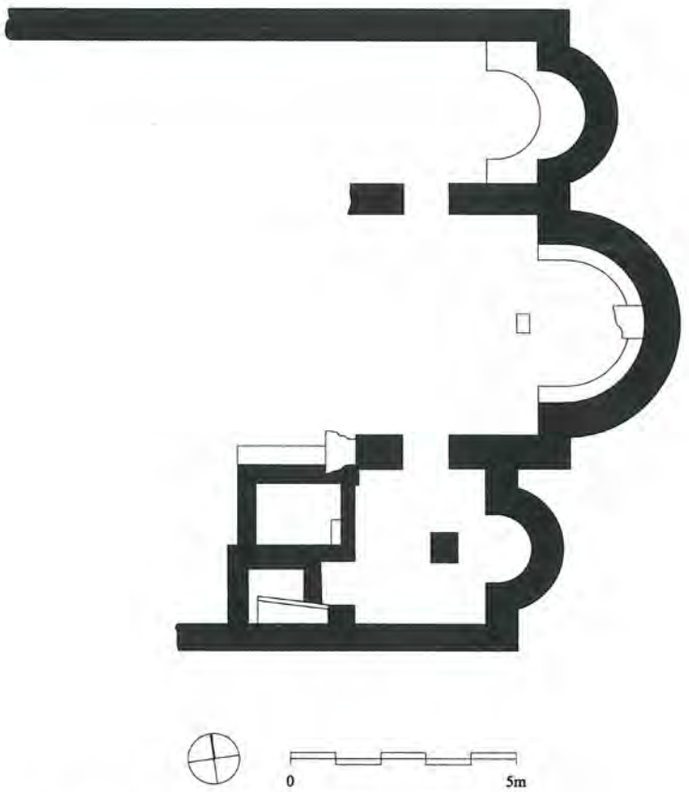
stylistically, the *Ascension* is closely related to the mosaic in the dome of Hagia Sophia, and therefore must be chronologically close as well. All of these interventions, save for the *Ascension* fresco, were previously viewed as the results of earthquakes that presumably occurred in the 630s. With considerable confidence we can now argue that the chances of this having taken place in the 860s are much greater.[52] In the 630s Thessaloniki was almost under continuous siege by the Slavs and the Avars. During that desperate period, this kind of quality repair work on the city's main buildings would seem highly unlikely. The circumstances during the second half of the ninth century would seem to have been just the opposite. In addition to the general historical and economic conditions favoring the later dating, the appearance of a pair of flying buttresses at the Rotunda also deserves comment. Western scholars have attributed flying buttresses, along with a number of other design and structural features in later Byzantine architecture, to "Western influence" on Byzantine development after 1204. Without going into this argument in greater depth, we should only note here that the *Vita Basilii* credits Emperor Basil I with the repair of two venerable older churches in Constantinople by the addition of buttresses.[53] Though the type of buttresses is not specified, the very fact that they were referred to at all would seem to imply that they differed from conventional wall buttresses, whose mention would not have been warranted at all. Because the dating of the Constantinopolitan buttresses is framed by the dates of the reign of Basil I (867–86), chronologically they coincide with the proposed dating for the pair of buttresses added to the apse of the Rotunda. In the same context it should be noted that the church of Acheiropoietos also underwent a major rebuilding of its apse at the same time. Despite the absence of large-scale new buildings, Thessaloniki was a major construction site during the ninth and tenth centuries. In addition to repair work following a period of deprivation and decline during the preceding two centuries, Thessaloniki suffered a series of earthquakes between 813 and 820, and possibly again – if our interpretation is correct – around 862, and the destruction of the city by the Arabs – for which we have only general written accounts; these all must have been major setbacks, but also incentives for the reestablishment of local building workshops under the generally improved economic conditions during the period.

Very little is known about new construction in Thessaloniki during the ninth and tenth centuries. The small chapel of Hagios Euthymios, attached to the southeast corner of the basilica of Hagios Dēmētrios, has been a subject of debate as far as the date of its construction is concerned (fig. 291).[54] Because of the extensive cycle of early fourteenth-century frescoes on its interior walls, the architecture of the chapel has also been assumed to date from that period. Other opinions favor a late ninth- or a tenth-century date, which seems to make sense on stylistic and technical grounds. The building is a miniscule three-aisled basilica, with a single apse, round internally as well as externally. The construction technique features a predominant use of small fieldstones with some irregular use of brick and a liberal application of mortar. All of these characteristics find close parallels in ninth- and tenth-century architecture elsewhere, while they do not match any of the large number of surviving fourteenth-century buildings in Thessaloniki. In terms of its specific location, the chapel rests directly on a monumental flight of stairs that provided one of several points of entry to the original basilica. By the tenth century, such a door would no longer have constituted a functional necessity. This, of itself, cannot be used as an argument for an early date, but combined with the abovementioned aspects it adds credibility to such a hypothesis.



291 Thessaloniki, H. Euthymios, plan

Another church from this period came to light in the archaeological excavations conducted in the 1930s. Published, but essentially unknown in the broader scholarship, it is of some relevance for the understanding of the emerging general picture. Built at an unknown time, probably before 843, on account of some of its "Iconoclast" fresco decoration, the church of Hagios Ioannis Prodromos was restored in the years 925–50, presumably after the Arab conquest of 904 (fig. 292).[55] The western part of the church could not be excavated, so our knowledge of this important monument rests on a partially retrieved plan. The church measured 14.5 meters in width, and its length may be postulated as having been around 17 meters. As such, the building compares readily to several churches in Constantinople built during the same period. Its eastern end was marked by three apses, all internally and externally semicircular. The main apse



292 Thessaloniki, H. Ioannis Prodromos; plan

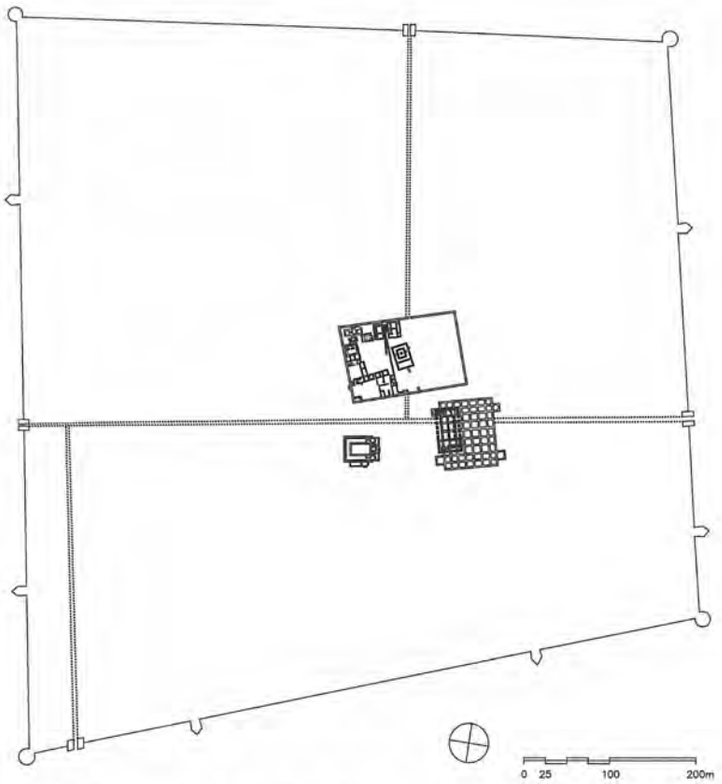
included a bench and apparently a higher throne in the center. The bema was separated from the lateral chapels by walls perforated by small doors. The chapel on the south side clearly had a funerary function. Its west side was enclosed by two monumental constructed tombs whose tops rose well above the floor of the chapel, making it accessible only through the bema. If the church had a dome, it would have been 5 meters in diameter and would have rested on a pierced arcade, comparable to several other solutions that will be discussed below.

In addition to the revival of large ancient cities with long histories, such as Constantinople and Thessaloniki, various other expressions of revived forms of urban life dating from the ninth and tenth centuries are on record in many areas of the Balkans. A particularly interesting phenomenon, in this regard, is the appearance of urban life and its manifestations in architecture within the context of the First Bulgarian Empire. This subject, however, is riddled with controversy that requires some introductory comments. Since historical records do not survive, and the archaeological evidence is tenuous, the interpretation of the material evidence has led to conclusions that are not always acceptable. The problem has been compounded because much of the more recent historiography on Bulgarian medieval architecture has embraced some of the initial erroneous interpretations, and what should have been treated as hypotheses have been relied upon as "solid facts" instead. Some aspects of this problem have already been broached in Chapter 4. Here, we will simply emphasize the need for a more sensitive approach to questions addressing "continuities" and "discontinuities," which are at the root of all forms of research pertaining to the Balkans during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Pliska

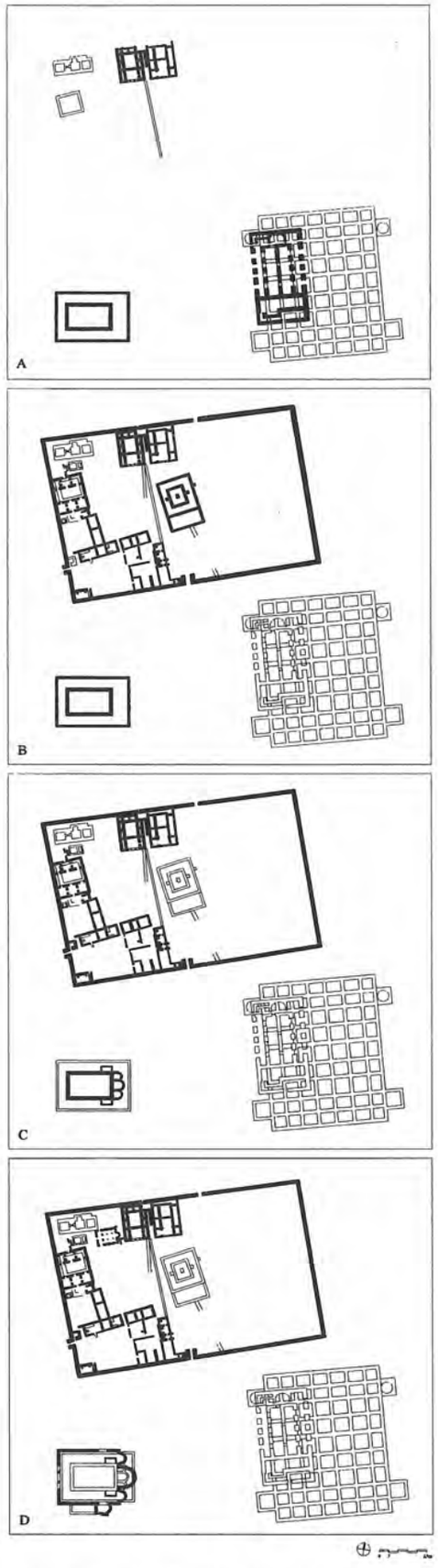
The initial discovery, in 1898, of a major fortified settlement near the village of Aboba in northeastern Bulgaria promptly led to its identification as Pliska, the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire. The enthusiasm of its original excavators, Karel Skorpil and Theodore Ouspenskii, prepared the base upon which – too often uncritically – subsequent scholarship has built a much-distorted larger picture.[56] There can be no doubt that early Bulgarians did settle on this site. The chance that this may have actually been Pliska also need not be viewed with suspicion, despite the fact that no identifying inscriptions have been found. What has to be questioned is whether Khan Krum (802–14) or his son Khan Omurtag (814–31), or even one of the earlier Bulgarian khans, can be thought of as the founders – on a virgin site – of this vast fortified complex.[57] As already argued in Chapter 4, the enormous camp, of roughly trapezoidal plan, whose massive stone wall encloses an area of approximately 52 hectares, displays characteristics of Early Byzantine fortification architecture. Its size would easily have ranked it as one of the larger late antique fortified establishments in the Balkans. Its high-quality ashlar construction and the employment of distinctive pentagonal towers are characteristic aspects of Early Byzantine fortifications. On the other hand, the use of spoils in many buildings within this enclosure, the use of early Byzantine brick, and so on, have been explained by the proponents of the Bulgarian origins of Pliska as the result of material having been brought in from abandoned Byzantine sites nearby. Finally, the fortified town was completely surrounded by an earth rampart, some 21 kilometers in length, providing a huge interior area of approximately 2,300 hectares. This space, surely never intended to be fully inhabited, would have equaled approximately 1.6 times the area enclosed within the city walls of Constantinople.

The site of Pliska, as explained in Chapter 4, most probably was originally a large Early Byzantine establishment, built in at least two major phases. In the first of these the complex consisted of a vast earth rampart enclosure, with several large elements within it. Made probably as a large military camp – a base for large-scale operations along the frontier – it included a complex thought to be a fortified palace, a cistern, a bath, and

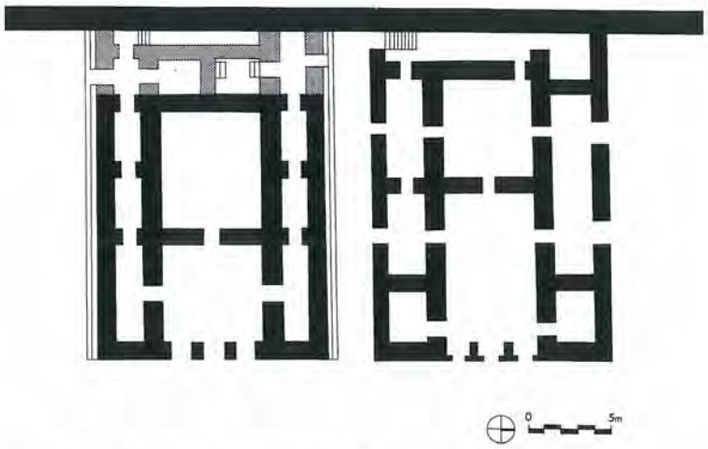


293 Pliska, Byzantine fortified site; plan

a small cruciform martyrium. In fact, this martyrium may have been the *raison d'être* for the establishment of the entire complex on this location. In the second postulated phase, which probably took place in the early sixth century (possibly under Anastasios I), the complex was fortified even more strongly, apparently after having suffered severe destruction at some point in the later fifth century (fig. 293). During the second phase, the stone wall with towers around the main part of the establishment must have been built. The new palace, including a ceremonial basilica (generally referred to as the "throne palace"), was evidently built at this time, along with the first phase of the Great Basilica (replacing the destroyed martyrium) and the buildings of the expanded waterworks. Not long after the completion of the basilica, probably still within the sixth century, it was enlarged by the addition of pastophories, a baptistery, a new "martyrium," and possibly galleries above the side aisles and the narthex. The enlarged basilica must have been in use when the Bulgarians finally took over the site, presumably around 800. It is possible that the basilican hall ("throne palace") was destroyed at that time. In any case, it would appear that the first genuinely Bulgarian buildings on the site, built then, were the two halls – referred to as "residential court buildings" – and the so-called pagan temple, just west from the "throne palace" (fig. 294A).[58]



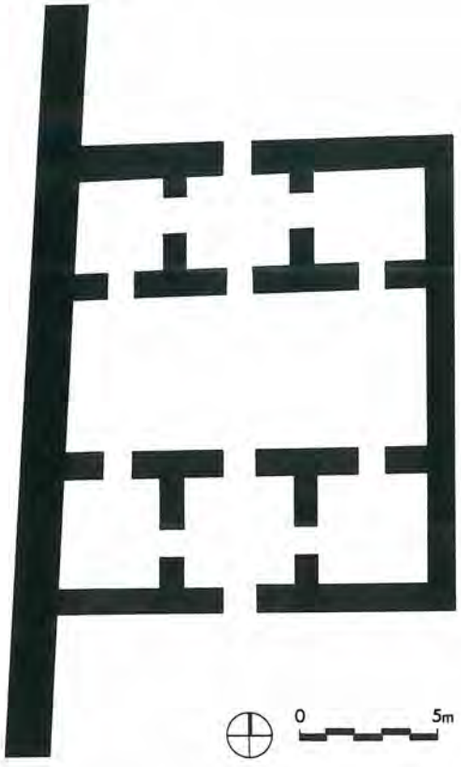
294 Pliska, Bulgarian palace complex, hypothetical evolution phases; plans: (A) "Residential court buildings"; (B) Palace complex under Omurtag; (C) Palace complex under Boris; (D) Palace complex under Symeon



295 Pliska, "Residential court buildings"; plan

Two "residential court buildings" seem to constitute the core of what appears to have been the palace of the Bulgarian khans. The two buildings, essentially of identical plans, lie close to each other and in the relative proximity of the later brick enclosure wall. The buildings measure 14 × 19 meters and are axially symmetrical (fig. 295). Their internal disposition involves a sequence of large rooms along the main axis. The southernmost of these rooms, in both cases, opened to the exterior of the building through a triple-arched door. Flanking this central row of large rooms were sequences of smaller rooms organized in parallel, aisle-like rows. Remnants of stairs in both buildings indicate that they must have been at least two-storied. The walls of both structures were made of large ashlar blocks, probably pilfered from the ruins of the nearby basilican hall. The exact functional layout of these halls is far from clear. An attempt to ascribe the right (eastern) hall to men and the left one to women cannot be ascertained either by internal evidence or on the basis of comparanda. Palatine buildings of comparable size and layout appear in Pliska and elsewhere in ninth- and tenth-century Bulgaria, as well as beyond the Bulgarian frontiers. Because no imperial palace buildings from ninth- and tenth-century Constantinople have come to light, we are left only with the supposition that some connections must have existed between the two traditions.

296 Pliska, Palace hall; plan

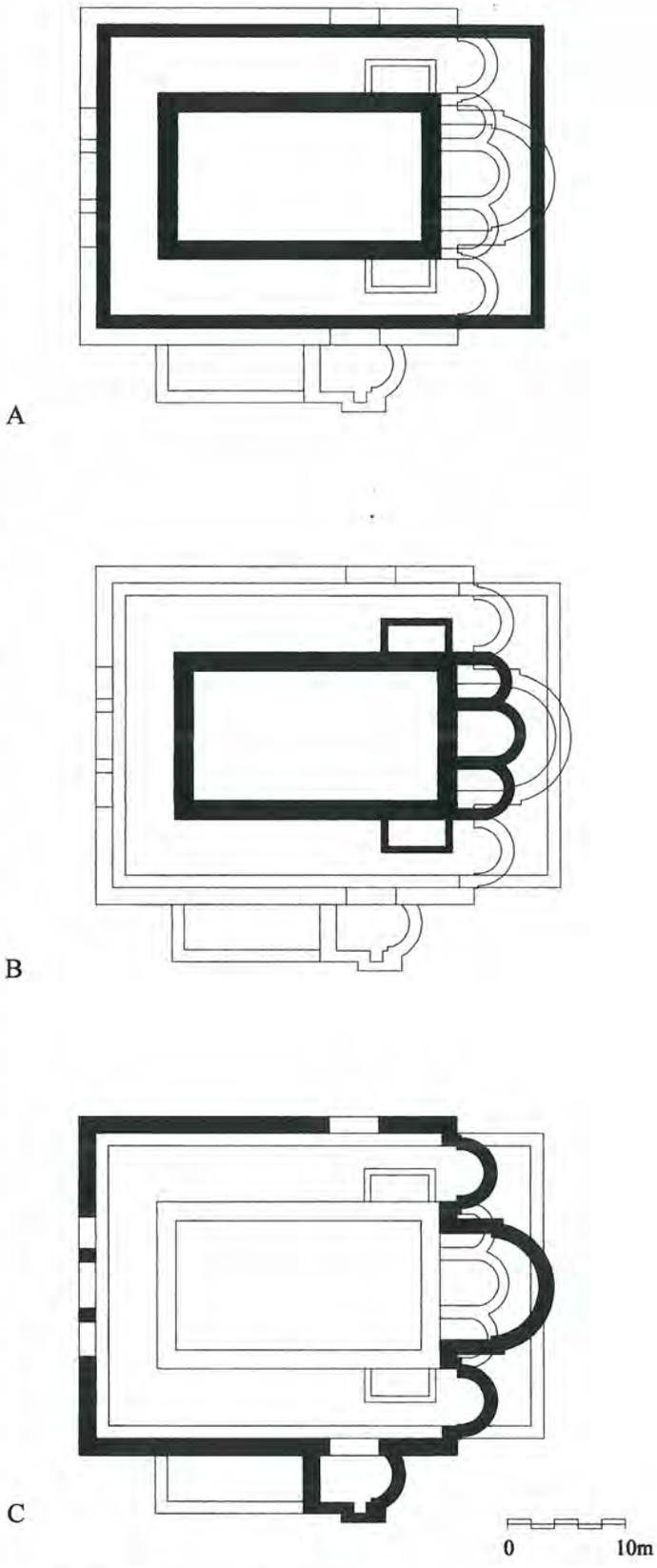


The so-called pagan temple ("shrine") is situated to the west of the "throne palace" and to the south of the "residential court buildings" (figs. 294A and 297A). Remains of its rectangular foundations have been discovered integrated into the two later phases of construction associated with the conversion of the temple into a church. The structure was oriented and its foundations were made of two concentric rectangles outlined by solid ashlar walls. One is tempted to think of a central cella surrounded by a colonnade of freestanding columns, but whether such an analogy with ancient Greco-Roman temple architecture is appropriate or not is difficult to say. Measuring 26 × 36 meters in its outermost perimeter, this building had a scale consistent with that of the "residential court buildings." It should be noted that it was considerably smaller than the basilican hall and, therefore, it is unlikely that it could have been coeval with it, as most Bulgarian scholars maintain.

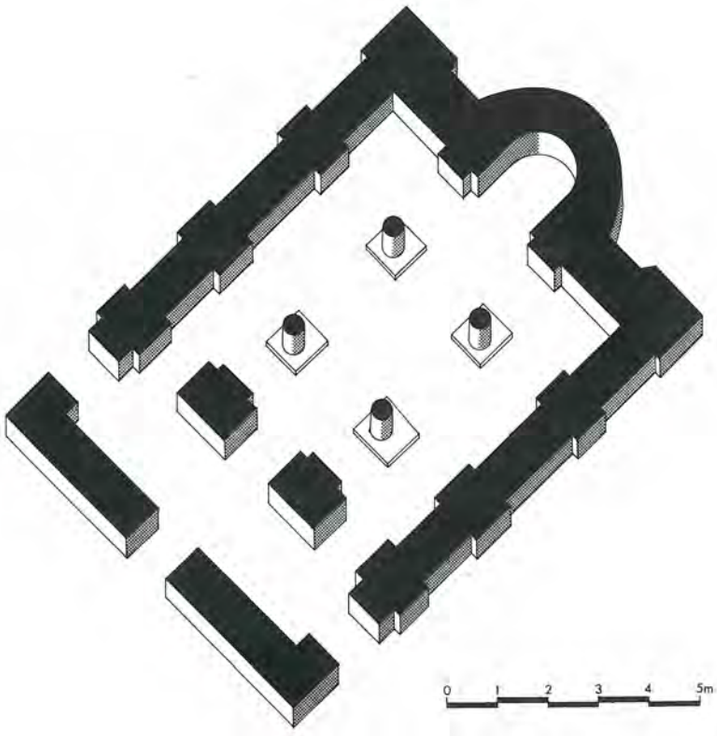
In 811 Pliska was torched by the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros I. The destruction must have necessitated the substantial reconstruction of the central part of the site, which in all likelihood was carried out under Khan Omurtag. The most important of these interventions was the construction of a solid wall around the palace complex (fig. 294B). This wall, enclosing a rectangular space measuring 84 × 128 meters, made entirely of brick, gave the palace of the khans a new fortified look that no doubt recalled, albeit on a small scale, the enclosure of the Great Palace in Constantinople. The enclosure had three gates, two of which – on the south and west sides – seem to have had ceremonial roles. Bricks used in the construction of this enclosure wall have Byzantine stamps on them, and therefore are thought to come from some nearby Byzantine site (e.g., Voivoda). Actually, they must have come from some structure(s) within Pliska itself. This could include even the Great Basilica, whose survival through the pagan phase of Pliska as the Bulgarian capital should not be taken for granted. The two "residential court buildings," now

enclosed within the new court, must have been rebuilt or repaired. Another palace hall, presumably of a more ceremonial nature, was built along the western wall of the complex, above the remains of a suppressed water distribution cistern that once stood on the site (figs. 294B and 296). This structure clearly abutted the new enclosure wall. It had a main room in the center measuring 6 × 14 meters, flanked by rows of three square rooms, whose general disposition, if not scale, recalls the plans of the late antique audience halls that have been discussed in earlier chapters. At the time of its reconstruction, the Palace of the Khans must have also acquired a second pagan temple ("shrine"), roughly in the middle of its open court. This temple may have replaced the original structure within a safer, fortified enclosure. Alternatively, it may have had a more private function, intended for the occupants of the palace, in contrast to its somewhat larger counterpart, which, in this new arrangement, would have remained outside the walls, and therefore could have had a more public role.

The next important chapter in Pliska's history began with the aggressive process of Christianization under Khan Boris, following his conversion to Christianity in 864. Among the many problems of archaeology at Pliska, the distinction between its "pagan" and "Christian" Bulgarian phases is one of the most complex issues. The older scholarship assigned to Khan Boris the role of a great builder, and attributed to him the building of the Great Basilica with the accompanying episcopal and monastic complex. We cannot accept this interpretation. Boris's architectural activities appear to have been substantially more curtailed. Consistent with his somewhat ruthless approach to the process of Christianization, he may be held responsible for the immediate suppression of the pagan cult buildings at Pliska. The larger of the two temples(?), outside the palace walls, having served a public function, was evidently converted into a basilican church (figs. 294C and 297B). This may have been the new cathedral of Pliska, since the Great Basilica was probably destroyed during the preceding decades, under the pagan khans. A cluster of three apses, round externally and internally, was added to the east end of the original building. Even in its reduced format, this would have been a fairly sizeable church, with a plan measuring approximately 14 × 29 meters. The church was distinguished also by two projecting rectangular lateral rooms that flank the sanctuary and form a "pseudo-transept." Whatever its original function, it was at some point destroyed and eventually replaced with a much larger, three-aisled basilica. The historical course of events at Pliska suggests that the destruction may have occurred during the brief pagan insurrection under Boris's son and successor Vladimir (889–93). It is conceivable that the destruction of the first church may have been combined with the restoration of the "pagan temple." If that were so, the restoration of Chris-



297 Pliska, (A) Pagan temple, (B) First, and (C) Second cathedrals; plans



298 Pliska, Palace church; axonometric

tianity under Boris' second son, Symeon, in 893 may have been the occasion for the construction of the second basilican church on the site (figs. 294D and 297C). Again featuring a three-apsed arrangement at the east end, with apses semicircular externally and internally, this church exceeded in its overall dimensions (29.5 × 40.5 m) those of the temple, even if only slightly. In this new layout the original temple "cella" may have become the naos, while the presumed external temple porticoes (?) became the aisles of the new basilica. This building, too, had a smaller apsed chapel attached to its south flank.

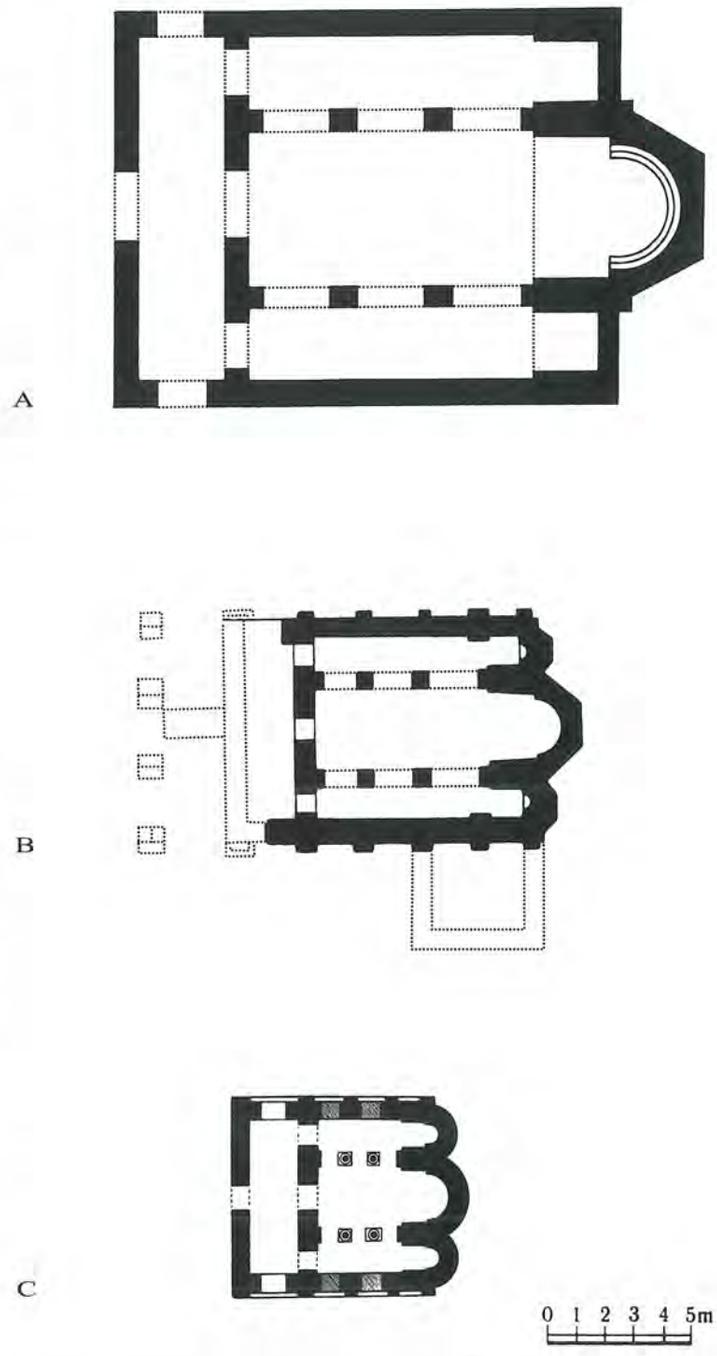
Boris's Christianization and Symeon's consolidation of Pliska as the capital of Christian Bulgaria, of necessity, would have entailed changes within the Palace of the Khans (fig. 294D). Here, the pagan shrine that stood in the middle of the large court was probably completely razed. Its Christian replacement, apparently, was a small four-column church built near the southwestern corner of the oldest palace buildings in the compound. Whether actually built by Boris, or by his son Symeon, the church was properly oriented and carefully planned so that its south façade was aligned with the façades of the two palace halls, while its northwestern corner touched the southeastern corner of the bath building. Correctly labeled the "palace church," this may be thought of as one of the oldest, if not the oldest, examples of a cross-in-square church in a strictly Bulgarian context (fig. 298). Small in size – it measures only 8.5 × 13 meters in plan – the church may be thought of as echoing directly a trend then current in the Byzantine capital, where Basil I is known to have built several small churches within the Great Palace. More than that, several of its architectural characteristics appear to reflect those of the architecture of Constantinople. The façades and interior walls display a rigorous system of articulation by means of shallow pilaster strips. A comparable structural logic applied to façade and interior wall articulation is known in the contemporary church architecture of the Byzantine capital, but is generally uncommon elsewhere. Given the close links between the Christianized Bulgarian khans and the court in Constantinople, the similarity may be more than coincidence. Because no Constantinopolitan churches dating from the ninth century survive, the palace church at Pliska may also provide important clues about church architecture in the Byzantine capital during the last decades of the ninth century.

A large number of churches excavated at Pliska share certain general characteristics with the "palace church." They are all relatively small in size; some make structural use of columns and many have tripartite east ends; collectively, they reveal general affinities with church architecture in Constantinople. Several of these churches will be discussed briefly, but their appearance in large numbers should be noted. It suggests patterns of use and patronage that are comparable to current trends in the Byzantine Empire. The first is a three-aisled "typical basilica," whose plan illustrates a type of which nine examples have come to light at Pliska (fig. 299A). Its overall dimensions – 13.2 × 17.2 meters – reveal a relatively small structure, whose nave is separated from the aisles by arcades supported by two rectangular piers on either side. The externally three-sided apse points to Constantinople as the source for the basic plan type. Related, but more sophisticated in its layout and details, is the so-called Boyar Church, discovered within a large complex tentatively identified as a pottery workshop. The main part of the church has a similar layout and proportions to the "typical basilica," but is even smaller in size (8.7 × 12 m, excluding an open four-pier portico in front of the west façade) (fig. 299B). The church features a fully developed tripartite east end, with all three apses three-sided externally and semicircular within. Well built, in alternating bands of stone and brick, it had façades articulated by blind arcades. These "pseudo-structural arcades" have been viewed as a fundamentally non-Constantinopolitan feature and, therefore, as having local origins.[59] The observation needs to be qualified in several ways. In any case, it cannot be viewed as an argument favoring the idea that the church owes nothing to Constantinopolitan architecture. The so-called Basilica No. 5, is a miniscule church, measuring merely 6.5 × 8 meters in plan (fig. 299C). The building shares several characteristics with the "Boyar Church," but its

proportions are much more squat, so that its basilican character does not readily stand out. Its apses are semicircular externally and internally, while the central vessel of the nave is separated from the side aisles by two columns rather than piers on either side. Basilica No. 5 can be compared to other monuments at Pliska by virtue of these characteristics. The churches of Pliska were predominantly located within the larger enclosure secured by the earth ramparts. Very little is known about the occupancy of this huge area, but one can assume that houses – of which there must have been many – were made of more ephemeral materials. Only a few such dwellings have been archaeologically recorded, so that no settlement patterns can readily be discerned. Some of the churches were undoubtedly private, associated with the *boyar* estates; others clearly belonged to smaller monastic establishments. Thus far, archaeology has yielded many more examples of church buildings than answers as to their individual roles or collective meaning.

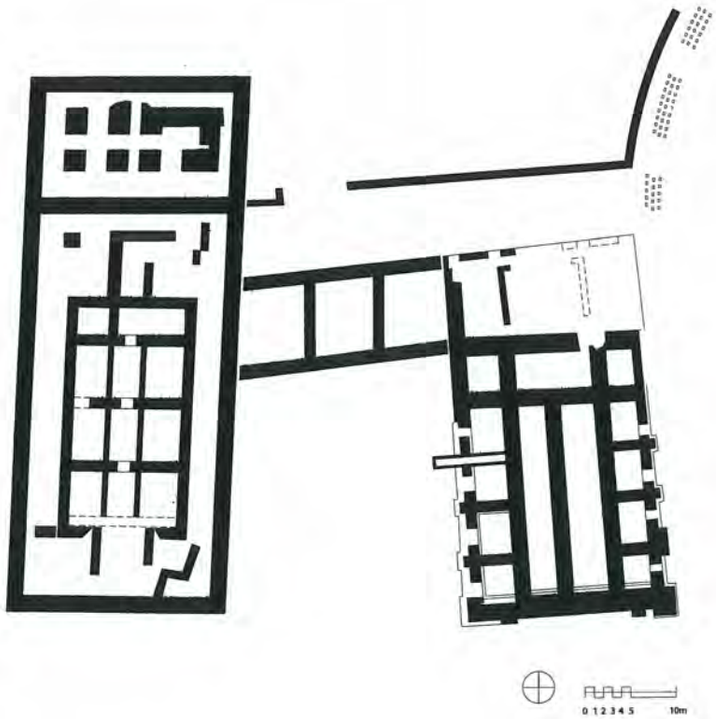
Preslav

It is generally agreed that the city of Preslav (also known as Veliki Preslav) became the capital of the Bulgarian state after Symeon decided to abandon Pliska in 893. Unlike at Pliska, few still doubt the late antique or early Byzantine origins of the place. Located in rolling terrain, on the left bank of the River Ticha, the town, much like Pliska, consisted of a much larger outer city and a smaller, inner city. In terms of physical dimensions, both of these entities were considerably smaller than their equivalents at Pliska. The outer enclosure encompassed an area of 350 hectares (one-seventh that of Pliska), while the more heavily fortified inner city enclosed an area of 25 hectares (approximately one-half of the inner city at Pliska). The outer enclosure, here as at Pliska, was originally built as an earth rampart, but was later superseded by a stone wall. The inner enclosure was built in two major campaigns. The first was roughly trapezoidal in shape with round corner towers and gates. It was subsequently expanded by the addition of another trapezoidal enclosure to the north, whose width exceeded that of the original one. Also fortified with round corner towers, this enclosure acquired a series of projecting rectangular towers during the later Middle Ages. The sequence of construction may have followed the general pattern that we saw at Pliska with some variations. The original Byzantine fortification possibly involved the construction of an earth rampart and a trapezoidal stone enclosure. The expansion of the inner enclosure may have been caused by the Bulgarian adaptation of the site as the new capital, though, according to some, it may have been undertaken already under Omurtag. The presence of pagan temples (or shrines), much as



299 Pliska, Church types: (A)"Typical basilica"; (B)"Boyar church"; (C) Basilica No. 5

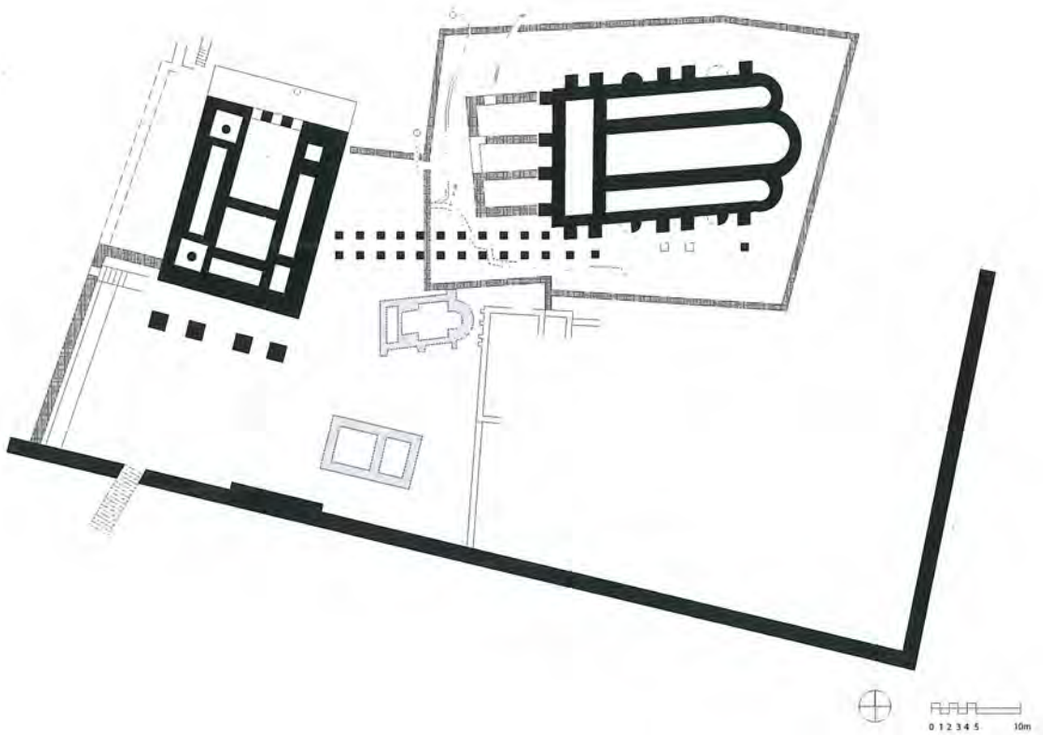
at Pliska, attest to the pagan Bulgarian use of the site before the conversion of 864. Archaeological excavations in recent years have brought to light significant remains of buildings within the enclosure of the "inner city." From these it is becoming increasingly clear that the emperor's palace, the patriarchal palace, the cathedral church, a palace chapel, and various other related offi-



300 Preslav, Imperial palace; plan

cial buildings were located within the inner city. Thus, the inner city, as it presumably evolved during the reign of Symeon, must have resembled in principle, if not in physical details, the Great Palace in Constantinople. Symeon, who spent his youth in Constantinople and who acquired his education there, would have had first-hand information at his disposal, and probably access to Byzantine artisans as well. Inasmuch as Bulgarian artists and artisans must have acquired the various skills in due course, there should be no doubt that they received their initial training from the Byzantine masters. Under Symeon, Preslav became known not only as a major architectural center, but also as a center of sculptural and ceramic production. Both of these artistic traditions were unmistakably linked to Byzantium in their beginnings. By the 920s, however, thanks to the great demand stimulated by Symeon's active patronage, major local workshops developed in Preslav and its immediate vicinity. One can assume that by that time Preslav itself may have become a center from where artistic ideas and practical skills were being exported elsewhere. Thus, even in that regard, Preslav must have resembled the imperial capital on the Bosphorus.

The complex of the imperial palace, though still not fully excavated, has emerged in a manner that allows for some important general observations relevant not only for our understanding of Preslav, but also of Constantinople itself.[60] Surrounded by an interior wall, this complex probably resembled that at Pliska and, by extension, also the Great Palace in Constantinople. This analogy may be extended to some of the building components as well. Unlike at Pliska, the complex included a large basilican church – the cathedral – as well as the patriarchal palace. The main part of the imperial palace appears to have faced in a northerly direction. In its final form it consisted of two more-or-less parallel rectangular blocks connected by a third element that evidently provided communication between the two (fig. 300). The western, larger of the two palace blocks, measuring roughly 25 × 60 meters, was built on the remains of an earlier basilican hall. This hall, with a large apse on its south, short side, has been viewed as the "throne hall," presumably built by Khan Boris. Damaged in a presumed earthquake, it is thought to have been replaced by a new "throne hall" under Symeon, at which time the apse was not replaced. A more likely explanation might be that the apsed "throne hall," as was also suggested in the discussion of Pliska, was a late antique building, when such halls were common. At the time of Symeon, the old hall was probably replaced with a new building whose design was more consistent with Middle Byzantine palace architecture. At the same time, another block, measuring 25 × 42 meters was evidently added to the complex, at a distance of approximately 25 meters east of the larger block. This building has also been seen as the new "throne hall," though the arguments supporting such an identification are not convincing. This building block was clearly two-storied, its façades articulated by a system of regularly spaced pilaster strips, whose rhythm reflected the interior disposition of small rooms at basement level. An important aspect of these buildings would have been their interior decoration. Only scant glimpses of that are possible. Even fragments of a door frame, cornice, and parapets reveal a style and execution of the highest quality. Their closest parallels are found in the architectural sculpture of the roughly contemporary North Church of Constantine Lips in Constantinople, built in 907. Similarities in motifs and high-quality workmanship suggest the possibility that these stone carvers at Preslav may have been brought from Constantinople. The discovery of glass mosaic tesserae in the general area of the inner city underscores this possibility. The first generation of artists and artisans working at Preslav may indeed have come from the Byzantine capital. Such arrangements between the Byzantine and other courts are well known, and therefore may be viewed as a plausible hypothesis in this context. A large vestibule on the north side of the east building was extended westward by a wing of comparable dimensions, and perfectly aligned with the former. On the upper level, this wing must have provided a communication link with the western block of the palace complex. In addition to the main



301 Preslav, Patriarchal palace complex with cathedral church; plan

ceremonial blocks, the imperial palace complex also included a bath, and residential and other buildings.

Some 50–60 meters southeast of the imperial palace was situated the patriarchal palace complex with the cathedral church (fig. 301). Enclosed by its own wall, this complex was distinct from, yet intimately related to, the imperial palace. In a miniscule form, the arrangement was clearly inspired by the layout in the Byzantine capital. The relative positions of the imperial palace, the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia, with the nearby patriarchal palace, and the large open space of the Augustaion must have provided a conceptual model for the Preslav solution. Again, one should recall that Symeon was schooled within the Great Palace complex in Constantinople. His appropriation of the Byzantine imperial model, therefore, was no accident. Architecture, art, and court culture during his reign all appear to have been deliberately fashioned after Byzantium. Symeon's ultimate dream must have envisioned the Preslav solution as a temporary one, until his planned final conquest of Constantinople. The latter part of his dream, of course, never materialized, but Preslav, even in its ruins, remains a remarkable testimony of how much of the "ultimate imperial dream" had actually been achieved. The patriarchal palace block, measuring approximately 17 × 32 meters in plan, was in many respects a near replica of the eastern block of the imperial palace. Axially symmetrical, it, too, was a two-storied structure, with an upper story presumably occupied by a formal reception hall. Entered from the north, as in the case of the imperial palace, the patriarchal palace block featured a portico supported on four massive piers across its south façade. One can only postulate that this portico, not related to an entrance, may have supported a balcony for patriarchal appearances to crowds assembled in the large paved public courtyard below. It should be noted that a wall ensured general access to the cathedral, but preempted access to the main entrance into the patriarchal palace and into the imperial palace complex beyond. The patriarchal palace block was evidently also linked to the cathedral by means of an elevated walkway, whose substructure, consisting of two rows of paired piers stretching between the two buildings, has come to light. Such an elevated walkway, too, should be related to a comparable feature that linked the Great Palace with the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[61]

The cathedral was a relatively large church by medieval Balkan standards.[62] It measures approximately 16.5 × 29 meters in plan. Though preserved in foundations only, several general observations about its architecture are in order. It was a three-aisled basilica, each of the aisles terminating in a separate apse, round both internally and externally. The aisles were preceded by an oblong narthex, as wide as the church itself. In scale and in the general disposition of its plan, the cathedral of Preslav resembled

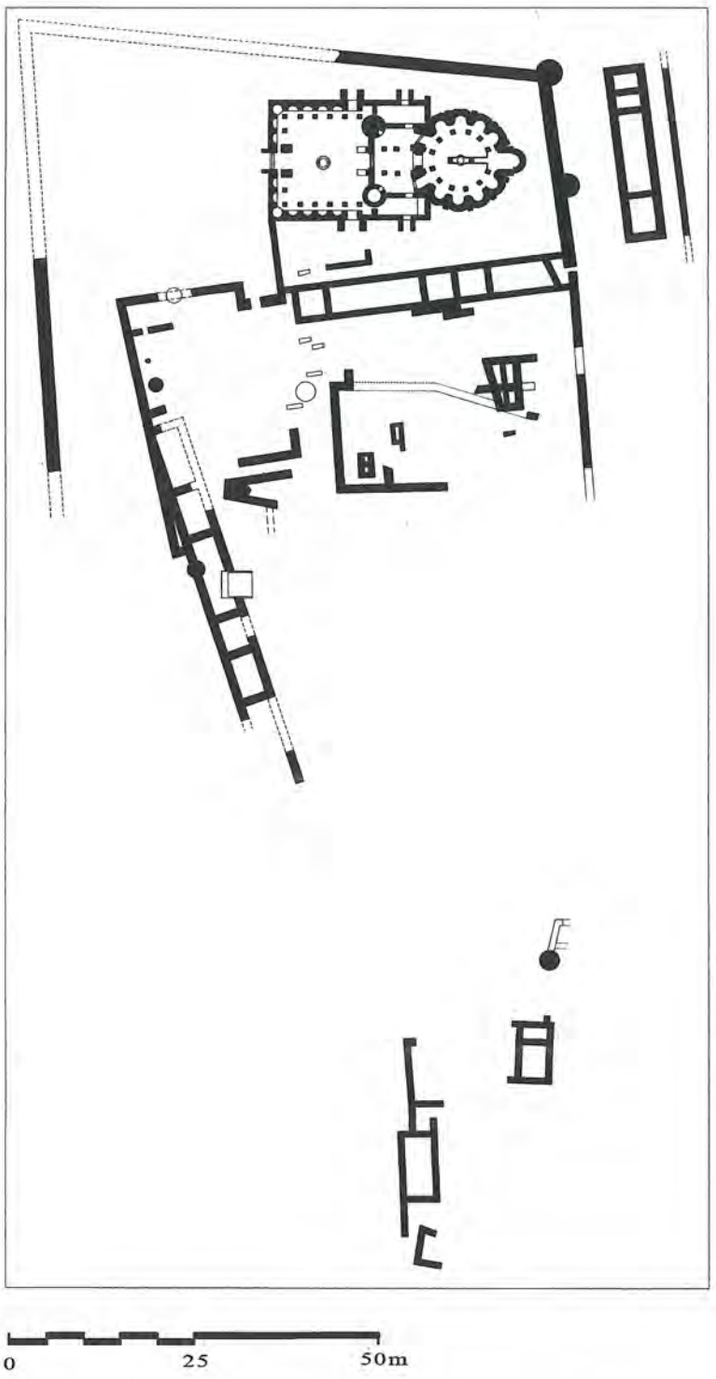
the three-aisled basilica within the inner fortification of Pliska. That building, presumably restored by Symeon after his brother's failed insurrection in 894, was according to our suggestion the cathedral of Pliska. As such, its position relative to the palace complex of the khans would have been practically identical to that of the cathedral at Preslav. The façades of Preslav Cathedral, with the exception of the eastern one, were articulated by a system of strongly projecting wall buttresses. All but four of these buttresses were rectangular. The other four were semicircular, and somewhat wider than the rest. They were spaced in such a way along the north and south façades that they could have been related to the superstructure of the building, possibly accentuating a domed bay. In that sense they could have been related to the probably roughly contemporary upper church of the Myrelaion in Constantinople (see fig. 286). It is equally possible that the church was a regular three-aisled basilica, as Bulgarian scholars have maintained. The discovery of several capitals and column bases during the excavation indicates that there must have been at least some columnar openings between the nave and the side aisles, an arrangement that became most common in medieval basilicas. The church was lavishly decorated, as the fragmentary remains of various aspects of its interior indicate. Its floors were made of *opus sectile* featuring interlace designs with simple geometric patterns executed in multicolored marbles. Both the technique and the motifs find their closest parallels in the bema pavement of the so-called Bema Church of Kalenderhane in Constantinople.[63] Other significant finds include limestone capitals, bases, and column drums, as well as marble frieze fragments and other architectural elements. Marble, as a material, appears to have been pilfered from late antique building ruins in the vicinity, as many spoils used in the construction of the church and other buildings in the complex suggest. The general use of spoils during the ninth and tenth centuries was a common practice, not only at Preslav, but also even in Constantinople. In fact, it was practiced wherever ruins of older buildings were conveniently available. The aesthetically motivated reuse of spoils, however, as we have noted already, was a far more limited practice. While some aesthetic reuse of spoils may have occurred here, the elaborate cornice friezes displaying rinceau patterns were specifically made for the church. Their style and motifs are identical with those on fragments found in the imperial palace complex, and therefore reveal the same broader phenomenon.

A system of two large terraces south of the patriarchal palace complex descended toward the south gate of the inner city. Still inadequately explored, these terraces appear to have accommodated buildings with functions – administrative, commercial, etc. – that were related to the imperial and patriarchal centers. The lower of the two terraces has revealed rows of multiple cubicles that apparently functioned as storerooms as well as shops. Arranged against the enclosure wall, both inside and outside, some of these rows of cubicles formed also freestanding units that fronted open spaces and alleyways. Here, again, an analogy with the Great Palace in Constantinople may be invoked. The physical arrangement at Preslav recalls an ordinance from the tenth Constantinopolitan "Book of the Prefect," according to which dealers in unguents, spices, and dyes had their counters set up in rows along the short stretch of the Mese just in front of the entrance to the Great Palace.[64]

East of the inner city wall, on a site known by the modern name of "Selishte," remains identified as those of a residential complex have come to light. The evidence for this identification hinges on the postulated use of some of the rooms in the complex, which appear to have served a variety of economic functions, as well as those of a living quarter with a collection of splendid ceramic vessels. Whether this is sufficient to distinguish this complex from other similar ones that have definitely been classified as monasteries is a murky issue. The problem seems compounded by the fact that in the approximate center of the complex there rose a church with a special large burial structure attached to its north side. This is thought to be a private family burial building with carefully constructed vaulted underground tombs. Comparable burial structures have been identified in similar relative positions at several other locations at Preslav, but all belong to monasteries.[65] Should this prove to be a secular residential compound beyond any doubt, it will simply emphasize the already observed profound similarities between larger architectural categories that we sometimes, all too readily, classify as either "secular" or "religious." In dealing with these issues it should be borne in mind that formal characteristics, and sometimes even identifiable function, cannot be used as unmistakable proofs for such absolute categorization.

Several of the Preslav monastic complexes are deserving of our attention.[66] The foremost among them, thanks to its unique church, is the so-called monastery of the Round Church. Situated southeast of the southern inner city gate, the monastery occupied a low promontory and was surrounded by a massive enclosure wall. In part, this wall doubled as a retaining wall for the terrace upon which the Round Church stood, its semicylindrical pseudo-towers actually functioning as wall buttresses (fig. 302). Of the monastery, situated to the south of the church, very little is left. It would appear that the monastic buildings, including the individual cells for the monks, were organized around a large interior courtyard. Especially important has been the discovery of what appears to be a ceramic workshop within the compound. In it were discovered many tiles, evidently produced for the decoration of the church interior. Since the church must have been finished and functioned as such, one must con-

clude that the tiles were either made for other buildings, and had not yet been used, or that they were kept in reserve for future purposes. The southern half of the monastery court has not been adequately preserved, but if to judge from other contemporary monasteries, it would have been more or less trapezoidal in shape, with the narrow buildings outlining its enclosure wall around the entire perimeter. It is the Round Church itself that has received a disproportionate amount of attention, not only in the context of the monastery, but also in that of the city of Preslav as a whole.[67] This is neither to deny its unique character and qualities, nor the status it must have held in its day among other buildings at Preslav. Referred to as the "Golden Church" in a Bulgarian medieval text, the building must have towered on its platform above the River Ticha, its presumably gilded bronze tiled dome visible from afar. Nor should there be any doubt that it is to be attributed to Symeon and dated to 907, as another medieval source implies. Scholarly attempts to unravel some of the other mysteries swirling around this building have not taken us very far, however. Even the most basic questions regarding its function(s) are still open. The essentially circular plan of its naos, 10 meters in interior diameter, is very unusual. Internally, it was articulated by twelve engaged columns, framing eight niches, three doors, and a wider sanctuary (fig. 303). The niches were expressed externally as small three-sided apses, while the spaces between them were marked by projecting wall buttresses. Fronting the centralized part of the building was a relatively spacious rectangular narthex, flanked by two cylindrical towers containing spiral staircases and preceded by a large atrium articulated peripherally by engaged columns alternating with niches. This system of articulation, on a somewhat smaller scale, repeats that in the interior of the rotunda itself. The presence of a pair of stair towers flanking the narthex suggests that it must have had an upper story, whose formal and functional relationship to the rotunda has inspired speculations as to its sources. Thought of as a later addition to the building, the two-towered structure has been viewed as an imported Carolingian *Westwerk* and, therefore, as evidence of the impact of Western medieval architecture in Bulgaria.[68] Both hypotheses are now being questioned. The origins of the architecture and sculptural decoration of the building have inspired the most extensive debate. Potential sources ranging from late antique monuments in the Balkans to as far east as contemporary Armenia have been proposed. Yet, the Round Church, both on historical and architectural grounds, appears most closely affiliated with Constantinople. Even if the Armenian-looking aspects of its design are taken into account, these could well have reached Preslav via the Byzantine capital. Ultimately, the contemporary Bulgarian allusion to the building as the "Golden Church" also points in the Byzantine direction. Among the possible Byzantine prototypes, the lost



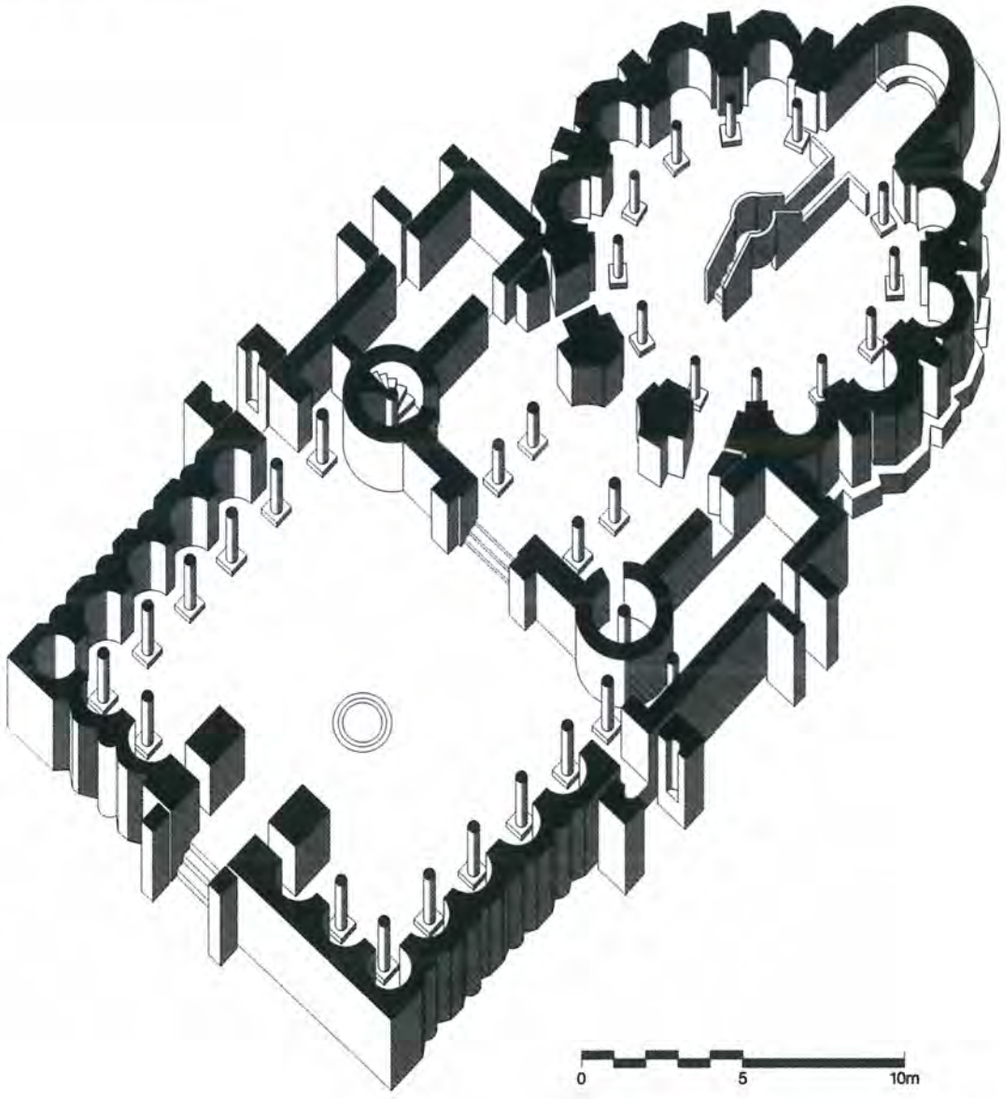
302 Preslav, Monastery of the "Round Church"; plan

centralized church of the Prophet Elijah within the Great Palace, built by Basil I and therefore contemporary with the Round Church, has been proposed.[69] Associations with another Constantinopolitan building – the Chrysotryklinos ("Golden Hall") – should also not be ignored. Built by Justin II, decorated by Tiberios, and again by Michael III (842–67), this was an octag-

onal domed building with eight niches, used as the main throne-room of the Great Palace. The Chrysotryklinos combined within it secular and religious functions, as well as imagery. Therefore, if we cross the secular–religious "frontier" established in modern scholarship bearing the names of the two buildings in mind, the potential association between the two does not appear far-fetched. The Constantinopolitan ties are also borne out by the presence of the foundations of an ambo in the geometric center of the rotunda, as well by the sculptural decoration, which, as elsewhere in Preslav, reveals strong affinities with contemporary architectural sculpture in Constantinople.

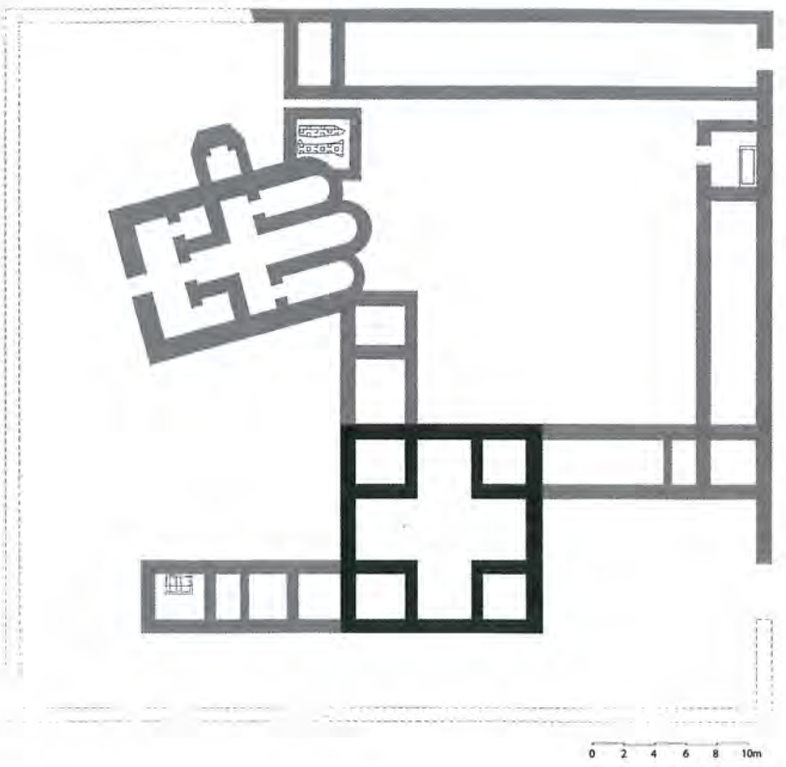
Other monastic establishments in Preslav, by comparison, have drawn less attention, but are no less significant in their different ways. The so-called palace monastery was physically located outside the inner city where the imperial palace stood. The monastery was situated close to 400 meters from the palace, in the northwest sector of the outer city. The name that has been attached to it apparently has to do with the fact that this is the largest of all the monasteries explored in the Preslav area thus far. The size (about 0.25 ha) and the rather complicated plan suggest that it may have grown in several phases. Indeed, the original form of the monastery enclosure may have been rectangular, with the southern and eastern extensions added later. The possibility that the monastery may have initially been smaller is also suggested by the size of the church, which appears completely disproportionate to the overall size of the monastery. On sloping terrain, like the inner city, the monastery was effectively built on a series of terraces with a commanding view of the countryside. The church was of a four-column, cross-in-square type, distinguished by its elaborate interior decoration,

303 Preslav. "Round Church"; axonometric



which included an arcaded sanctuary barrier composed of richly colored blind arcades made of three-dimensional ceramic components. The monastery, in this case, is also thought to have had its own ceramic workshop. If that were the case, its resident artists must have also included Greek-speaking monks, as may be evidenced by several icons depicting standing figures of saints that bear Greek inscriptions. Several ceramic plaques with Slavonic texts upon them, discovered in the remains of different workshops, that is, in their places of production, could suggest that native artists were taught the techniques by copying various texts in Old Church Slavonic. Just to the north of the church, as was the case in several other monastic establishments, was a sizable building with a well-built series of vaulted tombs in its crypt. By all accounts, this was the monastery's ossuary. Such ossuaries in later times were normally situated outside monastery enclosures, but in Preslav they appear to have been built routinely next to the monastic church. The custom seems to have been derived from the pre-Iconoclast monastic tradition.[70] Notable also is the presence of a bathhouse situated just outside the west enclosure wall of the monastery.

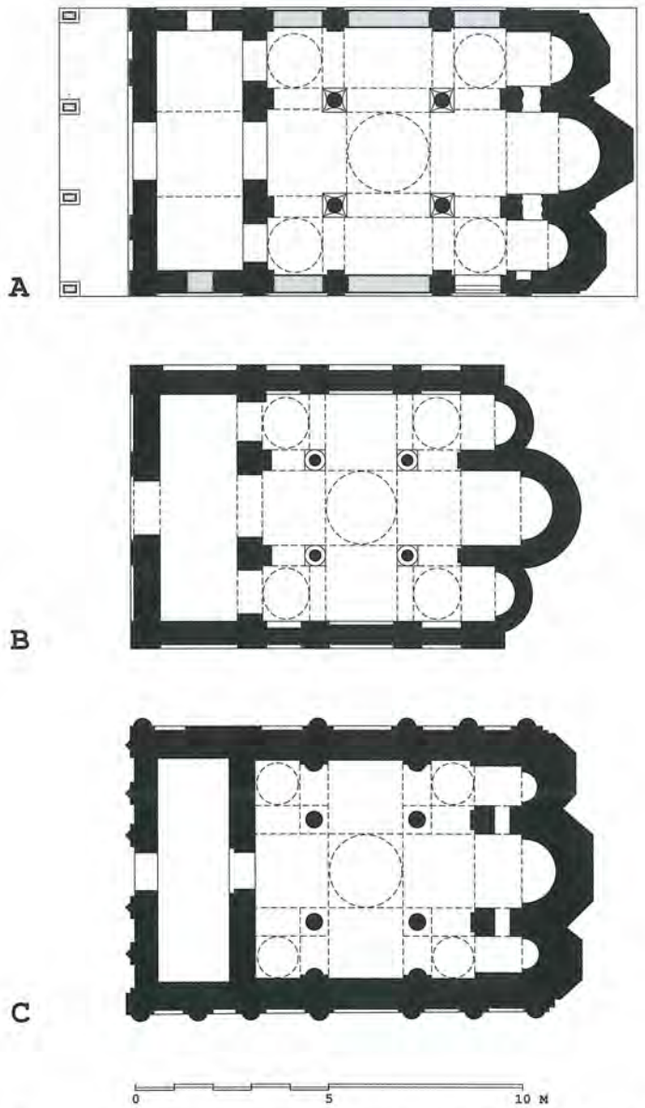
The monastery on the site known as "T'zlal'ka" belongs to a group of several monasteries excavated on the right side of the River Ticha, that is to say, on the hills directly opposite Preslav. Situated some 4 kilometers from the center of Preslav, the monastery was laid out using a remarkably regular plan. Measuring 47 × 50 meters in overall dimensions, it consisted of three distinctive interior courtyards (fig. 304).[71] The western of these appears to have been of a more public nature, since it contained the church building. The church was the only building that deviated visibly from the strictly orthogonal overall plan. The living quarters of the monastery, including the refectory and the kitchen, appear to have been organized around the courtyard to the east of the church. The complex at T'zlal'ka included a fairly large (13 × 13 m) building of cruciform interior disposition with four smaller chambers occupying the spaces between the arms of the cross. The plan of this building has been deemed "unique" in Bulgarian medieval architecture, and its sources have been sought in the Near East. The form of the building, however, readily brings to mind the so-called Pentakoubiklon in Constantinople, built under Basil I, and known only from the sources, as well as from a hall whose foundations were excavated in the Great Palace in Constantinople.[72] Inasmuch as we have no precise documentation regarding the function of this building, that question is best left open. It can be hypothesized, however, that the building may have had some role related to larger assemblies. The possibility of it having been a monastic refectory should also not be ruled out completely. In the context of our earlier discussion of the matter, a close relationship between contemporary developments in "secular" and "ecclesiastical" architecture has been



304 Preslav, Monastery of "T'zlal'ka"; plan

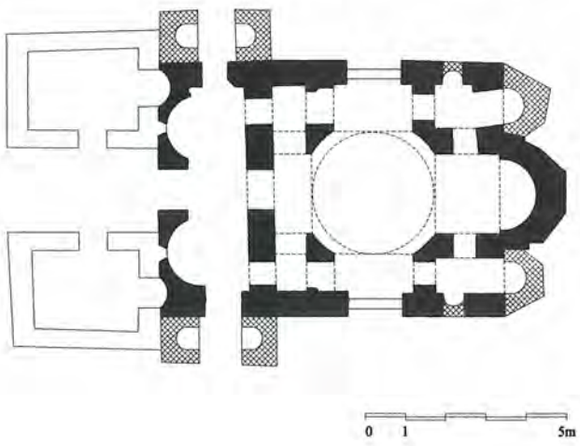
stressed. The case of T'zlal'ka is particularly significant in this regard, for the first church on the site was of a "cross-domed" type, characteristically similar in scale and spatial disposition to the relevant building in the monastic compound. Thus, once more, the analogies for the architectural development in many different ways point to Constantinople. The first church at T'zlal'ka had an added significance, for it is believed to be the oldest monastic church in the area. Its interior, too, as was noted in other cases, was lavishly decorated with ceramic tiles, but here this also extended to the floor covering as well.

Among the many, apparently mostly monastic, churches excavated at Preslav and in its immediate vicinity, several deserve separate attention. Some of the more characteristic church types and their better-known representatives have already been taken into account. The church plan that has attracted an almost exclusive attention among architectural historians has been the cross-in-square type, so much so that it has generally been viewed as the most common plan type employed at Preslav.[73] It is true that it occurs in a fair number of cases, but it cannot under any circumstances be referred to as "the most common type." In addition to the two monuments mentioned earlier, the general area around Preslav displays three more churches of this type, which, by virtue of their sophisticated designs, reveal clear adherence to



305 Preslav, Churches: (A) Avradaka, No. 1; (B) Avradaka, No. 2; (C) Bĭal Brĭag, No. 1; plans

306 Preslav, Monastery of Patleina; Church of St. Panteleimon; plan



the principles of Constantinopolitan architecture. These are churches No. 1 and No. 2 at the site of Avradaka, and Church No. 1 at Bĭal Brĭag (figs. 305A–C). All three have a clearly articulated square naos with four freestanding columns that support the dome and the four barrel-vaulted arms of the "cross." All are relatively small in size, not exceeding overall dimensions of 8 × 12 meters in plan. To a greater or lesser extent, each of the three churches repeats some of the characteristics of contemporary church architecture in the Byzantine capital. In relationship to a very large number of even smaller churches in the area of Preslav, these three have been viewed as evidence of the influx of Constantinopolitan ideas, subsequently modified and "provincialized" at the hands of local builders.[74] The use of two instead of four columns, four piers instead of columns, or a combination of two columns and two piers, must be viewed as aspects of design modification brought on primarily by dictates of scale and functional need. Introducing the notion of "provincialization" as an indicator of qualitative decline, in contrast to the Constantinopolitan standards, in this context is erroneous both in factual terms and as an interpretation of the evidence. The concept of "flexibility" in design, by contrast, recently introduced into this debate, seems much more satisfactory and helpful.[75]

The monastery known as Patleina, situated on the right side of the River Ticha, some 2 kilometers from the outer walls of Preslav, rose on a series of narrow terraces built against a relatively steep hillside. The monastery in this case included the remains of a very narrow refectory, an ossuary with six vaulted tombs, just north of the church, and a ceramic workshop. The last find yielded much important information concerning the technology and the manufacturing of painted ceramic objects. The church of St. Panteleimon was built on a cross-in-square plan in which the dome was carried on four piers, the inner faces of which were curved in a curious manner (fig. 306). The curvature on each of the four faces of these piers, in fact, seems to correspond to a large circle concentric with that of the main dome. This, along with expansive niches in the inner western wall of the narthex, reveals a sophistication in design that has been associated with Constantinopolitan architecture. On the other hand, the church, the rest of Patleina Monastery, and most of the other buildings at Preslav in general, were built in a humble building technique using relatively small pieces of roughly finished or unfinished local stone. This has been used as one of the arguments against any Constantinopolitan influence in Preslav. It should be stressed again, however, that the importation of ideas, and even masons, from another region does not necessarily imply that the architecture from that region would be reproduced in all of its aspects, including building technique.

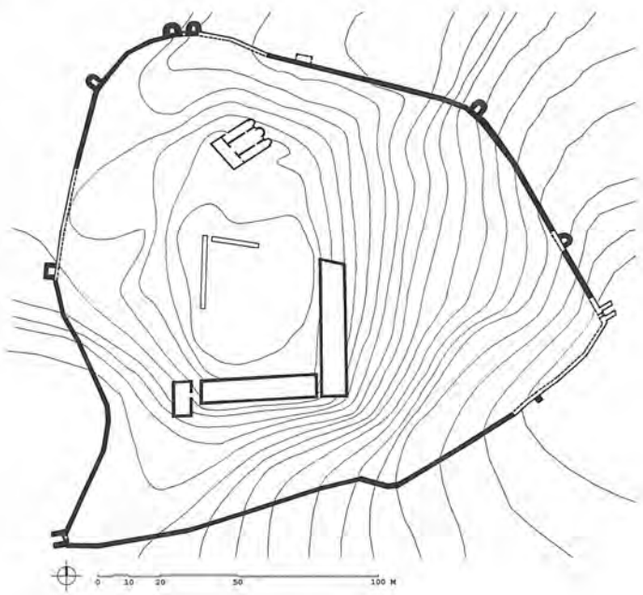
The seventy-or-so individual buildings excavated and explored thus far at Preslav have yielded a vast amount of infor-

mation about the city during the ninth and tenth centuries. Though not always employed effectively or accurately, much of this evidence remains under-used. Observing it in a larger context, as we have attempted to do here, reveals the importance of Preslav as transcending the limits imposed on it by older scholarship.

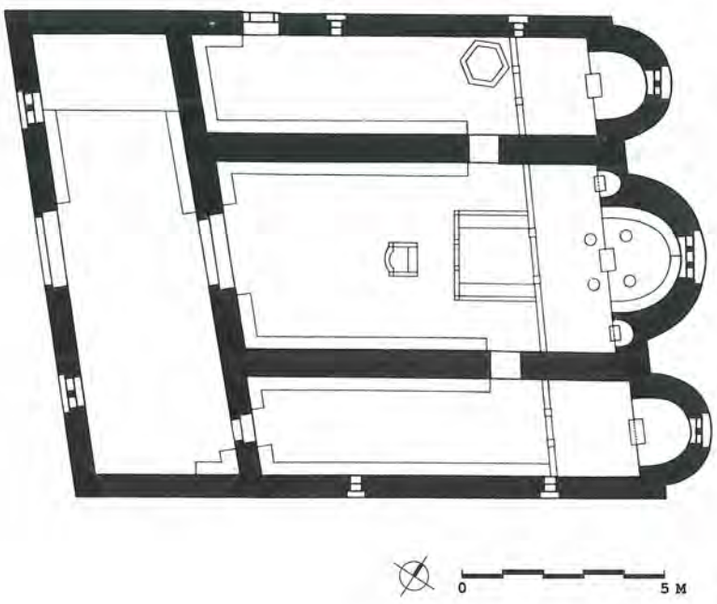
Lontodokla (?) now Martinići

The small fortified town of Lontodokla (?), modern Martinići, is situated on a sloping plateau above the River Zeta, approximately 10 kilometers from its confluence with the Morača and the site of the well-known ancient city of Doclea. Abandoned long since, the ruins of the town have been studied over the last four decades and have been recognized as an important example of genuine medieval urban construction (fig. 307).[76] Built on a virgin site in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, the town survived until the twelfth century, when it was completely abandoned. One of the particularly noteworthy aspects of the site is that there was no later habitation in the area, leaving the medieval picture completely unspoiled. Thus, the town offers many invaluable insights into aspects of the new urban construction, with elements of "continuity" linking this phenomenon with the urban conceptions of several centuries earlier. Situated on a plateau above the Zeta, the town was strategically situated to control the traffic along a road that led from the shores of Lake Skadar inland. The construction of the site, though chronologically associated with the beginnings of the state of Duklja, probably should be viewed in conjunction with Byzantine efforts to reestablish control over the western part of the Balkans. No historical documentation exists to support this notion, but the physical evidence of the fortified town enclosure and its buildings points to a level of urbanization that matches that of the interior Balkan towns developed especially under the auspices of Justinian I. Roughly triangular in plan and covering an area of approximately 1.5 hectares, this settlement matches in principle many miniscule late antique "cities" throughout the Balkans. It resembles them also on account of its solid fortification walls, with a system of projecting towers along its more vulnerable western, eastern and northern flanks. The site was entered through three gates, of which the northern, flanked by a pair of horseshoe-shaped towers, was the principal one. In a prominent central location within the town rose a rectilinear complex of well-built structures, dominated by a large square tower on one of the corners of the enclosure. The complex has tentatively been identified as a palace. No other residential buildings have come to light, prompting an interpretation that the rest of the enclosure would have been a *refugium*, presumably for the rural population living in the vicinity. Not far to the north of the "palace" are the remains of a three-aisled basilican church, which has undergone the most thorough archaeological scrutiny thus far (fig. 308). Dedicated to the Archangel Michael, as recorded in a bilingual (Greek and Latin) inscription on the epistyle of its altar enclosure, the church was lavishly decorated, especially with architectural sculpture. The very phenomenon of

307 Lontodokla, Fortified town; plan



308 Lontodokla, Church of Archangel Michael; plan

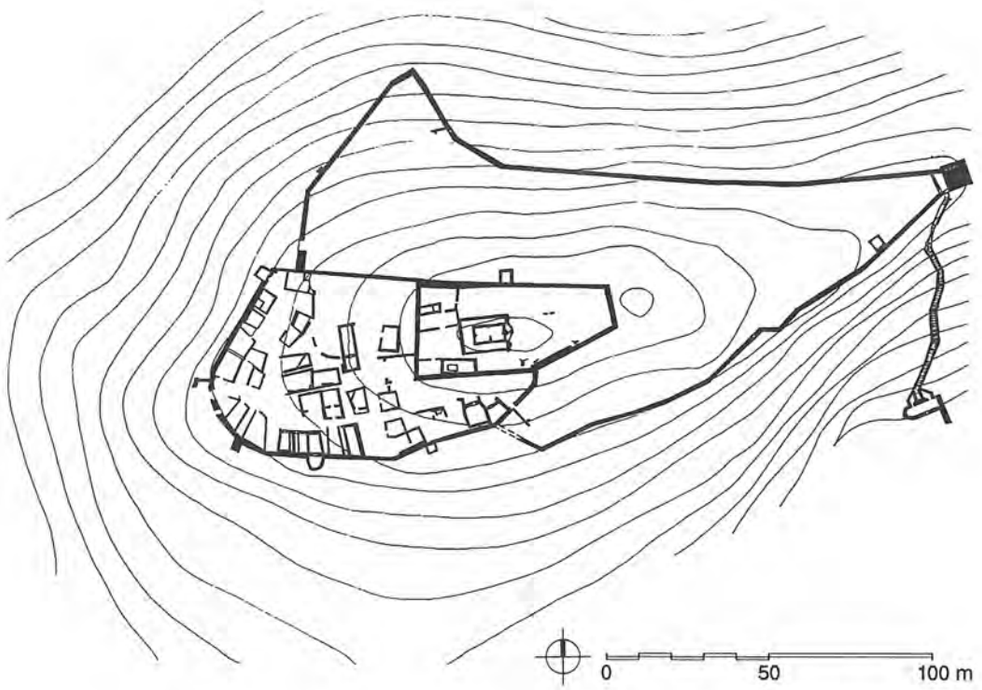


abundant architectural sculpture appears to be related to its general revival, already noted in Constantinople and at Preslav. In plan, the basilica reveals that its side "aisles" were in fact completely segregated spaces, evidently chapels, communicating with the central "nave" only through a single centrally located door on the north and south sides. The eastern end of the church displays three apses, all semicircular internally and externally. The church of the Archangel Michael demonstrates, on the one hand, the survival of the basilica that we have noted elsewhere. The similarity with the cathedral of Preslav most readily comes to mind. At the same time, the spatial and therefore functional articulation of its interior space indicates that significant changes have taken place that distinguish this architecture from its early Christian prototypes. The "three-aisled" layout here can be judged no longer by late antique standards. The three "aisles" in this case represent three fully segregated churches, linked only by small doors between them. Although spoils are in evidence as building material, the town of Lontodokla was evidently built on a virgin site, further underlining its importance in the process of our developing a better understanding of the "continuities" and "discontinuities" of urban life in the Balkans.

Redina

Situated northeast of Thessaloniki, Redina held strategic importance from ancient times. Straddling the ridge of a small hill within a narrow pass along the small River Rēchios, the site of Redina had been strategically selected with the aim of safeguarding movement along the Via Egnatia between Lake Volvi and the Gulf of Strymonikos already in late Roman times. Refortified by Justinian I in the sixth century, Redina apparently had an exclusively military function until after *circa* 800, when it gradually became a small fortified settlement (fig. 309). The town had two main enclosures, of which only the upper one was fully occupied. Its irregular form, measuring 140 × 50 meters, was enclosed by a wall strengthened by seven towers – six rectangular and one semicircular in plan. This enclosure has been thoroughly excavated and constitutes one of the rare early medieval urban areas adequately explored in the Balkans.[77] Its floor area of less than 0.5 hectares, is small even by early medieval standards. The excavation results indicate, however, that, despite its small size, the settlement continued to flourish to the end of the medieval period. The highest point of Redina – in fact, its fortified acropolis, measuring approximately 70 × 25 meters – was occupied by a church, itself built on the site of a large Early Byzantine cistern. The church, measuring 10.5 × 16 meters, was a three-aisled basilica that, in all likelihood, served as the town's cathedral, accompanied as it was by a number of smaller subsidiary structures. The church survives only below its floor level, so the exact disposition of its superstructure is not known. It is clear, however, that its nave was founded on the outer walls of an Early Byzantine cistern, measuring 10 × 6 meters. How this cistern may have functioned after the church was built is not

309 Redina, Fortified settlement; plan



clear. The church itself enclosed the entire cistern – its narthex, its side aisles, and its three-apsed sanctuary enveloping it on the west, north, south, and east sides respectively. The three apses are characterized by a three-sided exterior disposition. Virtually the entire area surrounding the cistern was used for burials. Those under the main apse are even below its foundation wall, suggesting that the funerary use of the site must have begun before the construction of the church itself. The persistence of the popularity of basilican churches during the period will be taken up as a separate issue in the section on "Church Architecture" (pp. 307–08).

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

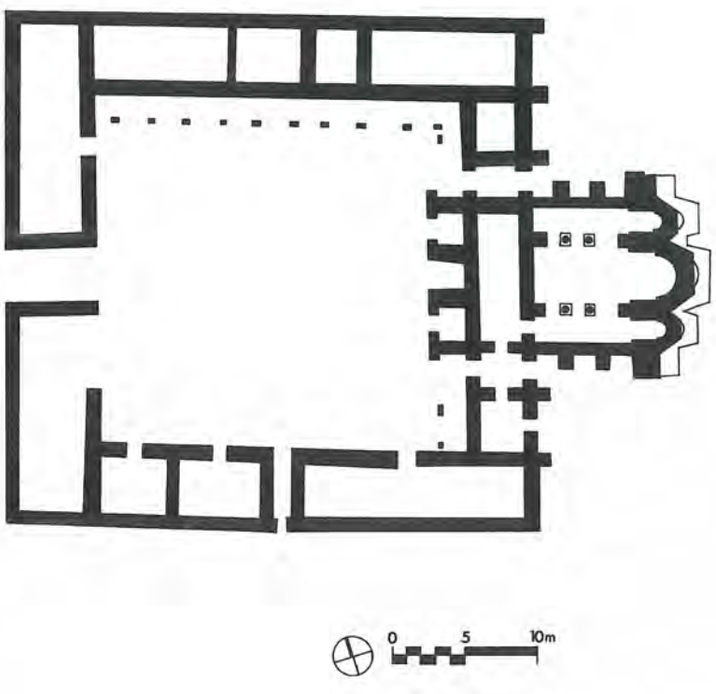
Monasteries

As noted in earlier chapters, monastic life appeared early in the Balkans, as was the case elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. Yet, the real flowering of monastic life in the region was essentially a post-Iconoclast phenomenon. For a variety of reasons, very few monastic complexes in the Balkans have been completely and properly investigated. Monastic archaeology as a specialized sub-discipline has emerged only in recent decades, with relatively few adequately published results thus far. Consequently, general conclusions are often tenuous, commonly blurred by impressions that often tend to conflate developments that in reality represent significant changes over longer periods of time. Various local and regional variations in the development of monasteries could and did exist. These tended to reflect not only variations in regional attitudes and needs, but also external contacts with earlier monastic precedents. As part of the developing monastic culture in medieval times, the custom of making pilgrimages to the celebrated sites of early monasticism became a norm. This is particularly true of Palestine, where the famous monastic foundations of St. Sabbas, St. Euthimios, St. Theoktistos, and other prominent figures in the formative stages of monasticism provided not only opportunities for spiritual confirmation, but also physical models for monastic planning at home. In addition to inadequate archaeological evidence vis-à-vis the life of a monastery over longer periods of time, the dating of monastic establishments is often insecure as well. In very few cases do we know the precise foundation date of a monastery, and even when we do subsequent changes often present us with a picture that significantly differs from the one that ought to be associated with the foundation date. Notwithstanding these limitations, the monasteries and monastic architecture of the ninth and tenth centuries that do exist in the Balkans enable us to draw some reasonably coherent important conclusions about this phenomenon.

RAVNA

At the modern village of Ravna, Bulgaria, some 23 kilometers southeast of Pliska, the remains of a major monastic complex came to light in the excavations conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. The monastery is dated to 897 by a Greek inscription commemorating the consecration of the church.[78] The main discussion thus far has focused on the question of its origins – is the monastery Bulgarian or is it Byzantine? The find of a lead seal of Tsar Simeon, dated 913, has been interpreted as a proof not only that the monastery was Bulgarian, but that it was actually a royal Bulgarian foundation. It is thought that the monastery was abandoned by the middle of the eleventh century. The principal historical evidence having been stated, this issue need not be debated further in this context. Turning to architecture, we find other invaluable clues as to the origins of the planning and architecture of this important monastery. The monastic complex, surviving as foundation walls only, consisted of two distinct parts. The first is a highly regular core comprising the monastery church situated at the eastern end of a spacious courtyard, entered axially from the west through a large gate (fig. 310). The overall dimensions of this part of the complex are approximately 36 × 47 meters. The court was surrounded on three sides by various monastic buildings fronted by a unifying portico. The general impression created by the symmetrical axial arrangement is that of an early Christian church preceded by an atrium. A comparison with the Great Basilica at Pliska has been

310 Ravna Monastery; plan



invoked, but the resemblance is superficial, given the major difference in scale of the two buildings. Theoretically speaking, the entire Ravna monastery would fit comfortably into the Great Basilica itself, without its huge atrium. The outer monastic enclosure at Ravna has very few planning characteristics in common with the central monastery core. It is has a highly irregular rhomboid form in plan, measuring roughly 80 meters in the north–south direction and 100 meters in the east–west direction. Entered through two gates, on the west and east sides, this enclosure resembles later medieval monastic establishments in several respects. Undoubtedly, this was a subsequent expansion of the originally compact and highly regular complex. The date of this expansion remains unknown, but if the proposed dating for the abandonment of the monastery in the first half of the eleventh century is correct, the expansion probably occured during the tenth century. The regular layout of the original monastery core shows certain affinities with early Bulgarian architecture, particularly that of Preslav, but also with architectural planning schemes seen in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Byzantine Balkans.

The church itself displays close similarities with the plan of the so-called Boyar Church at Pliska (fig. 299B), though it is slightly larger. The Ravna church is distinguished by a system of very massive external supports. These are not pilasters, commonly employed in church architecture of this period, but are real wall buttresses whose employment was clearly necessitated by structural problems, caused possibly by the unstable terrain. The presence of three older apses of comparable size and shape, and visible under the main church foundations, indicates that the church must have undergone substantial rebuilding at some point. The four massive buttresses against the west façade may have served a comparable function. The most interesting aspect of the church at Ravna is the manner of its relationship to the surrounding buildings. Aligned with the church narthex, and extending to the north and south of it, are passageways followed by two square rooms. This symmetrical arrangement suggests that the main courtyard in front of the church may have been connected with a secondary space that perhaps extended behind the eastern end of the church. Comparable arrangements, as we will see, existed elsewhere in contemporary monastic complexes. An example of particular relevance in this context is the North Church of Constantine Lips in Constantinople (fig. 284A), built in 907. Its planning scheme reveals several similarities, but the most important is the presence of a square tower abutting the narthex on the south side. There are strong archaeological indications that another such tower may have existed on the north side. A passageway accommodated at the ground level of the tower could have facilitated communications between two open spaces – in front and at the back of the church – much as we have seen at Ravna. We know pitifully little about urban monasteries of this period, but we may presume that their plans would have been more constrained than monastic establishments in the country. An instructive example has unexpectedly emerged at Küçükyali, Turkey, once a prosperous suburb of Constantinople. The impressive remains of a complex at this Asia Minor locale have long ago been identified as the remains of the Bryas Palace, known from the sources as a suburban residence of Emperor Theophilos. Recent research, however, suggests that the remains instead may be those of the nearby monastery of Satyros, also known to have been built in the ninth century.[79] In the middle of a rectangular walled enclosure, measuring 45 × 62 meters, are visible the remains of a domed building, once identified as the domed throne-room of the palace. A closer examination has revealed a triple arrangement of apses on the east side of this building, making it very probable that it was the katholikon (main church) of a monastery. The church was evidently preceded by a long atrium, in size and location corresponding to a large cistern, whose substantial remains are prominently visible on the site. Thus, the layout of this suburban monastery recalls the planning characteristics of Ravna, and may have resembled the monastery of Constantine Lips in Constantinople itself. The point that needs to be made in this context is that the planning scheme of the Ravna monastery appears to echo certain urban qualities, despite the fact that neither it nor the Küçükyali complex was built in an urban setting. Constantinople remains the most likely source of Ravna's planning scheme, notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the possibility that Simeon may have been the patron of this establishment.

PHILERIMO

Comparable planning characteristics are notable also in a small Byzantine monastery at Philerimo, on the island of Rhodes (fig. 311). Though not strictly speaking part of the Balkans, this small monastery with its four-column, three-apsed church shares many features with Ravna and other monastic sites in Bulgaria. Even more compact than the church at Ravna, the Philerimo church apparently had only one passageway, on the north side. A subsidiary chamber, perhaps a chapel, on the south side ensured again a more-or-less symmetrical disposition of the west façade of the church. The church had marble floors, with simple *opus sectile* circles, comparable in design and technique to such panels seen in both Constantinople and Preslav. It is the small unassuming churches such as this one that speak eloquently about the spread of certain architectural and artistic features. Clearly, this was not a major commission; and therefore the artisans working here are unlikely to have come directly from Constantinople. At a time of great demand for builders and artists,

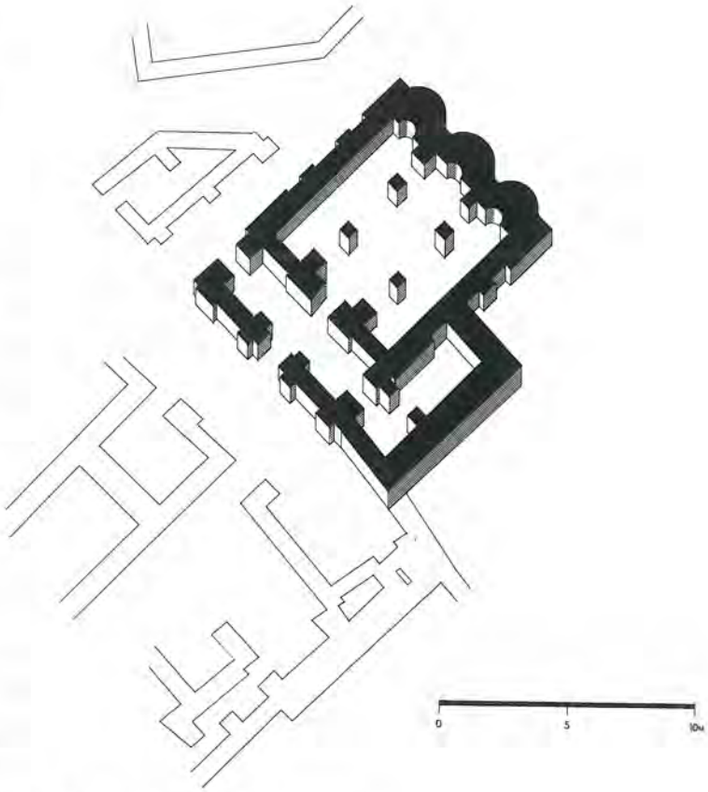
we must assume the emergence of multiple subsidiary centers (possibly initially linked to a single major source), from where both ideas and techniques could have been disseminated further.

SYNAXIS

Another modest monastic compound from the same period that has many characteristics in common with Ravna and Philerimo is the monastery at Synaxis, Greece (fig. 312). Situated east of the ancient city of Maroneia, on a promontory overlooking the Aegean, with the island of Samothrace in the distance, this ninth- or tenth-century monastic establishment took advantage of an abandoned older site (see fig. 160D).[80] This included the remains of a sizeable fifth-century basilica with a transept terminating in a pair of apses on the north and south sides. The basilica was preceded by a spacious atrium. Having cleared the debris of the fallen basilica, presumably destroyed already toward the end of the sixth century, or in the early seventh, the monks proceeded to define the outlines of their monastery. Thus, the outer walls of the basilica became de facto the outer walls of the small monastic establishment. The remains of the atrium were not used. What was proposed as a hypothetical paradigm in our analysis of Ravna Monastery in comparison with the Great Basilica at Pliska was precisely what was implemented here. The small monastery consisted of a ring of rooms surrounding the central courtyard on three sides, the fourth side taken by a small single-aisled church. The rooms of the monastery filled the bays of the aisles and the narthex of the original basilica. The nave became the monastery courtyard, while the bema of the original basilica was largely taken over by the church. The overall layout of the monastery closely resembled that of Ravna, while in overall dimensions – 20.5 × 36.5 meters – the complex was somewhat smaller. The monastery excavated at Synaxis included some important features not so well preserved at Ravna and Philerimo. This is especially true of the refectory uncovered as the easternmost of the rooms in the southern row. Paralleling the church, the refectory was just to the south of it, facilitating easy access between the two buildings, as required by the ritual. The refectory, largely occupying the area of the south transept of the original basilica, included two masonry benches arranged parallel to each other in the east–west direction. Between the two rows of benches, and close to the east wall, was a constructed elevated throne, clearly the seat of honor reserved for the *hegumenos* (abbot) of the monastery.

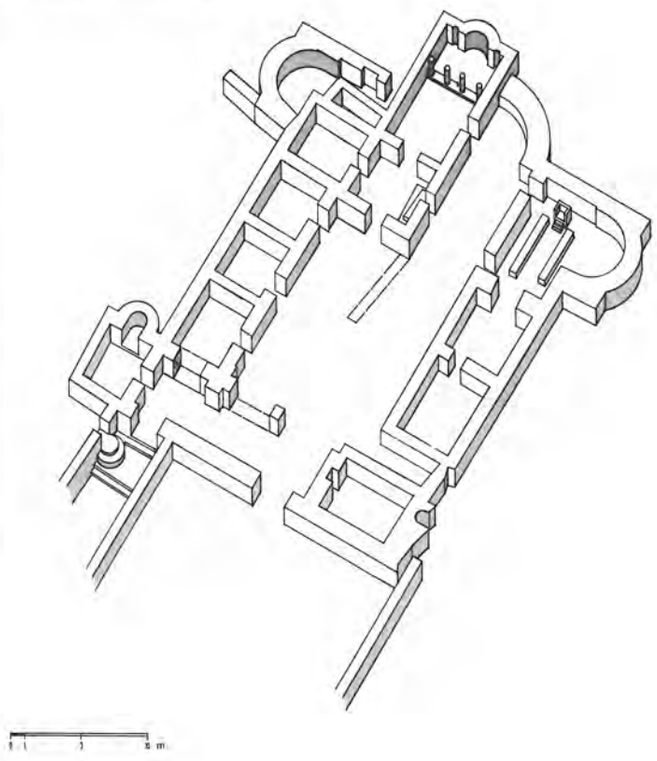
HOSIOS LOUKAS

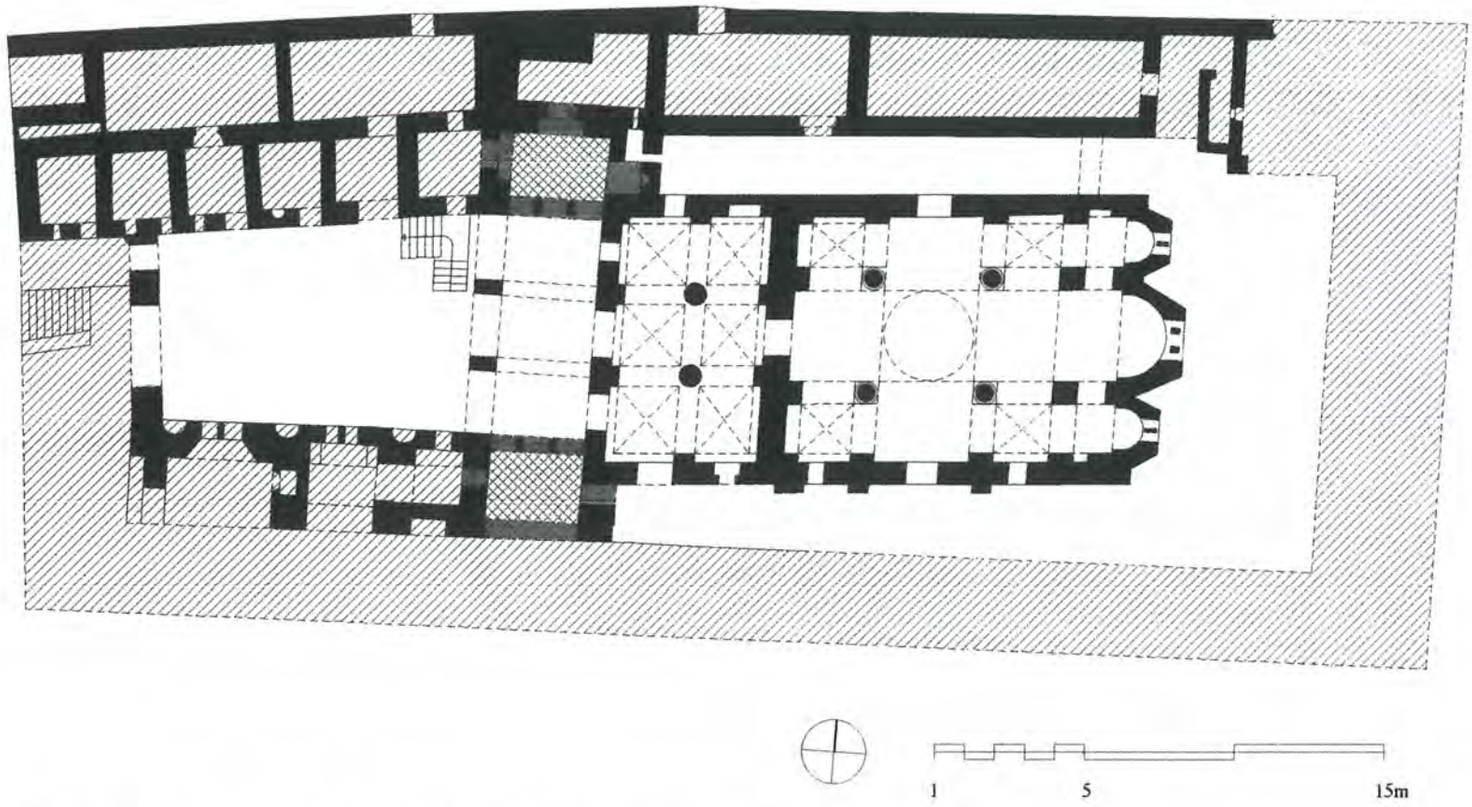
The most impressive monastery within this group was the monastery of Hosios Loukas, near Phokis, Greece, in its origi-



311 Philerimo Monastery; axonometric

312 Synaxis Monastery; axonometric





313 Hosios Loukas Monastery; hypothetical reconstruction of tenth-century plan

nal tenth-century phase. Its present appearance reflects major eleventh-century additions, as well as later alterations. The only preserved part of the first phase is the former main monastery church, possibly originally dedicated to Hagia Varvara (St. Barbara), but now to the Theotokos. The church was probably built between 946 and 955. The later, larger church not only took over the role of the katholikon from Hagia Varvara, but it also significantly altered the disposition of the entire complex, which must have been expanded southeastward at that point. The hypothetical reconstruction of the original appearance of the monastery presented here is to some extent at variance with other hypotheses (fig. 313).[81] To visualize the original monastery we should probably imagine the church of the Theotokos as occupying the axially central position within the monastery in a manner comparable to the church at Ravna. It was evidently preceded by a narthex (later replaced by a more spacious *liti*) and possibly by an open portico flanked by two chambers that projected beyond the width of the church. Thus, the church's "extended façade" may have determined the original width of the monastery court. The two chambers were both apparently originally open on the ground floor, possibly facilitating a passage from the main front court to another court behind the church, as may have also been the case at Ravna. The southern of the two chambers may have coincided with, or abutted, the original cell of St. Luke, which may have had the form of a low tower. After the saint's death in 953, according to his own wishes, he was buried within his cell. His tomb was situated on the lower level, on account of the steeply inclined terrain. The chamber directly above it, at that stage, may have retained some of the features of the original tower. The southern outer wall of the monastery at the same time may have coincided with the outer wall of the tower, or may have been just to the south of it. If that were the case, the monastery would have been considerably narrower than the present complex, though their overall lengths may be comparable. The overall form of the monastery enclosure might have been much more regular, resembling the schemes at Ravna and Synaxis. By the same token, it could be argued that such a scheme may have been inspired by urban monastic planning. In the case of Hosios Lukas, this fits into the general perception regarding the architectural origins of the church of the Theotokos, whose architectural type is generally linked to Constantinople.

Despite the fact that practically nothing of its original interior wall decoration is preserved, the church of the Theotokos is one of the finest monuments of this period in Greece, and one of the acknowledged masterpieces of Middle Byzantine architecture in general.[82] Its plan belongs to the four-column cross-in-square type, believed to have been imported from Constantinople. The characteristically "Constantinopolitan" aspects of the type involved the addition of an extra bay defined by a pair of massive piers on the east side, for the purposes of accommodating the sanctuary. The use of freestanding columns, as well as the rigorously structural application of internal responds, likewise have been viewed as features stemming from architecture in the capital. The impression given by the exterior is quite different, however (fig. 314). Unlike Constantinopolitan monuments of this period, the façades of the Theotokos church are basically flat; only the central bay of the south façade is marked by two projecting pilasters carrying an arch (fig. 315). The motif outlines the barrel-vaulted southern arm of the cross. Externally, it frames two superimposed groups of windows and an erstwhile door. The door became obsolete already in Byzantine times, probably at the time of the monastery's expansion. At that time it was blocked, leaving only a window opening. The tall projecting frame has no structural function. Its purpose may have been formal and symbolic, probably calling attention to the door, once an important point of entrance into the church. That function was in all likelihood superseded by the construction of the new katholikon, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. It is worth noting that a number of churches built in Greece over the following 150 years have similarly protruding arched frames on one or both of their lateral façades. The example at the Theotokos church appears to be the oldest of these. Neither this design feature nor the building technique– though of the finest quality – points in the direction of Constantinople, however. The exterior walls of the Theotokos display a building technique known as cloisonné, named after the standard Byzantine enamel technique. It consists of carefully worked sandstone ashlars framed by dark red bricks set horizontally and vertically. Since each block is framed independently, at least a single course, or a single vertical brick, separates the individual ashlars, creating a very colorful pattern. The façades are further enlivened by horizontal bands of recessed dogtooth friezes that appear at approximately half-meter intervals, starting above the springing points of the lower window arches. Closer to the top of the apses, additional decorative bands consist of so-called pseudo-Kufic letters. These, in terms of their placement and general character, recall the inscription bands on some Islamic buildings, but here they appear to have a strictly decorative function. This raises the question of their origins, as well as of the aesthetics of the façades in general. Although Islamic influence may have played a role, exactly how remains obscure. Though Con-

314 Hosios Loukas Monastery, Church of Theotokos; exterior from E

315 Hosios Loukas Monastery, Church of Theotokos; exterior from S

316 Hosios Loukas Monastery, Church of Theotokos; exterior, dome drum

stantinople appears to be the most likely channel, no surviving monuments in the capital display the characteristics seen at the church of the Theotokos. That, of course, does not exclude the possibility that once they may have existed. Our discussion of the aesthetics of the façades must also include a consideration of the use of marble. This material appears in certain restricted locations, where, on account of its structural, practical and aesthetic properties, it seems to have been the material of choice. Slender window mullions, thin string-courses, and, above all, the casing of the exterior of the dome drum (fig. 316) create the impression of splendor and the highest standards of workmanship. The drum of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas is a unique creation.[83] Its eight two-light windows are crowned by eight horseshoe-shaped arches that once must have provided the base for the rippled eave outline of the roof, now changed to a low pyramidal form. Flat panels with relief designs of sprouting crosses once had their backgrounds filled with dark paste. The technique, known as champlevé, was used in late antiquity, from where it also passed to the world of Islam. Whether its appearance in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium constituted a revival, or was a borrowing from the Islamic sphere, is another question that does not have a ready answer. The drum is also marked by eight slender octagonal corner colonnettes supporting capitals and, above them, water spouts (no longer functional) in the form of lion masks. Anthropomorphic water spouts are clearly derived from ancient architecture and, more than most other features, underline the spirit of revival present in this context.

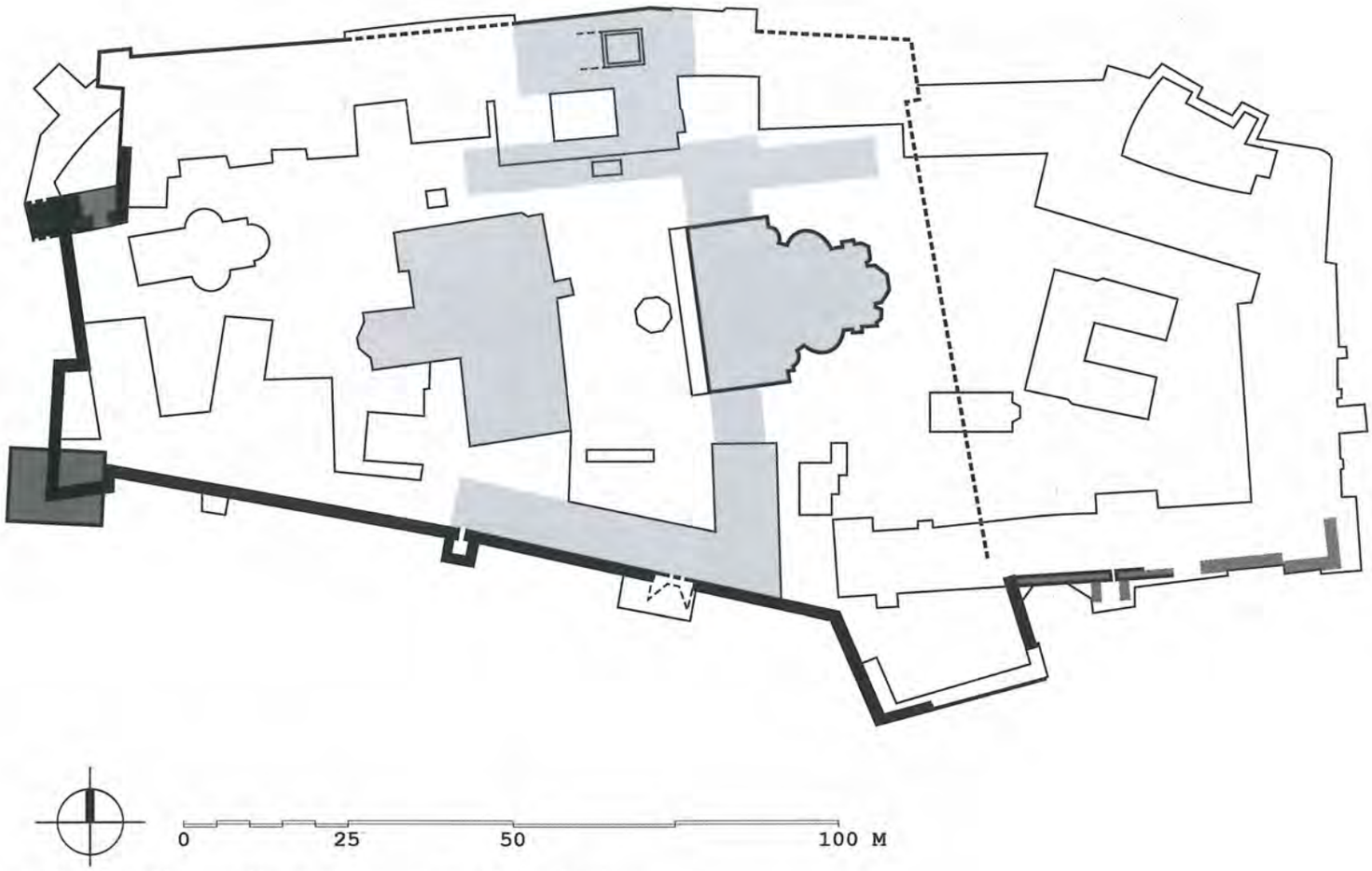
The interior of the Theotokos church, despite the loss of all of its wall decoration, has retained much of the original architectural sculpture (fig. 317). The four columns carrying the dome may have ancient shafts, used here as spoils. The four capitals, however, were contemporary creations, carved by highly skilled craftsmen whose work compares easily to the best contemporary sculpture in Constantinople. Sharp, spindly leaves and stylized elements reveal common stylistic traits. Some of the motifs here, too, as was the case in Constantinople, show affinities with Islamic art. The church has also preserved its original templon screen substantially intact and *in situ*. Likewise, a frame of one of a pair of *proskynetaria* icons that once flanked the templon is also preserved *in situ*. The carving of these features, once more, reveals the extraordinary skill of the artisans. Sculptural spoils on other monastic buildings, as well as a large number of fragments discovered within the monastery and now on display in the refectory, all point to the existence of a sculptural workshop that may have been active within the monastery for many years. Owing to the importance of the growing popularity of the cult of St. Luke and the external interest in his cult, the monastery became a major hub of architectural and artistic activity in the central area of Greece, exercising a profound regional impact over a long period of time. We will return to this subject again in the following chapter.

Monastic life and related architecture reached their high point during the second half of the tenth century on Mount Athos. This celebrated all-male monastic enclave, on the easternmost of the three finger-like protrusions of the Chalkidiki peninsula in northern Greece, came into being at an uncertain time under unclear circumstances. Dominated at the southern end of the peninsula by the magnificent peak of Mount Athos, rising practically directly out of the waters of the Aegean to a height of 2,033 meters, the legendary "Garden of the Theotokos" has continuously retained its monastic identity, at least since the tenth century. The developments associated with the emergence of the first larger monastic establishments are several, among which at least two deserve particular mention. First was the emergence of the so-called coenobitic (communal) form of monastic life, in contrast to the preexisting eremitic practice. The second was the result of direct involvement by Byzantine emperors in the creation of the first organized monasteries, and their subsequent support of these institutions. Imperial recognition of the power of the monastic movement in the aftermath of Iconoclasm must have informed many imperial decisions, such as this one, whereby the emperors sought to cultivate allies in this important sector of Byzantine society.

GREAT LAVRA

The story of the establishment of the first major coenobitic establishment to survive on Mount Athos – the Great Lavra,

317 (*facing page*) Hosios Loukas Monastery, Church of Theotokos; interior looking E



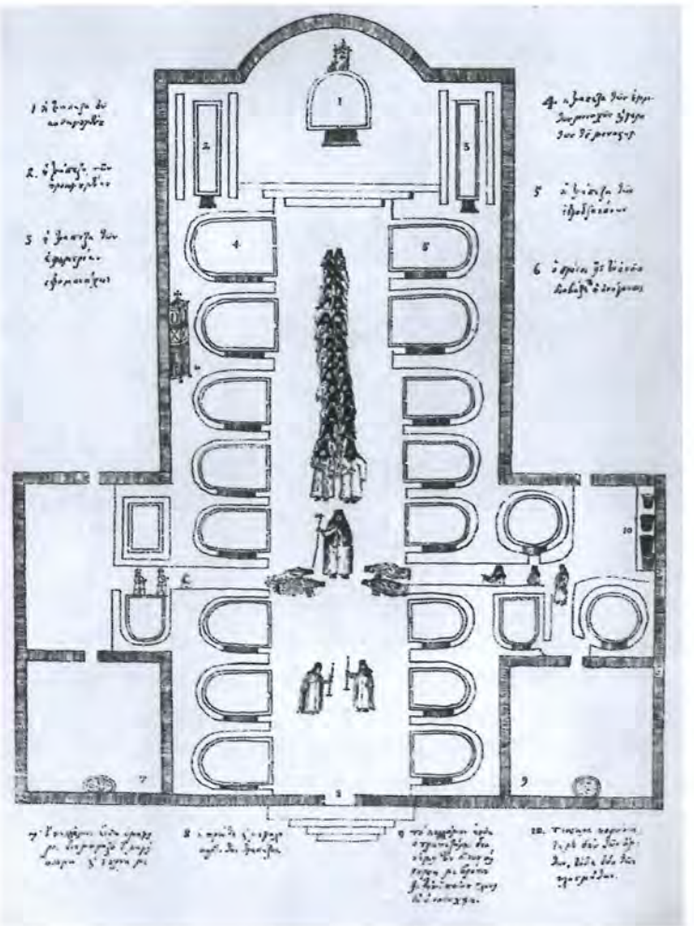
318 Great Lavra Monastery, Hypothetical reconstruction of original enclosure

founded in 963 by St. Athanasios – illustrates these aspects in particularly clear terms. With the direct support of General, subsequently Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, the Great Lavra became a privileged institution. Upon his coronation, it acquired the status of an "imperial monastery," which provided it with many fiscal and administrative advantages. The intensive initial growth of the coenobitic monastery, whose life was governed by the *typikon* compiled by St. Athanasios himself, lasted for over a century. Traces of the original small monastic enclosure with the cell of St. Athanasios have recently been detected along the northern flank of the present-day monastery.[84] Subsequent monastery growth, initiated already during the saint's lifetime, saw the construction of a much larger semi-fortified enclosure with the katholikon located in its eastern part. Fronting the katholikon was a sizeable courtyard within which arose the monastic refectory and the phiale (holy water font) between the two buildings. These three elements were basically axially aligned, revealing a planning scheme strongly reminiscent of secular urban contexts. We are reminded once again of the remarkable, recurring similarities between the "secular" and "religious" architectural realms, and the probabilities of links between the two. The monastic architectural context would have provided both the ideal medium and the means for the transmission of ideas that occasionally stand out in a particularly striking manner.

Recent research also indicates that the original enclosure of the monastery, following the first expansion, would not have extended far to the east of the katholikon (fig. 318). At the same time, it implies that the katholikon was related to the subsidiary structures immediately to the north and the south of its narthex, flanked by two subsidiary chapels.[85] Thus, the katholikon would have had an "extended" façade, comparable to those at Ravna and Hosios Loukas. By the same token, it would also have been fronted by an open court, similar to the one at Ravna and at Synaxis. In any case, the present appearance of the katholikon as a freestanding building in the middle of a large open, amorphously shaped courtyard, appears to have resulted from the later expansions and modifications of the monastery. The monastery

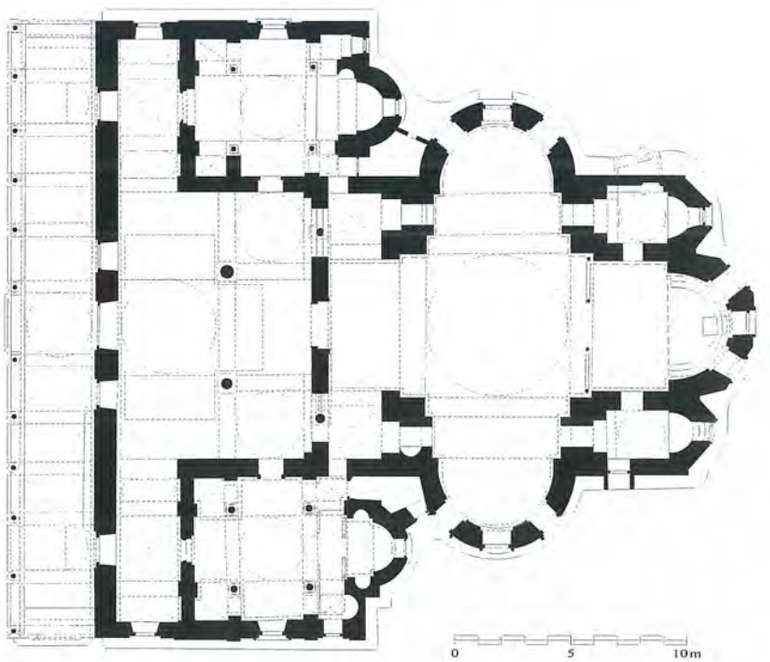
of *circa* 1000, by contrast, would have looked much more like the original complexes at Ravna, Synaxis, and possibly at Hosios Loukas. The main difference may have been in the Great Lavra's large monastic refectory, whose main entrance stands directly opposite the main church façade. The refectory is a monumental building, whose size and relationship to the katholikon signal its functional and symbolic importance within the coenobitic constitution of the monastery as a whole (fig. 319).[86] The refectory features a cruciform plan, its main, longer space terminating in an apse on the west side, forming a symbolic counterpoint to the main apse of the katholikon, with which it is axially aligned. The main space is lined on both sides by symmetrical rows of eight marble sigma tables with corresponding masonry benches. A wooden trussed roof covered the main space, the walls of which must have been frescoed, though the present frescoes are of a much later date. The general planning concept recalls basilican palatine *triclinia*. The scheme of the Great Lavra refectory – presumably a newly invented concept for the monastic context of Mount Athos – also appears to have drawn its inspiration from secular urban architecture, possibly from the capital itself. In many ways a close parallel is the hall in the Palace of Lausos in Constantinople (fig. 79). One is inclined to postulate that an architect accompanied by a team of competent builders may have come along with the generous funding procured from the Byzantine emperor. Their continuing presence on Mount Athos cannot be assumed, however. The phiale of the Great Lavra, in its present form, is a later rebuilding, though the actual marble vessel is original, along with its elaborate bronze water spout.[87]

The katholikon of the Great Lavra has recently been shown to have evolved into its present form from a rectangular cross-in-square piered structure through the addition of two lateral apses and a subsequent narthex, exonarthex, and a pair of flanking chapels.[88] In its overall dimensions, the present church measures roughly 28 (length) by 27 meters, its dome having an interior diameter of 6 meters (fig. 320). It has been a general assumption that the presence of the lateral apses (semicircular externally, as opposed to the polygonal main apse) was the reflection of the functional need for accommodating monastic choirs, whose antiphonal singing required their placement in two groups on the opposite sides of the naos. The actual documentation of such practice, however, comes from much later sources, so the addition of the lateral apses may have responded to some other need, though evidently insufficiently articulated at the time of the original construction of the building. One should mention that this may have concerned the display of important relics. Lateral conches in earlier churches, as noted in several other contexts, were often intended to accommodate important tombs or shrines, and to keep them out of the main line of liturgical circulation, while maintaining their central position within



319 Great Lavra Monastery, Refectory; plan (drawing V.G. Barskii)

320 Great Lavra Monastery, Katholikon; plan



321 Great Lavra Monastery, Katholikon from S

the church. Another important functional observation needs to be made in conjunction with the katholikon. Directly above its original narthex – subsequently replaced by a more spacious *liti* – was a gallery whose central window opened into the naos. This, we are told by the sources, was a *katichoumenion*, a private chamber reserved for a monk in seclusion, possibly intended for St. Athanasios himself. The *katichoumenion* was flanked by two other chambers, one accommodating the monastic library, and the other a chapel dedicated to the Forty Martyrs. The central part of the *katichoumenion* opened through a large three-light window onto the naos itself. From that elevated position, the occupant of the *katichoumenion* could have participated in the services performed in the church below. The similarity to the *Westwerk* arrangements in Western medieval architecture is self-evident, but the comparison should not be pushed beyond this observation, as has on occasion been done in the older scholarship. The presence of elevated private chambers within churches is attested in Byzantium as early as the seventh century. The original, oblong narthex of the katholikon was flanked by two small projecting parekklesia. Virtually identical in size and character, the two miniature four-column, domed churches, along with the main church, create a distinctive composition of three components in which the largest one, in the middle, is symmetrically framed by a pair of smaller ones.[89] The northern of the two small chapels was evidently intended to accommodate the tomb of the monastery's founder, St. Athanasios, and his sarcophagus is still located here, in the northwestern corner. The conceptual architectural formula subsequently acquired some popularity on Mount Athos and elsewhere, providing the basis for one of several Middle Byzantine multi-domed paradigms that substantially superseded the older multi-domed church schemes.

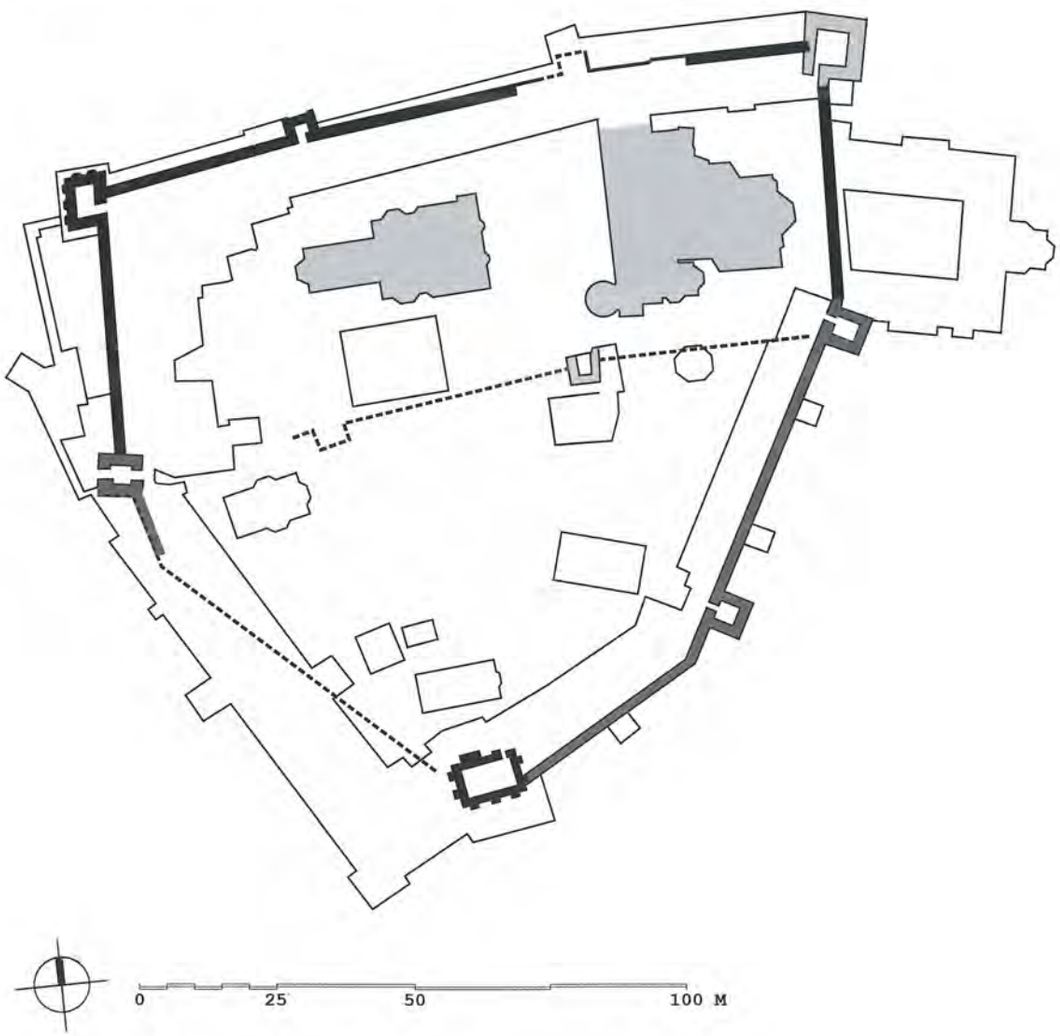
The exact original external appearance of the Great Lavra katholikon can no longer be appreciated (fig. 321). Its main dome is the result of a major rebuilding, possibly in the seventeenth century following an earthquake that caused considerable damage to the church. The original arrangement of the western part of the building with an oblong narthex and an exonarthex that linked the main building with the two flanking parekklesia has also been substantially altered. Last but not least, the church is covered by a thick layer of plaster, painted purple. The plaster conceals any archaeological evidence that was to be preserved on the masonry of the walls. The monasteries on Mount Athos, in general, have been reluctant to subject their churches and monastic buildings to the close scrutiny of archaeologists, preempting any clearer understanding of the structural history of this and other structures. The purple paint that covers the exterior of the Lavra katholikon is one of the most idiosyncratic features of the Athonite churches. The association of purple with imperial patronage and the status of the Lavra and other monasteries on Mount Athos is surely a story that postdates the founding of these churches by several centuries. Notwithstanding the lack of precise documentation and its rather garish present appearance, we should not ignore the potential aesthetic significance of painted church façades. Research on church architecture in the Balkans and elsewhere during the last several decades as noted already, indicates that many more Middle and Late Byzantine churches were externally painted than we think.[90] The plastering and painting of churches externally presents an important aesthetic dimension of Byzantine architecture that has not been recognized, but deserves further scrutiny. Important in this context is also the recognition that it depends on late antique and Early Byzantine practice. This, along with other observed general characteristics of the katholikon architecture, probably had its roots in the architectural practice of Constantinople. Whatever the ultimate sources of the many ideas incorporated into its design, the katholikon of the Great Lavra became the most influential monastic church plan, affecting not only the development on Mount Athos itself, but also much of the Balkans during the medieval period and beyond.

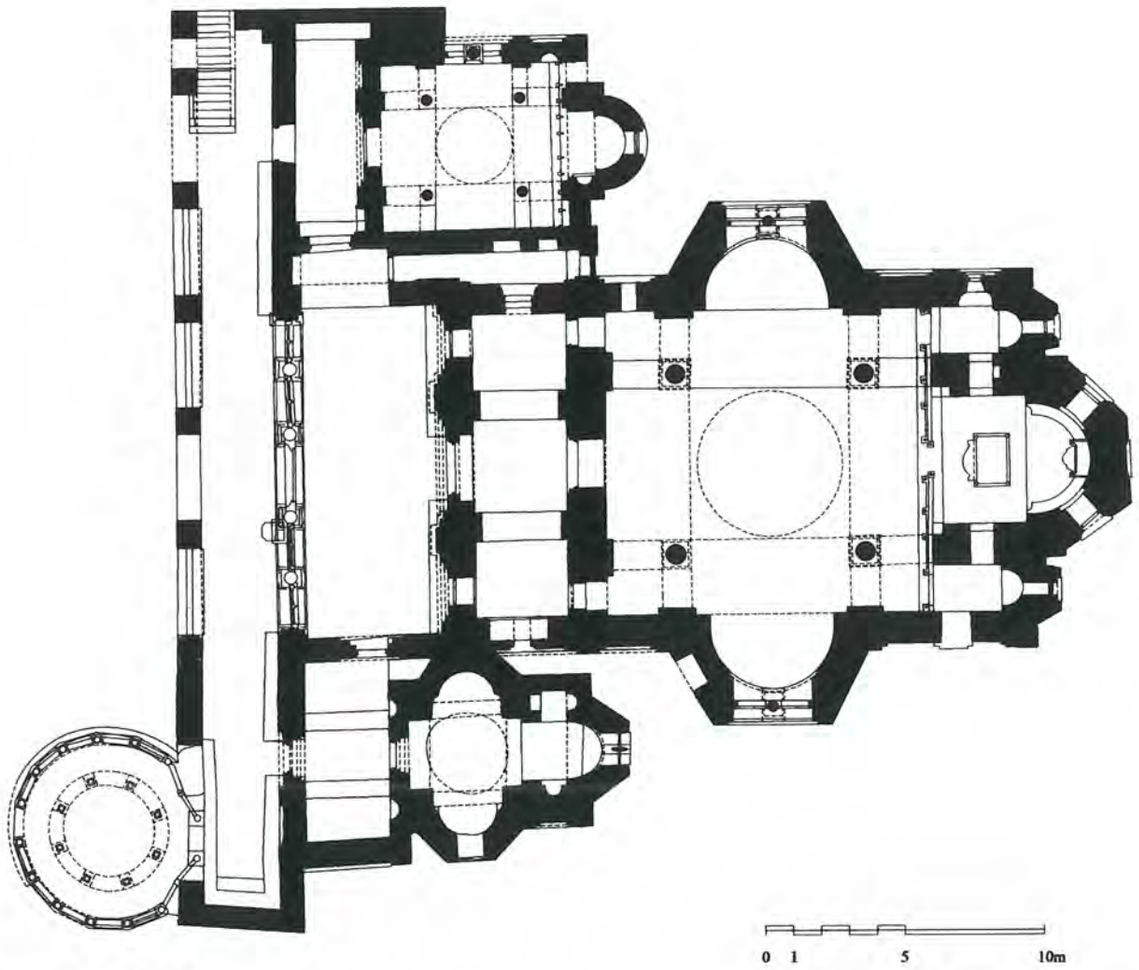
VATOPEDI

The establishment and the subsequent growth of the monastery of the Great Lavra, the first coenobitic establishment on Mount Athos, provided not only a model, but also an impetus for the creation of similar establishments on the Holy Mountain, which were to follow in close succession. Two of these – the monasteries of Vatopedi and Iviron – both followed the Great Lavra precedent, both belonging to the last decades of the tenth century. The older of the two, Vatopedi, clearly owes the concept

of its basic layout and many of its architectural features to the Great Lavra (fig. 322). As in the case of the Lavra, recent research indicates that the original form of the monastic enclosure was an elongated rectangle, with the katholikon occupying the eastern third of the enclosed space. Furthermore, the exonarthex of the katholikon initially appears to have been linked with the surrounding buildings, so that the main part of the church would have been situated within a separate, smaller, and presumably more private courtyard within the monastery enclosure. As in the case of the Great Lavra, therefore, the freestanding character of the main katholikon must have evolved over a period of time through later expansions and modifications of the overall monastery plan.[91] Thus, our conventional understanding of the basic characteristics of monastic planning on Mount Athos in its initial stages must be modified along the lines already discussed, in conjunction with the other monastic complexes described in this section. The Vatopedi scheme involves yet another feature that deserves particular attention. Its main tower, dedicated to the Transfiguration (Metamorphosēs), according to the latest discoveries, appears to have been built as a freestanding structure, some 70 meters from the south line of the original monastic enclosure. The subsequent expansion of the monastery to the south, with its characteristic triangular form, appears to have been predicated on the inclusion of this tower into the complex. The appearance and function of early monastic towers have been a subject of study by several scholars in recent times.[92] The Transfiguration tower at Vatopedi shows at least three distinctive phases of construction, of which the oldest is believed to antedate 1200, and may be even older. Its distinctive rectangular form with regularly spaced projecting wall but-

322 Vatopedi Monastery, Hypothetical reconstruction of original enclosure





323 Vatopedi Monastery, Katholikon; plan

tresses reflects a broader development that has been viewed both as a genuine Middle Byzantine invention and, alternatively, as a reflection of Western influence in Byzantium.[93] It should be pointed out that the appearance of fortified monastic towers on Mount Athos began early and that, at least judging by the surviving evidence, the earliest examples may not have had defense as the primary concern at all.

The main interior space within the monastery of Vatopedi, to the west of its katholikon, was laid out in a manner that closely followed the scheme of the Great Lavra. Directly opposite the katholikon, with which it is axially aligned, but with reverse orientation, is the refectory. Similar in its disposition and the internal organization of tables, the refectory of Vatopedi was obviously intended as a statement, confirming the establishment of coenobitic practices on Mount Athos by St. Athanasios. Similarly, between the katholikon and the refectory we find the phiale of Vatopedi, though here it is situated to the south of the main axis of the katholikon. The present phiale, as was the case with that of the Great Lavra, is a later rebuilding, probably preserving in its open canopied domed form the essential characteristics of its original appearance.

The katholikon of Vatopedi, in terms of its present size (28 m long, 30 m wide) and general concept, follows the Great Lavra prototype closely (fig. 323).[94] Yet in several of its architectural characteristics, it also displays significant departures. Its naos, for example, features a pure cross-in-square form with four columns supporting the dome. The column shafts, as well as their capitals, are late antique spoils. The earlier dilemma regarding the possible origins of these elements may recently have been resolved by the partial discovery of the foundations of an earlier church below the north flank of the katholikon. Preceded by an oblong narthex, as wide as the naos, and by an exonarthex of comparable shape and size to the narthex, the building is flanked by a pair of lateral chapels. Both of these are domed, but they do not constitute a fully symmetrical pair, as was the case in the Lavra katholikon. The northern of the two is a small cross-in-

324 Vatopedi Monastery, Katholikon; general view from S

square, four-column church, physically separated from the flank of the katholikon by a narrow corridor. The southern, by contrast, has a compact triconch plan resembling the overall forms and proportions of the katholikon itself, but without any interior columns. The exterior of the Vatopedi katholikon was externally plastered and painted with emulation of a building opus. Its present deep crimson color, therefore, not reflect the original intentions (fig. 324). Along with several other churches, where similar information is preserved, the Vatopedi katholikon provides a strong indication that Middle Byzantine churches were externally plastered and painted, affording them an aesthetic expression very different from the one we have assumed.

The dome of the Vatopedi katholikon, unlike that of the Great Lavra, is the original construction. Elevated on a tall drum, as was already the norm in Byzantine church architecture, the dome with its interior span of 5 meters belongs to the category of middle-sized domes from this period. Also rather characteristically, the drum is perforated by eight round-headed windows. Between each pair of windows externally is a pair of slender engaged colonnettes supporting the framing arches over the window, as well as miniature blind arches between them. The arrangement provides for a lively system of alternating large and small arcades, all topped by an undulating eave line. The entire external impression is that of a relatively light domed canopy, though in fact the actual support of the dome is provided by the masonry of the drum, the external colonnettes creating only a visual illusion and a symbolic statement.

Churches

As has been noted on several occasions throughout this book, our perceptions of Byzantine architecture are greatly skewed by a variety of factors, ranging from the chance preservation of monuments to patterns of deliberate destruction, but also by prejudices brought to the subject by modern scholars. One of

the most glaring of these prejudices has been the separation of the "ecclesiastical" from the "secular" architectural realms. Such a separation undoubtedly has more to do with the mindset of modern writers than either Byzantine practice or the patterns of the preservation of monuments. Although it cannot be denied that church architecture, in general, has fared better than non-religious buildings, sufficient information about the latter is available to make any excuses about its exclusion from consideration absolutely meaningless. Our efforts to treat architecture of individual buildings within larger contexts – urban, monastic, etc. – does not preempt the need to look at church architecture as a distinctive category in its own right. Here one must admit that, on occasion, churches have survived, while their larger architectural context remains obscure. More important, however, is the fact that many of the churches from the period under consideration were not built in urban environments. Commissioned by private donors, this reflects as much the changed patterns of patronage as it yields a picture of new architectural responses to the changed needs and demands. It has often been noted accurately that Middle Byzantine architecture reflects a new sense of function and related scale. It has also been observed that Middle Byzantine churches were built in far larger numbers than in preceding centuries, as well as that their individual size was considerably smaller. These are important observations and they certainly reflect the different realities of their times. In embarking on a general discussion of church architecture of the ninth and tenth centuries, an effort will be made to maintain an awareness of as many of the relevant factors as possible, alongside a conscious effort to rectify other distorted perceptions.

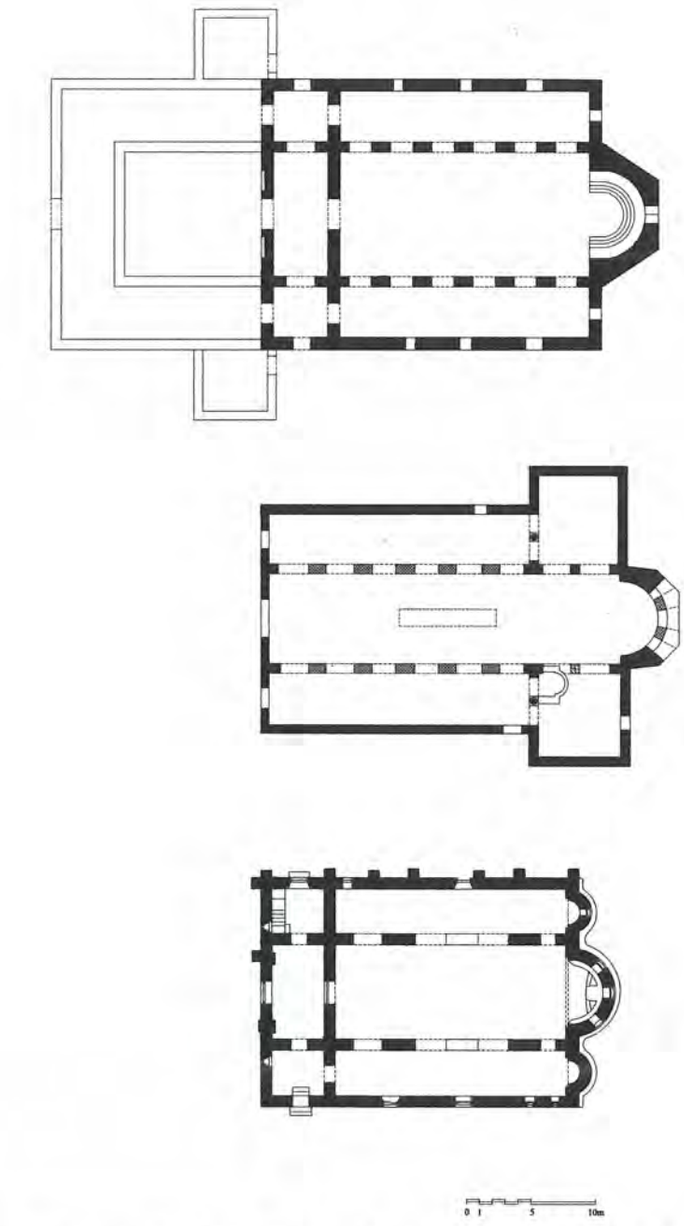
BASILICAS

The role of basilicas in Middle Byzantine church architecture has received some scholarly attention, but still not to the extent that the phenomenon as a whole deserves.[95] Meanwhile, the initial paradigmatic perception of "centralized" church types as constituting the essence of Byzantine church architecture persists as

325 Mesembria, Old Metropolis; interior, present state looking E

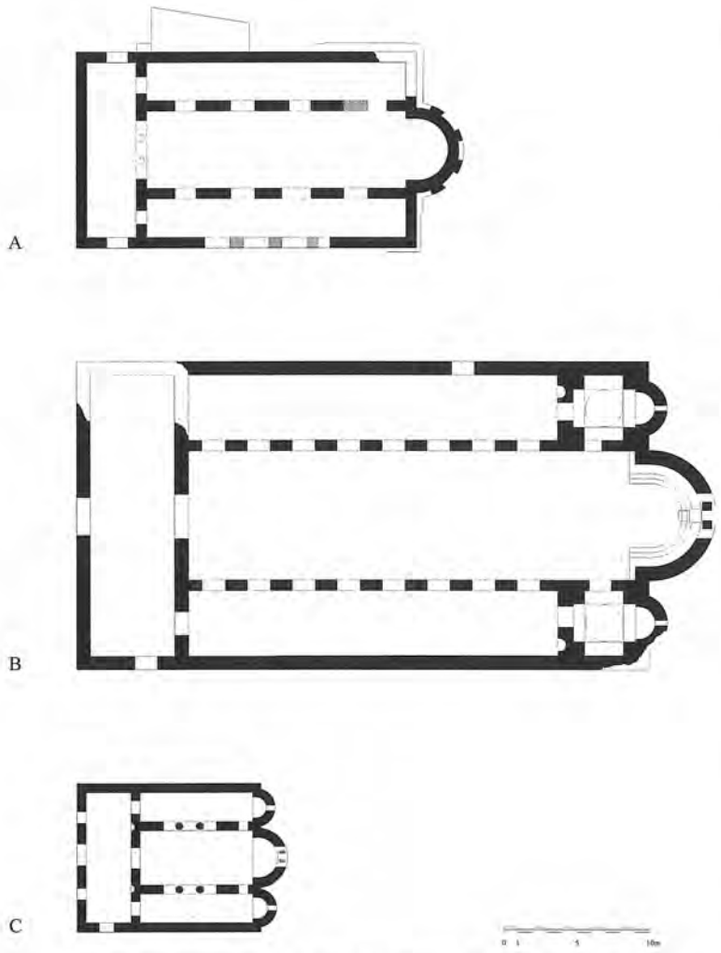
a serious distortion of the actual larger picture.[96] The significant role of the basilica during the ninth and the tenth centuries may be approached from several different angles. In the first place, one must bear in mind that many of the early Christian basilicas continued to exist and function in many more locations than is apparent today. Others that had suffered partial damage were promptly repaired, some having undergone partial modification in the process. Above all – and this is most significant – new basilicas were being built. Some of these may have been constructed on account of the need for buildings of larger dimensions, but this argument certainly applies only to a small percentage of such buildings. Nor is it fully satisfactory to argue that the basilica was a building of choice when it came to cathedral churches. The concept of the "renewal" of an antiquated building form as a manifestation of a general process of cultural "renaissance" likewise must be viewed with considerable caution. While no single explanation is completely satisfactory, the commanding presence of the basilica on the Middle Byzantine architectural scene can no longer be in any doubt.

Our discussion will begin with the so-called Old Metropolis at Nessebur (ancient Mesembria), Bulgaria.[97] This sixth-century, three-aisled columnar basilica of unmistakable Constantinopolitan derivation was substantially modified during the medieval period. The exact date of its alteration is in dispute, but most scholars seem to be inclined to accept a tenth- (or eleventh-) century date (fig. 325). The modified basilica lost its original atrium, but retained the general form of its predecessor (fig. 326A). Measuring 21 × 30.5 meters, with a nave approximately 9.5 meters wide, the remodeled Old Metropolis was a fairly large building by Middle Byzantine standards. During this medieval intervention the original columnar arcades were replaced by piered ones. Since the building had galleries, the pier arcades were two-storied, as the preserved remains of the building indicate. In its modified form the church did preserve several of its original architectural characteristics. Thus, the eastern walls of its side aisles remained flat, though the original doors in these locations appear to have been blocked at the time of the reconstruction. The original synthronon was also left in place, so that in many respects the ancient character of the building was preserved. The Old Metropolis, as its name indicates, served as the medieval cathedral of Mesembria, presumably continuing the function of its sixth-century predecessor. The preserved pier arcades in the nave reveal that the medieval builders also emulated the original building technique. As was the case in contemporary practice in Constantinople, the masons employed alternating bands of several courses of stone with bands of brickwork, albeit not spaced at regular intervals as had been the practice in Early Byzantine architecture. As in Constantinople, despite this effort to imitate the old standards of construction, the new building technique is clearly recognizable because of its inferior quality.



326 Basilicas: (A) Mesembria, Old Metropolis; (B) Buthrintos, "Great Basilica"; (C) Kariyes, Protaton; plans

Another case of an early Byzantine basilica substantially modified in the ninth century is the so-called Great Basilica at Buthrintos (modern Butrint), Albania (fig. 326B).[98] Much like the Old Metropolis at Nessebur, this sixth-century basilica underwent a substantial remodeling, most likely as a result of earthquake damage. As at Nessebur, its original colonnaded arcades were replaced with massive rectangular piers, supporting a new arcade with a corresponding system of clerestory windows



327 Basilicas: (A) Servia, Basilica; (B) Mikri Prespa, H. Achilleios; (C) Mentzena, Panagia; plans

above the arcade. In addition, the ninth-century remodeling also involved the modification of the main apse. The original apse evidently also collapsed in an earthquake; its original external polygonal form gave way to a semicircular one, in keeping with contemporary standards. In all other respects, the original layout of the basilica was maintained. In this case, this involved a tripartite transept, whose arms protruded about 2 meters beyond the width of the basilica itself. The overall dimensions of the basilica at Butrint (18m × 22.5 / 31 m [with the transept]) place it among the larger medieval basilicas.

Comparable in proportions and size to the Old Metropolis of Mesembria, though different in function, was the newly built basilica known as the Protaton at Kariyes on Mount Athos (fig. 326C).[99] Built as the central church of the monastic enclave of Mount Athos as early as 965, the church was originally a three-aisled piered basilica, subsequently modified into a cruciform church with a type of a transept. In its original form the church, measuring 16.5 × 26 meters, consisted of a wide nave (almost 7 m) and narrow side aisles. On the west it was preceded by an oblong narthex, with square corner rooms, linked with the narthex and the side aisles through simple arched openings. On the east the aisles terminated in a pair of lateral chapels, doubling as pastophories and expressed externally in the form of semicircular apses. Together with the much larger semicircular main apse, the three formed a characteristic east end, encountered frequently during this period. Its walls laid bare, the church reveals its simple, fieldstone construction technique involving the generous use of mortar and occasional, irregularly placed bricks. Considering the crudeness of this technique, and the fact that most early katholika on Mount Athos appear to have been plastered and painted externally, this was in all likelihood also the case with the Protaton.

The partially preserved, much smaller basilica at Zourtsa, Trifyllia, Greece, dating from tenth century, shares the essential design characteristics with the original Protaton basilica and illustrates the spread of the type throughout the Balkans during this period.[100] Measuring only 11.5 × 17 meters in plan, the church was a three-aisled basilica of relatively small dimensions. The main arcade was carried on square and rectangular piers. The side aisles, as well as the nave, terminated in projecting semicircular apses. The church underwent at least two major subsequent modifications, but its east end is preserved essentially in its original form. It is here that we encounter the original building technique dominated by fieldstone construction, but also by the occasional insertion of bands of diaper tile patterns on the main apse, providing an impressive decorative effect. Such bands, as we shall see, appear on other monuments of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The ruins of the three-aisled piered basilica of Servia, Greece, stand on a spectacular promontory overlooking the modern town in the valley below.[101] Built *circa* 1000, this was the cathedral church of the medieval town strategically located on the cliffs overlooking a narrow pass immediately below it. Despite its ruinous state, the original layout of the church is clear. It was a three-aisled basilica measuring 13.5 × 26 meters (fig. 327A). Its aisles, half as wide as its nave (approximately 5 m wide), terminated, in this case, in straight eastern walls. Only the nave had a projecting semicircular apse. This, along with the use of a tribelon as an entrance feature into the nave from the narthex, may be viewed as conservative design features, departing from conventions more common for the period. The basilica at Servia is notable for another idiosyncratic aspect of its design. The two rows of its massive rectangular piers have a decidedly asymmetrical layout. Although the number of piers – three on either side – is the same, the piers on the north side are larger, hence the openings in the two arcades do not correspond. Such arrangements occur elsewhere in medieval basilicas, albeit infrequently,

328 Mikri Prespa, H. Achilleios; interior, present state looking E

but were unknown in earlier architecture. Thus, the occurrence of this irregularity at Servia may be viewed as a medieval variation on the design of basilican churches.

The basilica of Hagios Achilleios on the island of the same name in the lake of Mikrē Prespa, Greece, is a building in a category of its own. In this case, we know the church's patron, the circumstances under which it was built, its functional intentions, and a substantial amount about its contents (fig. 328).[102] Now in ruins, the church was built just before 1000 for the Bulgarian tsar Samuel, in conjunction with his making of Prespa his own capital. The church was intended to be the seat of the Bulgarian patriarch. Its construction came in the wake of Samuel's conquest of Larissa in 985–86, at which time the town was plundered, and the relics of its patron, St. Achilleios, taken away. The possession of these important relics, along with those of SS. Oekoumenios and Reginos, acquired elsewhere, combined with Samuel's other intentions and needs, provided the impetus for the construction of the great basilica. Measuring 22 × 44 meters, this was one of the largest churches of this period to be built in the Balkans (fig. 327B). The church was laid out as a three-aisled basilica, preceded by an oblong narthex. Its side aisles terminated in two tall domed chapels, symmetrically flanking the large main apse (fig. 329). The nave, twice as wide as the side aisles, ended in a sanctuary with a large horseshoe-shaped apse accommodating a three-stepped synthronon. The nave was subdivided by symmetrical rows of seven rectangular piers on either side. The piers carried a uniform arcade, repeated also on the upper level, corresponding to the galleries, much as in the remodeled Old Metropolis at Nessebar. Extensive excavations in the church conducted in the 1970s and 1980s have brought to light many important facts about the history and the function of the building. From these it became evident that the southern of the two domed chapels flanking the sanctuary was intended to hold the relics of St. Achilleios, and possibly also of SS. Oekoumenios and Reginos. Although their original shrine had been plundered in the distant past, remains of its reconstructed form were suffi-

329 Mikri Prespa, H. Achilleios; east elevation, hypothetical reconstruction

ciently preserved to offer many invaluable insights. According to the excavator, Professor Moutsopoulos, in addition to the patron saint's original shrine, four other important tombs were situated in the south aisle of the church, and several burials of lesser significance in the narthex. The four tombs in the south aisle, all marked by sarcophagi constructed of marble slabs, are believed to be the resting places of individuals directly associated with the building of the church. One of these, in fact, has been identified as the tomb of Samuel. Its sealed contents revealed not only reasonably well-preserved bones, but also a substantial portion of an embroidered purple garment, which contributed to the identification of its occupant. The tomb was of the arcosolium type, its sarcophagus enclosed within an arched construction built independently of the outer church wall against which it was placed. The discovery of this tomb is of extraordinary importance, because very few royal medieval tombs in the Balkans have been preserved.

The basilica of Hagios Achilleios, from the point of its layout, as well as its construction technique, belongs to the larger family of churches whose builders undoubtedly had been trained within the Byzantine Empire. Whether or not they had any direct knowledge of the church of Hagios Achilleios at Larissa, as has been postulated, the design of the Prespa church reveals strong ties with other basilican churches that have been discussed in this context. This also holds true of its construction technique, employing predominantly fieldstone with large quantities of mortar. Bricks were used more sparingly, in irregularly spaced bands consisting of several brick courses, and for the construction of arches. That brick was not abundantly available is gleaned from the fact that the large apse vault and the small domes were built predominantly of small, carefully cut stones and single horizontal brick courses, in contrast to the all-brick construction that was virtually standard practice in Byzantine architecture in the Balkans. Especially characteristic was the external use of two bands of diaper tile patterns on the cylindrical drums of the two small domes. Though no longer preserved, one of these is clearly visible in a photograph of 1929. This decorative pattern, as we have seen, was widespread in architecture of the ninth and tenth centuries. Equally important, the external masonry technique of the small domes utilized cloisonné construction with the occasional appearance of "κ" designs executed in brick. This detail is of particular relevance, for it reveals links with building practices in nearby Kastoria, where the same detail appears on several contemporary buildings. Likewise, the use of marble as a material, and architectural sculpture as a medium, seem to be in the general spirit of the architecture of this period. Most of the marble, including the large rectangular floor slabs, came from the ancient settlement of Lyca, whose remains have been uncovered on the southwest shore of the island. Thus, the basilica of Hagios Achilleios in all respects reflects practices current in the Byzantine world, and illustrates Samuel's aspirations to emulate, on a grand scale, the architectural patronage of the Byzantine emperors. In that sense, he may be said to have continued the practice of his great predecessor, Emperor Symeon.

Our investigation of the role of the basilica in the architecture of this period will end with a particular group whose interior arcade supports included both columns and piers. The use of columns, of course, was a standard employed in Early Byzantine basilicas. The practice, as we have seen, had come to an end by *circa* 600, with the general decline of marble quarrying and mass-production of architectural members. Subsequent use of marble columns generally implied their reuse as spoils, and was likewise related to centers where such spoils were readily available. A distinctive representative of this group of basilicas is the small mid-tenth-century church of the Panagia at Mentzena, Achaia, Greece.[103] Measuring only 10.5 × 14.5 meters in plan, this is a three-aisled basilica with three round apses at its east end (fig. 327c). At its west end, the church is preceded by an oblong narthex. Inside, we find on either side of the nave the main arcade supported on two columns and a single massive pier. The arrangement of the two columns supporting three identical arches recalls conventional tribelons, though their location in this case was clearly intended to invoke old Byzantine basilican design concepts. Deviations from the strict older conventions are apparent also in the placement of the four clerestory windows. More or less evenly spaced, these reveal a total lack of correspondence with the openings at ground level, suggesting a full breakdown in the understanding of basic design principles

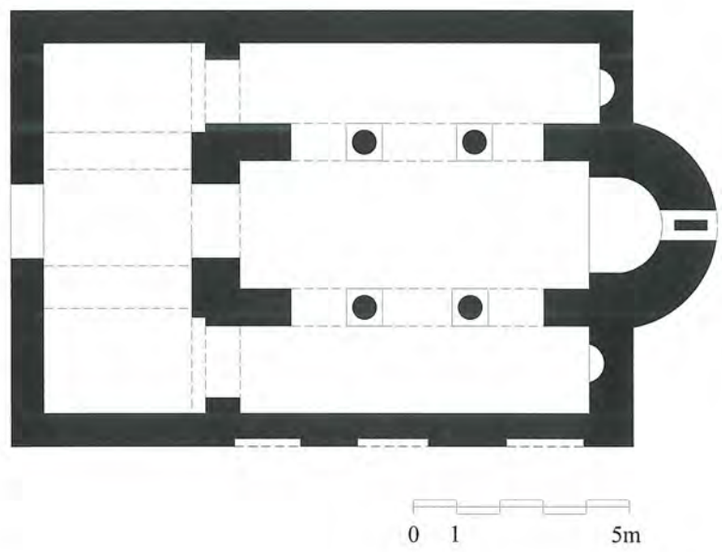
330A Mentzena, Panagia; capital

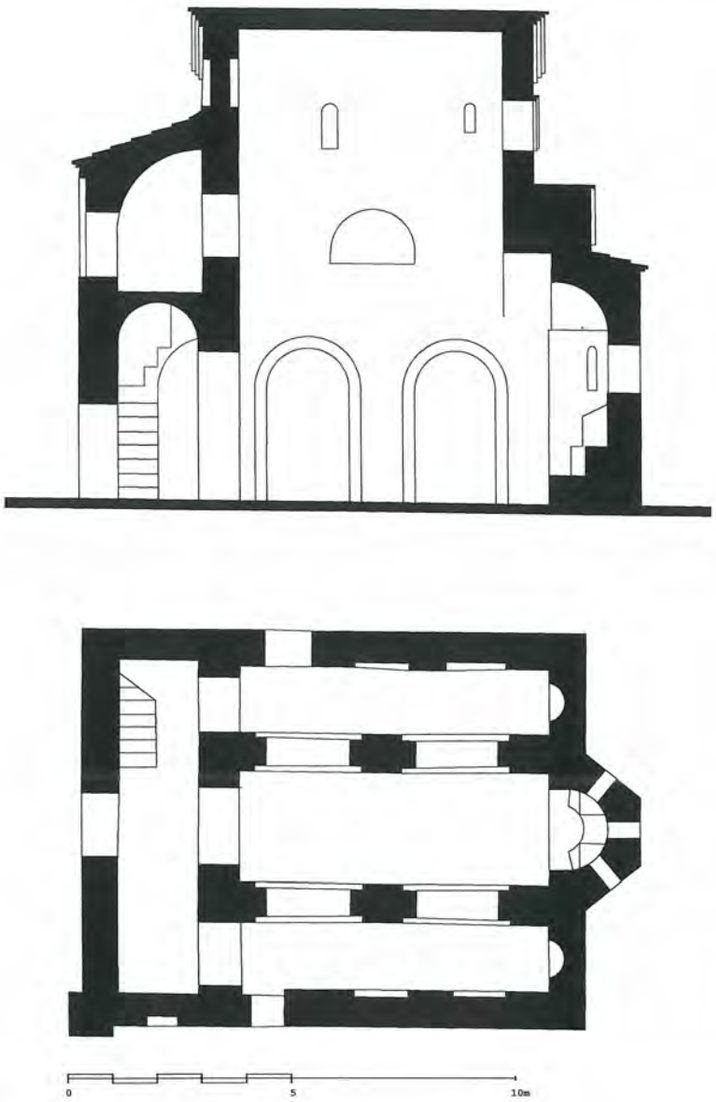
330B Mentzena, Panagia; capital

applied to basilicas of the Early Byzantine period. The shafts of the four columns employed in the nave arcades appear to be spoils, while their capitals represent one of many variations in the emulation of Early Byzantine capital types (fig. 330). Clumsy and rigid in execution, they reveal the work of an artisan with limited experience, but with access to old prototypes. The church also had an epistilion, parts of which have been preserved. These also reveal attempts at the emulation of ancient motifs (e.g., bead and reel), as well as a long inscription, only fragments of which survive. The use of carved monumental inscriptions, it will be recalled, was a common practice during the ninth and tenth centuries in Constantinople and elsewhere.

Other related miniature basilicas share many characteristics with the one at Mentzena and as such illustrate the widespread popularity of the type during the period in question. Many of these churches are poorly dated, the historical circumstances of their origins remaining murky. Yet, collectively, this material suggests that the type had considerable significance among a variety of patrons, distinguished by their social status (emperors, aristocracy), by their religious function (bishops, monks, etc.), or by their ethnic background (Greek, Bulgarian). Our inability to distinguish easily between the preferences of these different groups has tended to blur other relevant issues, such as the dating of some of these monuments, where documentary evidence is completely lacking. This is the case with several churches on the territory of Greece and Bulgaria. Some of these have already been alluded to in the discussion of urban centers in the first part of this chapter. The church of the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs at Kastoria, Greece, dated on the basis of several criteria to *circa* 900, will be referred to here as a paradigm of sorts, illustrating several of the crucial points in this context.[104] Its original plan had the dimensions of merely 6 × 10 meters (fig. 331). Modified in several later reconstruction undertakings, the church has nevertheless preserved enough of its original form to enable us to comment on the essential characteristics of its architecture. In its original form it was a miniscule three-aisled basilica, its nave separated from the aisles by triple arcades supported on two columns. The church was fully vaulted – the nave by a longitu-

331 Kastoria, Taxiarchis-Mētropoleos; plan





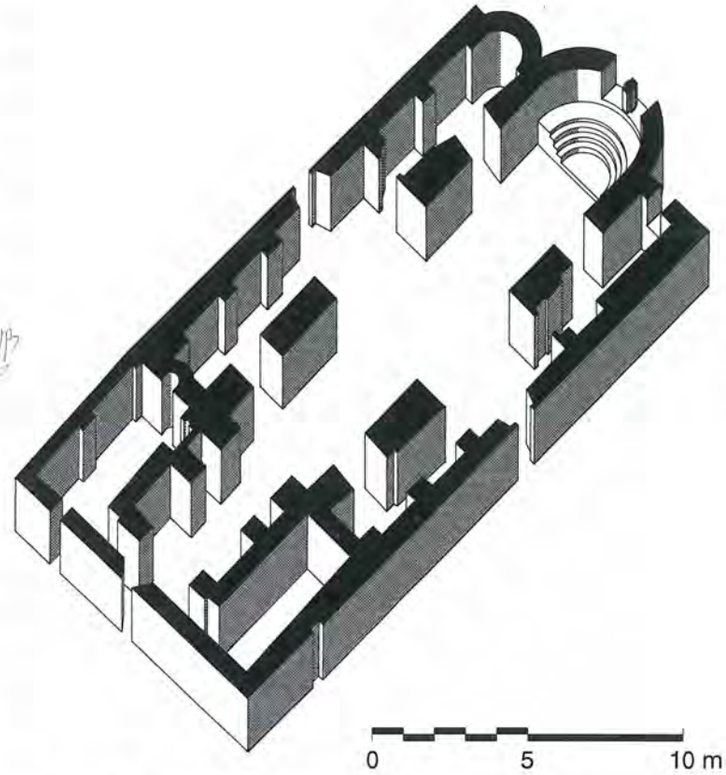
332 Kastoria, H. Stephanos; plan

333 Kastoria, H. Stephanos; general view from SW

dinal barrel vault, the side aisles by quadrant vaults. Of its three semicircular apses, only the main one is visible externally; the lateral ones are embedded in the thickness of the eastern church wall. The nave, merely 1.75 meters wide, has extremely steep proportions (1: 3.6). The interior, lit by tiny clerestory windows, is rather dark. Externally, the lateral façades of the church were articulated by triple blind arcades on shallow pilasters, whose spacing did not correspond to the internal disposition of the main supports. Such discrepancies in the tectonic articulation of buildings have been noted earlier in this chapter, especially in the discussion of church architecture in Bulgaria. A useful comparison here would be the so-called Basilica No. 5 at Pliska, whose size (6.5 × 12 m) and several design characteristics come close to those of the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs in Kastoria (fig. 299c). The church of the Taxiarchēs is also of interest because of its construction technique. Its exterior wall surfaces display a crude form of cloisonné technique. Its window arches are topped with recessed dogtooth friezes linked together by horizontal stretches of the same friezes between the windows. Small sections of diaper tile patterns appear in the spandrel between the windows. All of these characteristics were noted on the church of Hagios Achilleios at Prespa. Because of the fact that the Prespa church is considerably later than the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs of Kastoria, it is reasonable to assume that the great church must have been built by builders at least in part brought from Kastoria.

Another small basilica at Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos, may also date from the tenth century (figs. 332 and 333).[105] The small church measures *circa* 7.7 × 11.7 meters in plan. Characterized by the proportionally considerable height of its nave (*circa* 9.2 m), the small basilica shares this, along with other telltale architectural characteristics, with the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs. Among these is the use of longitudinal barrel vaulting of the nave, whose interior vertical proportions of 1:4.6 are even more exaggerated than those of the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs. Hagios Stephanos has preserved an early form of an elevated *katechoumenion* above its narthex, evidently designed for the sequestering of a monk of distinction. Accessible by a stair built in the northern corner of the narthex, the *katechoumenion* is as long as the total width of the church. Covered by a quadrant vault, it overlooks the nave through a large two-light window. Its south end is separated from the main space by a flying buttress-like construction. Within a narrow space thus created was a small private chapel designed for the use by the occupant of the *katechoumenion*. Unlike the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs, Hagios Stephanos has preserved its original exterior, marked by simple geometric forms characterized by planar walls devoid of surface articulation. At the same time, the wall surfaces exhibit all of the same distinctive traits of the local workshop that have been discussed in conjunction with the Taxiarchēs-Mētropoleōs.

The unresolved question of patronage in the case of the early churches of Kastoria deserves our final comment. Because of the exclusive use of Greek on frescoes, most Greek scholars have tended to reject strongly any Bulgarian involvement in these historically unaccounted-for churches.[106] The frequent pushing of these monuments into the eleventh century (after the Byzantine defeat of the Bulgarians in 1014), reflects one of the proposed "solutions" to this difficult problem. The discovery of Greek inscriptions on the frescoes of Hagios Achilleios at Prespa, where Bulgarian patronage cannot be in doubt, suggests that cultural relationships between these two adversarial states were not based on any simple formulas. By the same token, then, both the question of patronage and the date of the small basilicas in Kastoria deserve further consideration, which cannot be undertaken here.



334 Chalkē, Panagia Protothronē; axonometric

DOMED BASILICAS

The phenomenon of vaulting as well as introducing domes into basilican churches, has a long history that has been noted in preceding chapters. At least from *circa* 500 such buildings were being built. Earlier scholarship has tended to view them as superior in design, and as the eventual successors of the antiquated, timber-roofed basilican types in an evolutionary process. Our analysis of the problem does not bear out this attractive notion. In fact, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the construction of vaulted and domed basilicas seems to have continued along with the building of timber-roofed basilicas – four or five centuries later – without any clear signs of the conventional basilica being "displaced" by the "new type" involving vaulting. In fact, the opposite seems to be true. Vaulted and domed basilicas remained just as uncommon in the tenth century as they had been in the sixth. The exact reasons for this do not have ready answers, though structural problems related to the introduction of large domes into basilican schemes in all probability played the most significant role. The major difficulties experienced with earthquake damage in such large churches as Hagia Eirene in Constantinople must have stimulated sufficiently sobering thoughts for the new builders and patrons alike. By the time of the ultimate collapse (in 1010?) of the church of Hagios Polyeuktos in the Byzantine capital, the time of large-scale domed basilicas must long have been over.

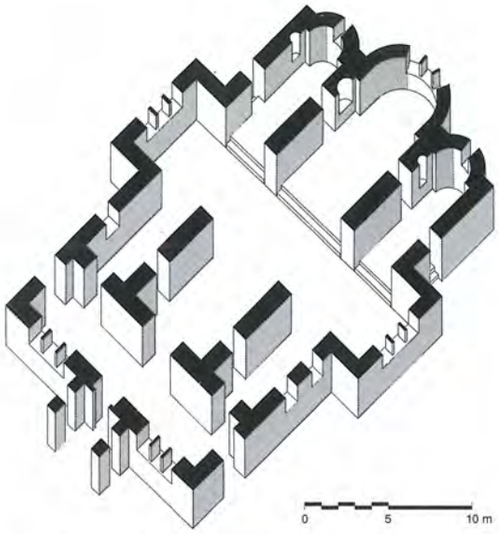
Our survey of this small group of buildings will begin with the church of Panagia Protothronē at Chalkē, on the island of Naxos, Greece. Though lacking a precise historical date, Panagia Protothronē in its present form most likely belongs to the ninth century, and provides us with useful insights into the characteristics of this type (fig. 334).[107] Measuring 10.5 × 23 meters in plan, this is a medium-sized building. The proportions of its plan, as well as its general disposition, unmistakably adhere to the general principles of basilican planning. The main vessel of the nave is separated from the side aisles by piers in the manner, as we have seen, most characteristic of this period. The piers of the Panagia Protothronē, however, are much more massive than in any of the basilicas we have investigated thus far. This, of course, reflects the intention of the builder to construct vaults. Also, consistent with its design intentions, the two central pairs of piers are set further apart in order to accommodate the transversal placement of the transept with its own vaulting needs. At the point of the intersection of the main barrel vaults is a dome on four pendentives, precisely at the midpoint of the building's length. Featuring two round side apses and the main apse with a synthronon, the building reveals its general affinities with the architecture of the period. The church is preceded by an unusual narthex now topped by a dome and much later belfry (fig. 335). Its central part is subdivided from the two side compartments by massive walls accommodating niches. It appears that these walls may have been intended to support some sort of heavy superstructure – possibly a belfry. Belfries in that location are known in later Byzantine architecture. If, indeed, this was originally a belfry, the Panagia Protothronē would be our earliest Byzantine church with an incorporated axially placed belfry. The spaces flanking the central passageway in the narthex were evi-

335 Chalkē, Panagia Protothronē; general view from NW

dently intended to function as separate chapels. The northern one is clearly equipped with a special niche that underscores that function. In size and character this pair of chapels matches closely the pair of chapels flanking the bema; thus the church would have had four such chapels placed in crucial, corner locations. Despite its general conservative appearance, the Panagia Protothronē reveals also an understanding of contemporary planning principles, as we know them from the Byzantine capital itself.

The church of the Panagia at Skripou (ancient Orchomenos), Greece, is one of the very few precisely dated monuments of this period (fig. 336).[108] The date of its construction, 873–74, is recorded on a lengthy carved inscription on the main apse, along with other important historical data that has provided a basis for linking this provincial building directly with the intellectual

336 Skripou, Panagia, general view from NE



337 Skripou, Panagia, axonometric

338 Skripou, Panagia, apse exterior detail; relief sculpture

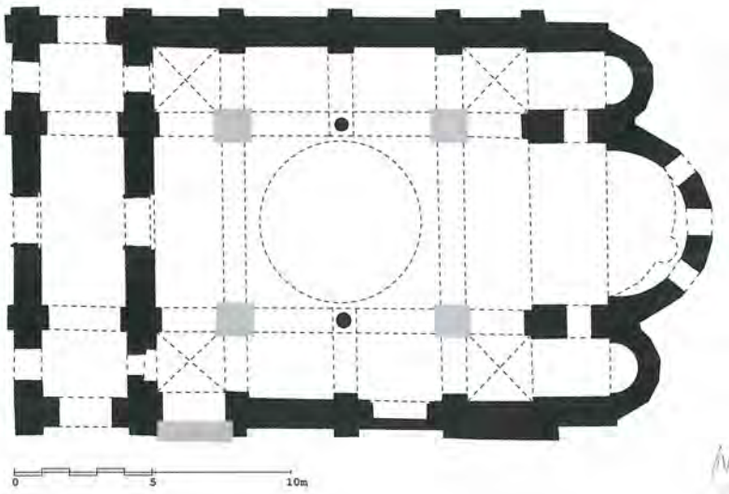
circles in Constantinople. The inscription refers to the co-emperors, Basil I and Leo VI, while two other smaller inscriptions identify the two lateral chapels as dedicated to the apostles Peter (south) and Paul (north). Thus, in this rare instance, we are made aware of the fact that the so-called tripartite organization of the east end of a Byzantine church was not absolutely formulaic, and that the side chambers were not always "pastophories," but could be independent chapels as well.[109] Badly damaged in a nineteenth-century earthquake, the church was heavily restored, yet much of its original character has been preserved. It may be basically described as a vaulted and domed three-aisled basilica with three semicircular apses at the east end (fig. 337). The overall dimensions of its basilican plan – 16 × 28.5 meters – classify it as a relatively large church by the standards of the time. A major departure from the basilican scheme, and a unique quality of the church's design, is the projecting transept, whose interior dimensions in all respects match those of the nave. The dome that crowns the crossing bay, unfortunately, must be ignored, for it is a modern reconstruction not based on any information pertaining to the original church. The interior of the church is considerably darker than initially intended, for many of its large windows – in the apses and the arms of the transept – were blocked either completely or in part over the course of time. The side aisles, narrower and much lower than the main vessel, are separated from the latter by very large piers, practically walls, which emphasize the separateness of the main spatial units. The church, therefore, can and should be viewed as a conglomerate of three separate churches. This concept is noteworthy, for it reflects a design approach characteristic of Byzantine architecture after Iconoclasm. As such, it may reflect the contemporary intellectual trends in Constantinople, perceptible also in other features of the Panagia. This is especially true of the extensive use of low-relief sculptural decoration.

The revival of sculpture, as noted earlier in this chapter, is one of the hallmarks of Byzantine architecture of the ninth and tenth centuries. Although the style of sculptural decoration at Skripou differs from that in Constantinople and other sites, its extensive use, and integral planning within the general architectural framework, reflect common standards (fig. 338). The church is interesting also from the point of view of its construction technique. Relatively crudely built, largely with stone, large quantities of mortar, and limited quantities of brick, the church fits in with other churches of this period. One aspect of its construction is the extensive use of spoils in its walls. The north façade of the building especially reveals numerous antique column drums, placed sideways, so that their round forms appear as circular discs on the surface. The ancient components were pilfered from the nearby site of Orchomenos. While the use of spoils in this manner was not unusual, the reference to the fact in an epigram inscribed on the west façade appears to draw attention to this as a deliberate way of invoking the past.[110] If so, this would clearly be a rare documented example of a "revival" practice, whose notions largely exist in the realm of literature and rhetoric. The general appearance of the church at Skripou leaves many unanswered questions about its original aesthetics. Various details, such as the projecting stone and brick string-courses, suggest that the present wall surfaces may have been prepared to receive a final coating of very different character. The upper part of the three apses, for example, could have featured diaper tile

patterns comparable to those on the main apse of the basilica at Zourtsa. Likewise, it is possible that it was intended for large areas of walls to be coated with plaster and painted in emulation of an architectural *opus*, as was the case elsewhere.[111]

The last example of a vaulted and domed basilica that we will consider is also a preserved building, identified as the church of Hagia Sophia at Vize (ancient Bizye), Turkey, which may have been the erstwhile cathedral of the Byzantine town (fig. 339).[112] Possibly constructed *circa* 900, the present church was evidently built on the remains of an Early Byzantine basilica, whose apse may have been partially incorporated into the new structure. Measuring 12 × 25 meters in plan, the church at Vize, more than the preceding two examples, adheres to the principles of basilican planning. Not only are its proportions elongated, but also on the ground level its aisles are separated from the nave by rows of columnar arcades. On the upper, gallery level, however, the church acquired the characteristic cruciform disposition of vaults supporting a dome over the central part of the naos. This vaulting superstructure was carried on piers, resulting in a curious inversion of structural logic – massive piers resting on slender columns below. Either because of the perceived failure in progress, or as a strictly preventive measure, the columns below the piers carrying the dome were subsequently encased in massive square piers. The church, as was the case with most of the preceding examples, was built crudely, using fieldstone with large quantities of mortar. The noteworthy feature of this church is its spatial articulation. On the ground level it had a fully basilican, three-aisled layout. On the upper level, on the other hand, the large transversal, barrel-vaulted arms of the cross oversailed the galleries, but without any intervening columns. Thus the two very different and seemingly incompatible structural systems appear to have been juxtaposed in a manner reminiscent of the church of Hagia Eirine in Constantinople as remodeled following the disastrous earthquake of 740 (see Chapter 5).

339 Vize, Hagia Sophia; plan



CROSS-DOMED CHURCHES WITH AMBULATORIES

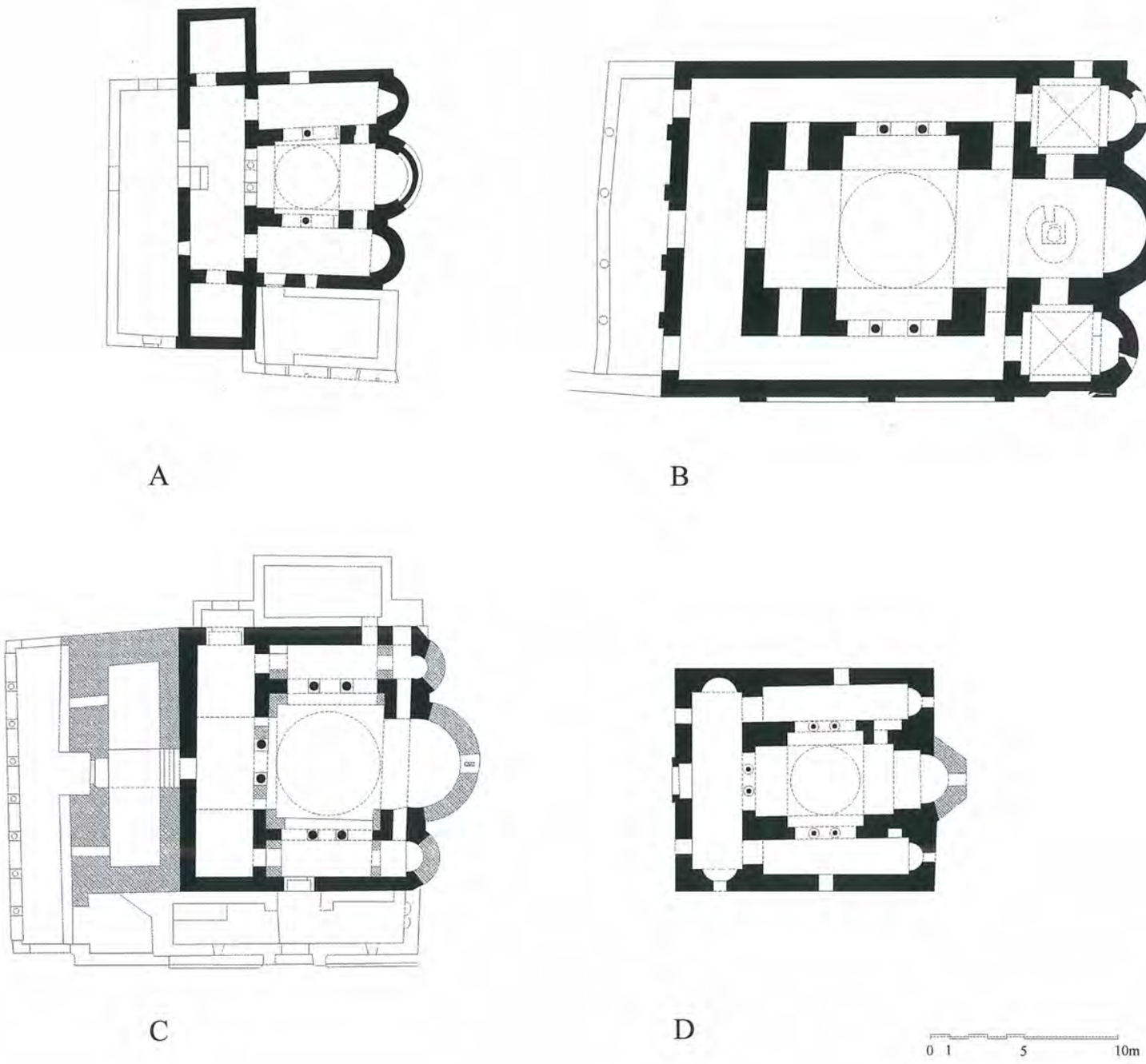
Earlier scholarship on Byzantine church architecture almost universally embraced the notion that the so-called cross-domed church type evolved in the period after Iconoclasm from the older, domed basilica. Our current analysis of these evolutionary theories in the Balkan context has already revealed some surprising deviations from such hypotheses. Our discussion of the cross-domed church type will further reinforce the notion that certain old schemes – basilica, domed basilica, and cross-domed church – actually continued to be built side by side, none of them showing signs of "superseding" another type for reasons of design or structural superiority. In the case of the vaulted and domed basilica, as we have seen, the lack of popularity of these innovative schemes may have been induced by the fate of two preeminent Constantinopolitan churches – Hagia Eirine and Hagios Polyeuktos. The first was seriously damaged by an earthquake in 740, the second probably destroyed by one in 1010 and possibly even earlier. Comparable negative impact may have also affected the cross-domed church type. Here, the culprit may have been the church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, the prime example of this type of architecture, inflicted with serious earthquake damage in the seventh century and probably again in the ninth. Whatever may have been the actual causes, the cross-domed church, judging from surviving examples, never became one of the more popular solutions during the two centuries under consideration in this chapter.

Perhaps the oldest, albeit the least clearly articulated example of this type, is the church of Koundouriōtissa in Pieria, Greece. Dated *circa* 800, it sits in the northeastern foothills of Mount Olympos, not far from ancient Dion, with whose demise its own origins may be linked.[113] Measuring 18 × 16.5 meters in plan, the church displays a curious blend between a true cross-domed scheme and a conventional three-aisled basilica (figs. 340 and 341A). It could be argued that the unusual composition of the plan reflects an experimental stage in the development of ecclesiastical architecture. The side aisles are as wide as the narthex and only slightly narrower than the nave, whose width is 3.5 meters. A relatively small dome occupies the central position. The unusually large narthex, whose great length, featuring two square rooms projecting beyond the sides of the building, appears as a distinctly archaic solution in the context of architecture *circa* 800. The same may be said of the building's low proportions and its low but wide arched window openings. Built almost exclusively of brick, with a sparse use of stone, Koundouriōtissa stands apart from other Byzantine buildings in

340 Pieria, Koundouriōtissa, general view from E

the region. Its relatively small scale, along with its low cylindrical drum and semi-cylindrical apses, finds parallels among other roughly contemporary monuments. In general, the church provides useful insights for the understanding of processes linking the superseded early Christian tradition of church design and the emerging new trends in Byzantine architecture after *circa* 800.

The extensive excavations conducted in the 1980s at ancient Pydna (Byzantine Kitros) in the region of Pieria, Greece, have brought to light substantial remains of a Byzantine church of the same general type as the Koundouriōtissa (fig. 341B).[114] The church was the seat of the bishop of Kitros and, as such, linked with the site of Louloudies, several kilometers to the south, whose development was discussed in Chapter 3. Following the abandonment of Louloudies, the bishop of Kitros evidently made the decision to return to the ancient episcopal center at Pydna. A new church was constructed over the ruins of an ancient basilica. Built toward the end of the tenth century, the new building measured 18.5 × 27 meters. In this case, the prototype is quite obvious – Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, itself extensively restored and decorated with new mosaics following the earthquake damage it appears to have suffered during the second half of the ninth century. Approximately half the size of its Thessalonikan proto-



341 Cross-domed churches: (A) Pieria, Koundouriōtissa; (B) Pydna; (C) Labova, Koimēsis; plans; (D) Drama, H. Sophia

type, the church at Pydna was still the largest example of the group of churches under discussion. Four massive L-shaped piers that carried the main dome (6 m in diameter) defined the building's core. The four piers were doubled in size by additional masses on the west and east sides. Passageways similar to the ones in Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki ran through these pier masses. Two tribelons, on the north and on the south sides, separated the short arms of the cruciform naos space from the side aisles. At the east end the church had a tripartite group of spaces closely resembling this part of the building in Thessaloniki.

A related example of the type is the tenth-century church of Hagia Sophia at Drama, Greece.[115] Measuring 12 × 15 meters in plan, this is a building of modest dimensions (fig. 341D). Its slightly elongated core is framed by four massive piers that carry

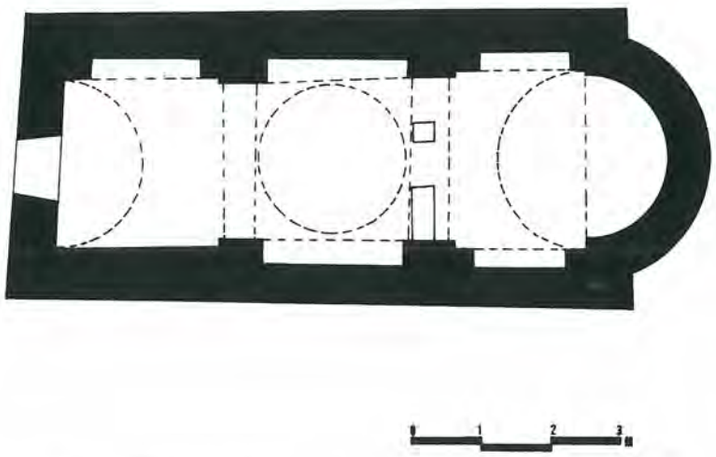
four shallow barrel vaults and the four pendentives supporting the dome. The eastern and western barrel vaults are more than twice as long as the northern and southern pair, giving the core its slightly elongated form. The eastern arm of the central cruciform unit extends into a bema bay, terminating in the main apse, which is three-sided on the exterior. The other three arms are segregated from the ambulatory space by means of three tribelons on the north, south, and west sides. The side aisles are covered by barrel vaults and terminate in small semicircular apses set within the thickness of the eastern wall of the church. An oblong narthex connects the two side aisles. Its ends terminate in shallow semicircular apse-like recesses set into the thickness of the walls. Of squat proportions, the building recalls other contemporary churches, with which it also has in common the crude building technique, featuring rough fieldstone in large quantities of mortar.

Of comparable size, but different in many other respects, is the interesting but problematic church dedicated to Koimēsis (the Dormition) at Labova (Ano Labovo), Albania. Heavily altered in exterior appearance through structural repairs and spatial additions, the building has been variously dated from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.[116] The original church, possibly built on the site of a much older structure about which practically nothing is known, is a rather pure form of the domed-cross type with an ambulatory enveloping the core on the north, south, and west sides. The new church in its original form measured 12.5 × 13.5 meters (figs. 341c and 342). The central core, nearly square in plan, was initially framed by four relatively slender L-shaped piers supporting the superstructure with the main dome. The core is separated from the ambulatory in a manner comparable to Hagia Sophia at Drama, by three tribelons made of ancient columns. The arrangement on the ground level is repeated again on an upper level, though only in the form of a sham gallery. Nonetheless, the interior is marked by a strongly emphasized verticality. All things considered, the original structural solution was evidently too daring. The structure appears to have suffered a partial collapse at some point and serious permanent deformations. Subsequently reinforced by substantial additions of masonry mass, the church has preserved some of the distortions caused by the first damage. These are clearly visible on the exterior on the base below the drum and in the manner in which the dome on its drum has tilted in one direction. The three round apses were rebuilt after an earthquake in 1776, but evidently following the outline of the original ones. In addition to the form of the apses, the dome and portions of the façades point toward the early dating. The dome features a cylindrical drum perforated by four two-light windows on the main axes and decorated by four round niches on the diagonals. The exterior of the drum is faced with diaper tile patterns of varying sizes, dogtooth friezes, and simple bands of vertically laid bricks. Comparable patterns recur on the tympanum of the west façade and other partially visible façades of the original church.

342 Labova, Koimēsis, general view from NW

SINGLE-AISLED DOMED CHURCHES

The emphasis placed on basilican buildings that we have analyzed thus far was paralleled by the appearance of miniscule churches of different functions, generally built by private individuals, usually for private purposes. The period after Iconoclasm, as we have seen, was marked by the increased importance of monasticism and by the greater involvement of private individuals in church patronage. Both phenomena are sufficiently clear from the written sources. Their actual impact on architecture is more difficult to gauge when it comes to the physical evidence. Very few of the surviving buildings are securely dated, and next to nothing is known about the circumstances under which they were built. Collectively speaking, however, they leave an unmistakable impression regarding general changes during this period. The proliferation of small-scale church construction must be viewed, as has already been stressed, primarily as evidence of the privatization of patronage, and not as proof of general economic decline. At the same time, diversification of church functions (domestic chapels, semi-public, funerary, commemorative, monastic, etc.) must not be permitted to obscure

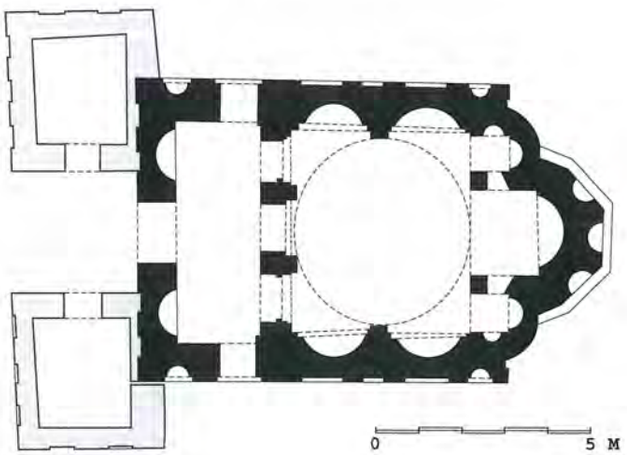


343 Naxos, H. Kyriaki; plan

the essence of private patronage. This is especially true within the proliferating category of private monasteries that became common, especially during the tenth century.[117] Another point worth noting is that many of these tiny churches were subsequently enlarged, or even incorporated into larger entities, of which they became but minor components, often difficult to recognize as such. In the category of single-aisled churches a particularly useful example is the first phase of the church of Vlacherna at Arta, Greece. Here, a small single-aisled church, about 4.5 meters wide, its original length unknown, evidently stood as an independent structure at the time of its construction in the ninth or tenth century. Damaged, its eastern end surviving, it was incorporated as the south chapel into a much larger church in the course of the thirteenth century.[118]

The actual number of surviving single-aisled domed churches, despite their geographic spread (Balkans, Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor), is relatively small, precisely because of such phenomena. We will focus on a few preserved examples to illustrate the main features of their architecture. Curiously, in certain locations, as is the case with the island of Naxos, they appear in comparatively large numbers. The church of Hagia Kyriaki on Naxos, Greece, dated to the ninth century, may be considered a paradigmatic case.[119] Measuring 4.2 × 10.5 meters in plan, it displays characteristic elongated proportions, simple smooth exterior façades, and an interior in which the central, square domed bay is subdivided from the western and eastern bays by means of projecting spur walls that carry the four arches supporting the dome (fig. 343). As such, this building type may be said to represent in miniature form a reduction of the domed basilica. Its plan reveals clear emphasis on the longitudinal axis, while a dome rises over the central bay of its naos with a counteracting, centralizing effect. The simplicity and logic of this particular plan type made it one of the most enduring planning schemes in Byzantine architecture, despite its apparent obscurity.

344 Vinitsa, church; plan



The small church at Vinitsa, Bulgaria, is an interesting case of one built following a more complex scheme, but simplified in the aftermath of major structural damage (fig. 344). Initially built during the first half of the tenth century as a miniature cross-in-square church, it apparently collapsed, leading to substantial modifications of its design *circa* 950.[120] Measuring only 7 × 11.5 meters in plan, the original contracted cross-in-square church with an oblong narthex was apparently modified, after a major collapse in its central part, into a single-aisled church with a dome covering the entire naos. Even at that, the dome was of small dimensions (only 3.5 m in diameter), while its exterior walls were disproportionally thick. Though superficially resembling cross-domed churches, the church at Vinitsa did not have the four deep arches defining the standard cross-domed scheme. Advantage was taken of the thick walls during the second phase of construction by the insertion of a pair of wide, shallow niches into the thickness of the wall on both lateral sides of the naos. These match in size an additional pair of such niches in the western wall of the narthex flanking the main entrance into the church. Nearly all the characteristics of this interesting small church point to Constantinople as the likely source of its architectural features. Only the twin towers with an intervening open portico, added at some later time, have a different quality, and their addition may reflect Western influence.

COMPACT TRICONCH CHURCHES

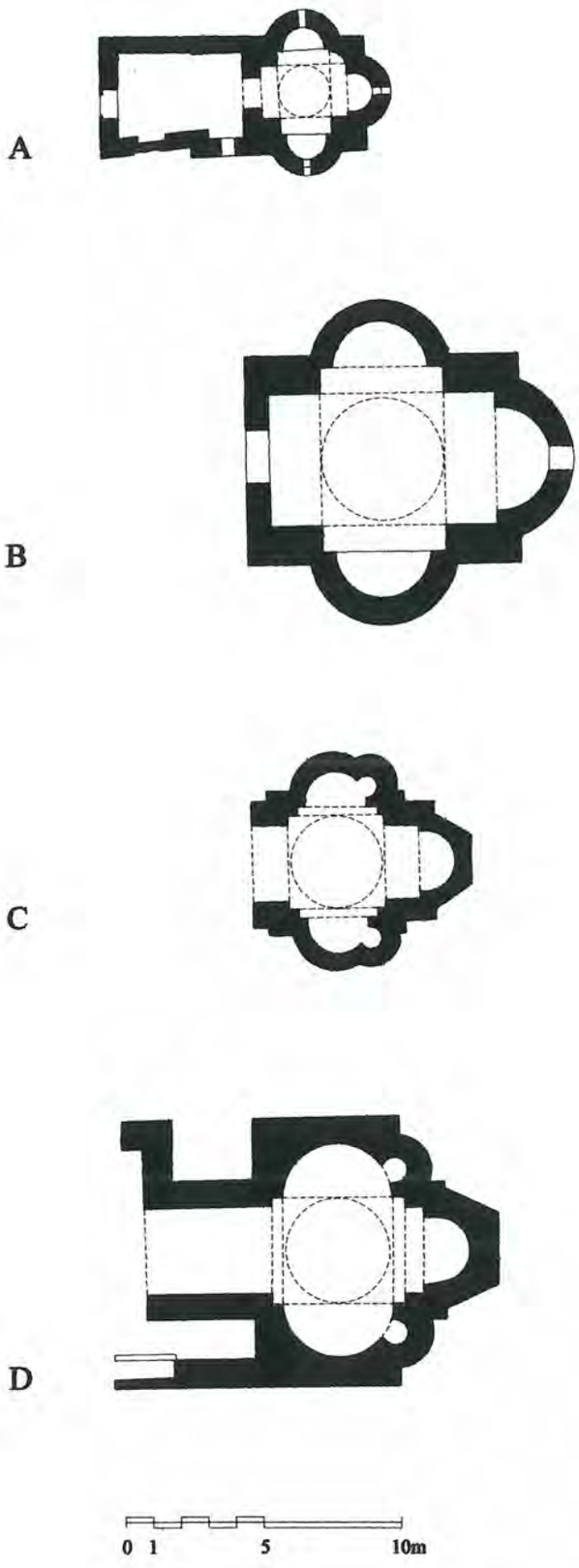
Related to the single-aisled domed churches, by virtue of its small scale, is the compact triconch church type. The triconch type, however, has attracted much greater scholarly attention on

account of its similarities to the late antique *cella-trichora*, and its implicit funerary connotations.[121] The type and its architectural characteristics are best illustrated by the church of Panagia Kastriotissa (also Koumbelidikē) at Kastoria, Greece.[122] Miniature in size – its plan measuring 6.2 × 7.5 meters in overall dimensions – the mid-tenth-century church survives in a remarkably good state, though devoid of its original built environment (figs. 345 and 346A). Situated within the medieval fortified citadel of Kastoria, the church was probably a monastic one. Its plan consists of a square naos, originally preceded by an oblong narthex. On the east, north, and south sides, the cubical form of the naos is marked by relatively low, projecting semicylindrical apses. Above each of the apses a triangular tympanum marks the position of a shallow interior vault that helps to support the dome. Resting on somewhat distorted pendentives, the dome is elevated on a tall cylindrical drum resting on a cubical pedestal that encloses the four pendentives. The church is characterized by very elongated proportions (1:4.6 for the domed bay), reflecting its tight interior space and a very attenuated drum. Nine simple arched windows reinforce the building's geometric simplicity. The façades display a building technique consisting of double rows of bricks alternating with rows of large, irregular stones, separated from each other by arrangements of bricks recalling the juxtaposed Greek letters X, K, and I. Along with diaper tile patterns and dogtooth decorative friezes, this detail is a hallmark of local building production, as we saw in the church of the Taxiarchis-Mitropoleos. The same characteristics continued to appear on local buildings well into the eleventh century, suggesting that Kastoria must have become a prosperous community, where sufficient demand for building kept local workshops active for a long period of time. As noted earlier, when a major project was under way in the town's relative vicinity – as in the case of Hagios Achilleios at Prespa, *circa* 1000 – a building team from Kastoria was apparently employed.

Another triconch church, the Metamorphosis tou Sotēros, near Kastoria, reveals a somewhat different story.[123] Though clearly related in several respects to the Koumbelidikē of Kastoria, the late ninth-century Metamorphosis was a work of an unrelated building team. The church measures 7.5 × 7.5 meters in plan (fig. 346B). It has no narthex, and its naos has rectangular proportions. Its three projecting apses, as in the case of the Koumbelidikē, are semi-cylindrical, only its eastern apse pierced by a circular window. The dome, elevated on a cylindrical drum, is considerably lower than its counterpart in Kastoria. In general, the Metamorphosis displays squat proportions in contrast to those of Koumbelidikē. The building is marked by other crudities of design and execution that make the Kastoria church appear far more sophisticated by comparison. This is especially evident in the construction technique, the Metamorphosis employing the familiar mixture of rough fieldstone with large quantities of mortar. What makes it particularly interesting is that all of its vaults, pendentives, and the dome were built of brick. With the exception of the window arches, brick was practically invisible on the exterior of the church. The conclusion that may be drawn from this, as well as from many other ninth- and tenth-century churches, is that during this period brick was relatively expensive to produce. Its employment in construction was restricted to arches and vaulting. It seems that only when the means of the patron were somewhat more generous, and brick more readily available, did it begin to appear on the exterior walls of buildings.

345 Kastoria, Panagia Kastriotissa (Koumbelidiki); general view from NE

The popularity of triconch churches reached its height during the eleventh century. On the basis of the evidence that is currently available, it would seem that certain centers were responsible for its reintroduction as a viable church type. A similarly important center to Kastoria appears to have been Ohrid (ancient Lichnidos).[124] Here, in the course of the ninth century, and evidently under the auspices of the followers of SS. Cyril and Methodios, "the Apostles of the Slavs," the first local medieval church architecture made its appearance. Judging from what we know, it was the monastic architecture sponsored by SS. Clement and Naum that seems to have set the pace, introducing the first building standards into the region. The foundations of St. Clement's monastic church, dedicated to St. Panteleimon at Ohrid, FYROM, was discovered below the ruins of the Imaret mosque that superseded it on the site (fig. 346C and also 942).[125] St. Clement's church, built before 893, was itself constructed on the remains of two older, much larger basilican



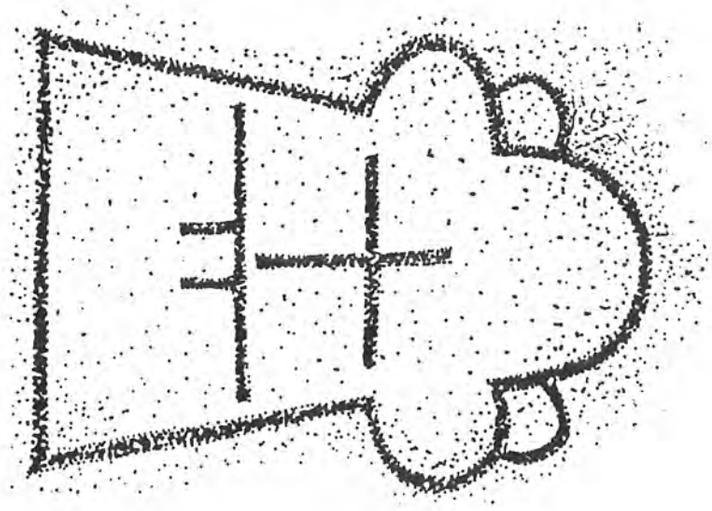
346 Compact triconch churches: (A) Kastoria, Panagia Kastriotissa; (B) Kastoria (near), Metamorphosis tou Sotēros; (C) Ohrid, St. Panteleimon; (D) Monastery of St. Naum, Holy Archangels; plans

churches. St. Panteleimon, in its original state, was a triconch church of slightly elongated proportions. Its surviving foundations measure 7.8 × 7.8 meters, but its original western wall is missing. The rectangular naos had two semi-cylindrical apses along its side walls, while its east end terminated in an apse, semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. The two side apses also had two deep niches at their eastern end, expressed externally as well. The function of these niches is impossible to determine with precision, but they probably had some sort of liturgical purpose.

Closely related in time, location, and plan was the church of the Holy Archangels in the monastery of St. Naum, on the opposite, southern shore of Lake Ohrid, FYROM.[126] Built *circa* 900, under the auspices of St. Clement's collaborator, St. Naum, the church shares most of its architectural characteristics with its counterpart in Ohrid itself (fig. 346D). The foundations of the original church have been brought to light below the present building. The original triconch church measured approximately 7.5 × 9.5 meters, though the western wall of the building is in this case also missing. The main differences between the Holy Archangels and St. Panteleimon are in the exterior appearance of the two lateral apses (flat walls) and in the inclusion of a narrow aisle, flanking the western part of the naos and opening into the southern apse. It should be pointed out that in addition to the monastic functions that these two churches fulfilled, both eventually became the burial churches of their respective founders.

Two other churches whose remains have been uncovered in the region of Ohrid, both roughly datable to the period under consideration, reveal similar planning characteristics. These are a church of unknown dedication at the location known as Gorica

347 Krupište, Kale; triconch church plan incised on a stone slab; drawing



and the church of the Virgin in the village of Zlešti, both near Ohrid, FYROM. The concentrated appearance of triconch churches in the region of Ohrid has been historically linked to the activities within the framework of the Bulgarian empire of Symeon (893–910). The phenomenon is best understood, however, within a broader Byzantine framework. Though specific instances cannot be documented, it is virtually certain that Byzantine builders were employed by the Bulgarians on some of their projects. The later case of Hagios Achilleios at Prespa reinforces this notion. An interesting piece of evidence pertaining to the question of transmission of architectural ideas is the discovery at Kale, Krupište, FYROM, of a stone slab with several architectural plans crudely incised on its surface.[127] One of these plans is of particular interest in this context, for it reveals a compact triconch church with a narthex. Moreover, the plan also includes two symmetrically disposed niche-like forms at the eastern ends of the lateral apses (fig. 347). In their placement and general character these appear to correspond closely with a pair of such niches in the church of St. Panteleimon at Ohrid. Whether this sketch plan may be interpreted as evidence of a builder explaining a specific design concept to an apprentice, or whether it was simply a doodle of a craftsman taking a break, the choice of a compact triconch plan is in itself significant enough. It illustrates, in no uncertain terms, that the type we have been considering had entered into the mainstream of architectural activity in the region.

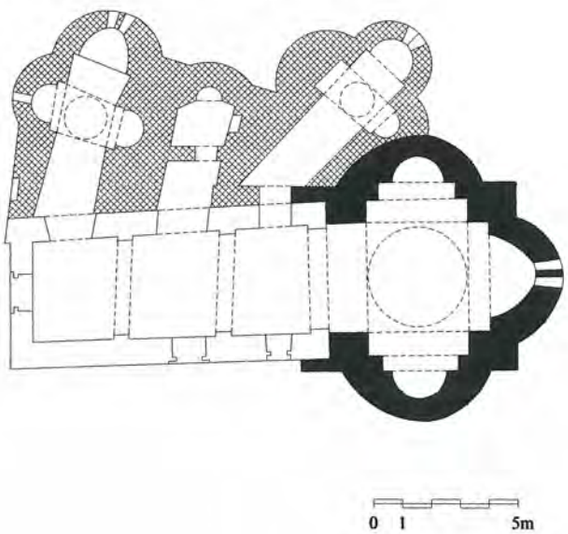
The triconch type, it must be remembered, was not an isolated phenomenon, tied to the main centers of western Macedonia. Its appearance as far afield as in the Panagia Drosianē at Monē, on the island of Naxos, demonstrates this very clearly (figs. 348 and 349).[128] The original compact triconch church, dated to the ninth century on the basis of its frescoes, is a small building, measuring 10 × 9.5 in plan. It consists of a cubical core with projecting, roughly semi-cylindrical apses and with a dome rising over its center. As in several other instances we have considered, the original church lost its western part and was expanded by the addition of a long vaulted space. At a later time still, a cluster of three miniscule chapels, two of which themselves are triconchs in plan, was added. A general irregularity of planning and the eventual manner in which the different components were organically clustered together reveals an approach to church design that became typical of many of the Aegean islands.

FREE CROSS CHURCHES

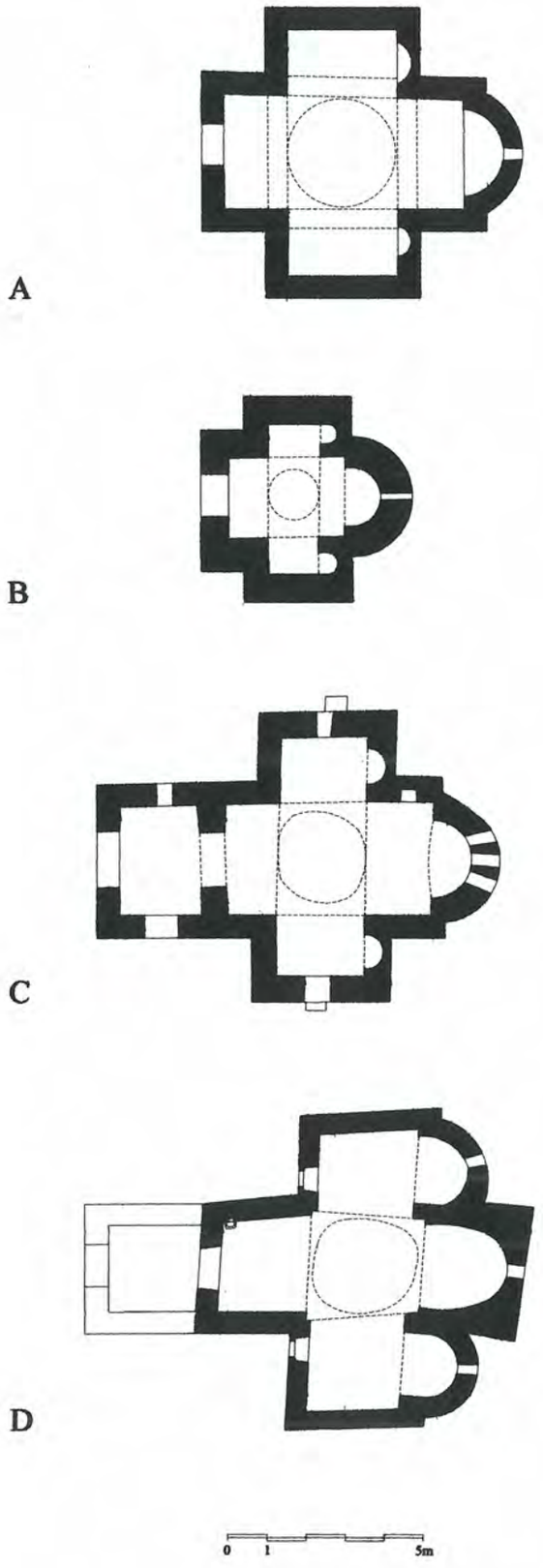
Functionally and structurally, as well as in terms of its relative size, the "compact triconch" church type differs little from the "free cross" type. The main difference between the two is in the formal and spatial articulation of the northern and southern arms of the cross. The two types acquired comparable popularity during the period, facilitating an assumption that they were functionally interchangeable. The pattern of the surviving or excavated examples of the free cross type leads to the conclusion that it was also widespread geographically. As with the compact triconch, the precise dating of individual monuments is difficult, but the collective evidence seems unequivocal.

The church of Hagios Petros, Manē, Lakonia, Greece, is – from a formal point of view – a pure example of the type. The small church (7.5 × 8.5 m) displays four equal arms of a cross, at whose square junction rises a dome on pendentives (fig. 350A). The only "deviation" from the "perfect" cruciform shape is the

348 Monē, Panagia Drosianē; plan



349 Monē, Panagia Drosianē; exterior of original part from N



350 Free cross churches: (A) Manē, H. Petros; (B) Teranci (C) Arta, H. Vasileios para tēn Gefyran; (D) Nin, Holy Cross; plans

main apse on the east side, semicircular internally and externally. This type recurs as far afield as Djunis, in eastern Serbia.

A slight variation of this type is seen in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi at Stamna, Aitolia, Greece. Here the longitudinal arms of the cross are longer than the transversal ones, but the intersection of the two still occurs in the strict geometric center, with a dome on pendentives rising over the central bay. The apse, in this case, is also semi-cylindrical. Similar planning characteristics were observed at the church of St. Mary in Duklja (ancient Doclea), Montenegro. The excavated foundations of this ninth-century church were discovered to overlap those of a destroyed three-aisled early Christian basilica. The church, slightly larger than the other examples mentioned, measured 9.5 × 13 meters, possibly on account of the fact that its longitudinal walls were intentionally placed on top of the colonnade foundations of the erstwhile basilica. The church was extended westward by the addition of an oblong narthex, increasing its overall length to 15.5 meters.

Despite its relatively small size, the free cross type could be elaborated by the addition of small rooms between the arms of the cross as in the ninth- or tenth-century cruciform church excavated at Morodviz, FYROM.[129] In this case, the church, measuring 8.5 × 13 meters, features an oblong narthex whose northeastern and southeastern corners were extended to fill the spaces between the northern, southern, and western arms of the main cross, leaving only the eastern arm of the cross completely free.

351 Arta, H. Vasileios para tēn Gefyran; general view from SE

The most interesting variation on the theme of the free cross is in the apparent adaptation of its northern and southern arms for small chapels. This is made manifest in the appearance of small niches in the eastern walls of the north and south cross arms. At times, these niches are even visible externally. Surprisingly, or perhaps not, this variant appears to have been the most popular of all. Perhaps on account of the fact that most of the churches in question were monastic, and the fact that additional chapels were always in demand in a monastic environment, this would have been an appealing solution.

Several churches displaying such characteristics have been noted on the territory of the FYROM.[130] The tiny church excavated at Teranci (near Kočani) measures merely 5.8 × 5.8 meters in overall dimensions (fig. 350B). The arms of the cross, measuring barely 0.8 × 1.3 meters, together with their eastern niches, could only have been symbolic chapels. Their location and articulation was not fortuitous, however. In larger examples, such as the church of Hagios Vasileios para tēn Gefyran at Arta, Greece (fig. 350C and 351), with a virtually identical layout, the arms of the cross are sufficiently large to function as small chapels.[131] The church, whose overall measurements are 7.4 × 10.2 meters, has arms measuring 1.7 × 2.2 meters. Any doubts about the actual function of cross arms are dispelled by a comparable church of the Holy Cross (Sv. Križ) at Nin, Croatia.[132] This important monument, possibly dating from the tenth century, shares many characteristics with the other churches in the group (fig. 352A and B). Built at the time when Byzantium still controlled the cities along the Dalmatian coast, the church has many of the architectural characteristics already discussed. In plan, it measures 7.5 × 7.5 meters. Its ample lateral cross arms (2.2 × 2.5 m) feature relatively large apsidal forms that are visible externally as small apses. Its main apse is contained within a prismatic wall mass, whose general shape echoes that of the other three cross arms (fig. 350D). Over the crossing bay rises a dome elevated on a tall cylindrical drum. The dome rests on a system of squinches, rather than pendentives. Although squinches were not unknown in Byzantium, the structural use of pendentives was far more common.

A few more observations on the last two monuments are in order. The two, according to the present state of knowledge, constitute monuments illustrating two very different styles of architecture – Middle Byzantine, in the case of the church at Arta, and Pre-Romanesque, in the case of the church at Nin. Despite their unmistakable differences, these churches also have much in common, but this has either been played down or, more likely, has escaped attention altogether. The overall geometric quality of the building forms, their generally elongated proportions, the cylindrical forms of the drums, all reveal a common aesthetic outlook. Both buildings also reveal a relatively crude construction technique, using uncut fieldstone, large quantities of lime mortar, and – in the case of Hagios Vasileios – the random use of small brick pieces. The church of the Holy Cross is presently covered with mortar and painted white, while Hagios Vasileios is now practically bare, only a few patches of the original (?) mortar still preserved on its drum. The contrast between the two churches, in their present state, could not be more striking. The remaining question is whether the present

352a Nin, Holy Cross; general view from SE

352b Nin, Holy Cross; general view from S

state actually reflects the original intentions of the builders. The viewpoint expressed by some Croatian scholars that all of the Pre-Romanesque churches in Croatia were originally white seems mistaken. This "purist" aesthetic may have the same common root in the relatively recent past, as do church façades on some of the Greek Aegean islands. On the other hand, students of Byzantine architecture in general have been in favor of laying Byzantine churches bare. This aesthetic attitude seems to have evolved from the admiration of the elaborately articulated façades of later Byzantine church architecture. That *both*, Middle Byzantine and Pre-Romanesque churches, would originally have been coated with plaster should not be in doubt. What we must continue to ponder is whether these coats of plaster were originally painted in imitation of construction techniques, as some of the later Byzantine buildings indicate. If so, could there have been an aesthetic *koine* linking the two traditions much more closely than we have been inclined to think?

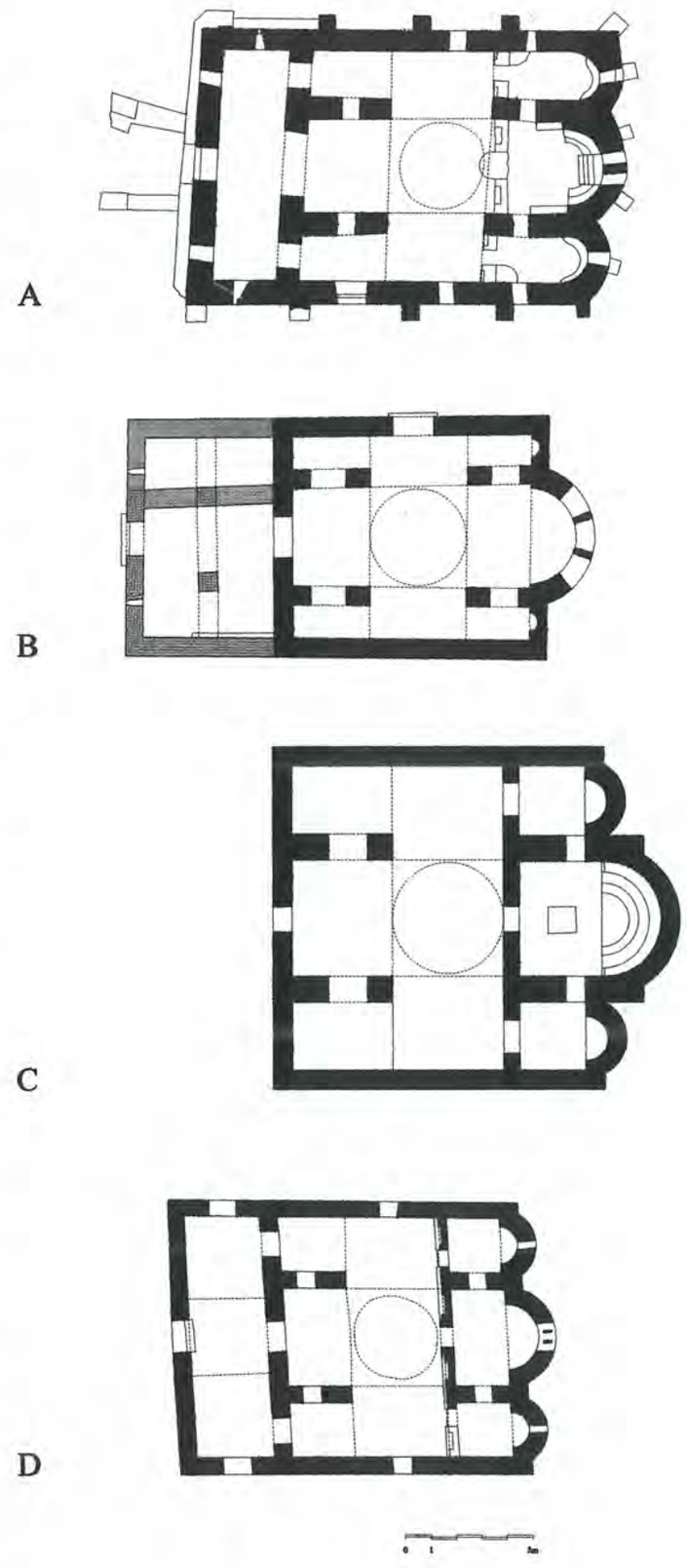
INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES

Perhaps the most frequently employed church type during the ninth and tenth centuries is the one that we will define here as the "inscribed-cross." Because this definition does not have wide currency, it is essential to spell out its main characteristics.[133] The type is distinguished by its overall rectangular form, by three aisle-like interior spatial subdivisions covered by longitudinal barrel vaults, and by a transversal barrel vault in the middle of the building. Four massive, rectangular piers, whose disposition reinforces the longitudinal quality of the interior spatial volumes, commonly support the superstructure.[134] These piers separate the lateral spaces ("aisles") from the usually wider central nave. "Side aisles" in this type of church can, and often do, function as separate chapels. Externally, these churches are distinguished by three semi-cylindrical apses and by a dome elevated on a massive cylindrical drum that dominates the cruciform disposition of the intersecting barrel vaults. It should be

353 Evrytania, Episkopi; general view from E before destruction

noted that the type is at once related to domed basilicas (despite being considerably smaller) and to the cross-in-square type, generally perceived as the Middle Byzantine church type par excellence. For this reason it is often identified as a "transitional" type, a term that is consciously avoided here because of its developmental implications which are erroneous. The reasons for the popularity of the inscribed-cross type and its wide geographic spread would seem to be predicated at least in part on the limited availability of columns in the ninth and tenth centuries. Because the manufacturing of columns had long since ceased, they could be employed only where ancient ruins were available, and from where spoils could readily be pilfered. It is no coincidence, then, that the main examples of cross-in-square churches are associated with Constantinople and other centers where access to column spoils presented no major difficulties. It is also noteworthy that the inscribed-cross type was commonly employed throughout the Byzantine territories in the Balkans, as well as in the areas then under Bulgarian control. Unlike what has been assumed earlier, the type must be seen as a genuinely Byzantine invention, whose popularity quickly spread beyond the frontiers of the Byzantine state.[135]

The monument that will serve as the paradigm of the entire group in the context of our analysis was lost to technological progress in 1965, when it disappeared under the waters of an artificial lake created in the area. Fortunately, the Episkopē (dedicated to the Dormition) at Evrytania, Aitōlo-Akarnanias, Greece, was adequately documented before its demise (fig. 353).[136] Dated *circa* 800, this important church embodied all of the characteristics of the architectural type under discussion. Measuring 11 × 17.5 meters in plan, it consisted of a rectangular naos preceded by an oblong narthex (fig. 354A). The naos had all of the spatial and structural characteristics described above. The church was built crudely, using fieldstone with ample quantities of mortar; brick was used extremely sparingly. The massive, but geometrically simple building forms were perforated by a very few, small, round-arched windows. The main apse contained a double-light window, while the drum of the dome had four window openings located on the axes. The side aisles, approximately half as wide as the naos, were barrel-vaulted, and externally buttressed by a system of relatively evenly spaced wall buttresses, but without any direct structural relationship to the interior of the building. Before its demise, the church still had a few sections of exterior plaster adhering to its walls. Whether this plaster was original or not is impossible to tell, but it is certain that originally the building would have been plastered. Closely related to the Episkopē at Evrytania is the church of the Panagia at Thebes (Thēva), Boiotia, on the opposite side of the Greek mainland. Though lacking a narthex, in all other respects the building adheres to the general design scheme already described.



354 Inscribed-cross churches: (A) Evrytania, Episcopē; (B) Potamia, H. Mamas; (C) Sipërme, Virgin of Peshkopi (D) Gavrolimnē, Panaxiotissa; plans

355 Gavrolimni, Panaxiotissa; general view from NE

The church of Hagios Mamas at Potamia, on Naxos, Greece, also belongs to this group, though with slight variations in its plan (fig. 354B).[137] In this case, the main vessel is substantially wider than the side aisles. As a result, the apses usually corresponding to the side aisles have been replaced by small niches accommodated within the thickness of the eastern wall of the church. The large main apse, by contrast, has a very large triple window, of the kind common in the architecture of Constantinople. Another distinctive characteristic of this building is the smaller size of its four main piers, whose cross-section is closer to a square than an elongated rectangle, commonly encountered in most other examples.

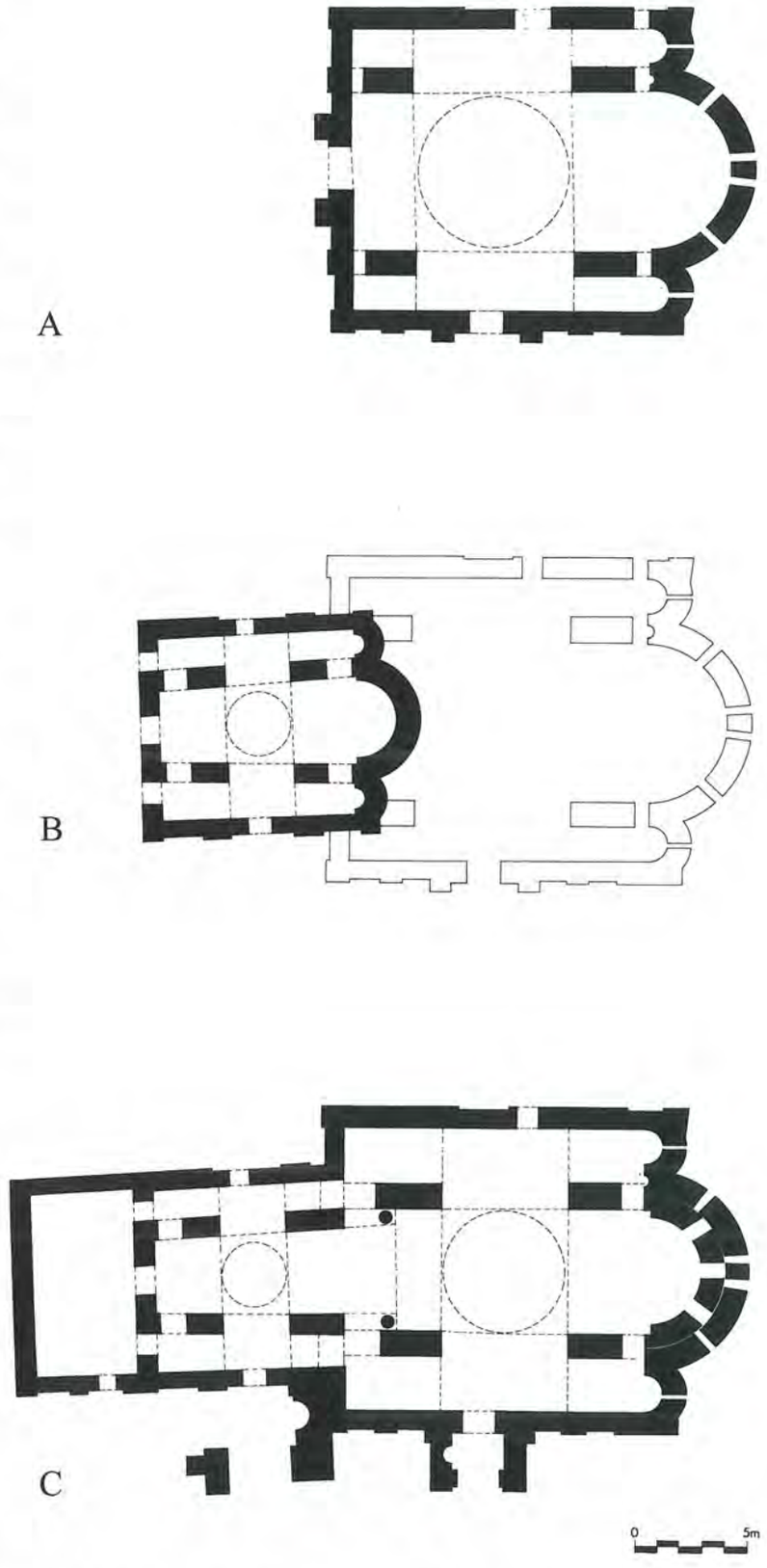
The church of the Virgin of Peshkopi at Sipërme (Episkopē of Dropoleōs), Albania, combines the characteristics of the "pure" monuments discussed above with those of Hagios Mamas at Potamia.[138] Measuring 12.5 × 15.5 meters in plan, the church has no narthex (fig. 354C). Its dome is supported by four piers; the eastern two are massive and rectangular in plan, while the two western ones have essentially square cross-sections. The western piers are related to the very pronounced western spur walls, which add structural mass to them and underscore the sense of separation between the naos and the two corner compartments. The church features several anachronisms, among which stands out the three-stepped synthronon with an episcopal throne in the center. The time of construction of this

356 Gavrolimnē, Panaxiotissa; dome exterior

church remains uncertain, but a ninth- or a tenth-century date is probable.

Related to the same group, though of a later date (probably late tenth century), is the church of Panagia Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimnē, Greece (fig. 354D).[139] This impressive monument measures 11 × 15 meters in plan. Notwithstanding the slight irregularities in its layout, the Panaxiotissa reveals a greater degree of building sophistication than any of the churches of this group discussed thus far. This is apparent not only in the building technique, but also in the choice and variety of materials and in the execution of various details (fig. 355). The building technique reveals alternating single courses of brick and stone with occasionally inserted brick fragments (usually three horizontally laid pieces) between irregularly shaped stone blocks. All of the windows and doors, as well as the dome drum, are entirely of brick. Decorative saw-tooth bands appear on the main dome and apse, while reused marble mullions enhance the triple window in the apse. Particular decorative features comprise a zigzag band and a band of rhomboids executed in thin bricks, partially filled with mortar and partially left open for light-and-shade effect, both located on the upper part of the dome drum (fig. 356). Another indication of greater sophistication of construction is apparent on the interior of the main dome. Its shell is characterized by an attempt at using ribs. The manner in which this was done, however, reveals a complete ignorance of the original function of ribs, but is in itself indicative that the builder was formally emulating some late antique dome. The "ribs" here are much wider than the intervening "webs," whose width was evidently determined by the four small windows. The intermediate "webs" are blind. Executed in brick, this solution also reveals the lack of skill, and reinforces the notion that the builder was making a deliberate, but clumsy attempt at emulating an older dome scheme. The builder, obviously, misunderstood the original design principles and lacked the technical skill and experience to do the job properly. Even in its limited way, this is an important bit of evidence regarding "learning from the past," a phenomenon that we occasionally sense, but about which we know pitifully little.

A significant number of monuments of this group are directly associated with Bulgarian patronage, within the framework of the First Bulgarian Empire. It was this particular realization that must have led to some earlier speculations that the type itself may have been a Bulgarian innovation. As we have seen, this was not the case. Nonetheless, some important monuments of this type of architecture owe their existence to Bulgarian patrons. A curious, highly important piece of evidence regarding the points of contact between Byzantium and Bulgaria is supplied by the church of St. Leontios at Vodoča, near Strumica, FYROM (fig. 357).[140] A thorough investigation of its ruins, prior to the recent



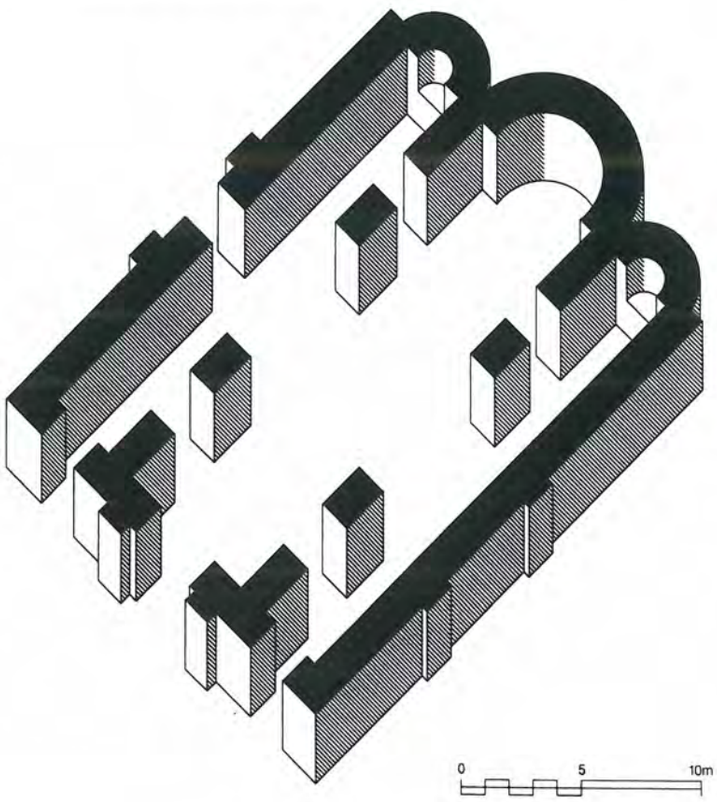
357 Vodoča, St. Leontios, phases of construction; plans: (A) 10th century; (B) 11th century; (C) ca. 1100

358 Mesembria, St. John the Baptist; general view from SE

360 Prespa, H. Germanos, general view from NE

reconstruction of the complex, has revealed that the oldest church on the site may have been a Byzantine basilica built in the seventh to ninth centuries. This building appears to have been destroyed, requiring a complete rebuilding in the tenth century. The new church, measuring 14 × 18.5 meters in plan, may have been built under the auspices of the Bulgarian emperor Samuel (976–1014). It, too, evidently suffered an early demise,

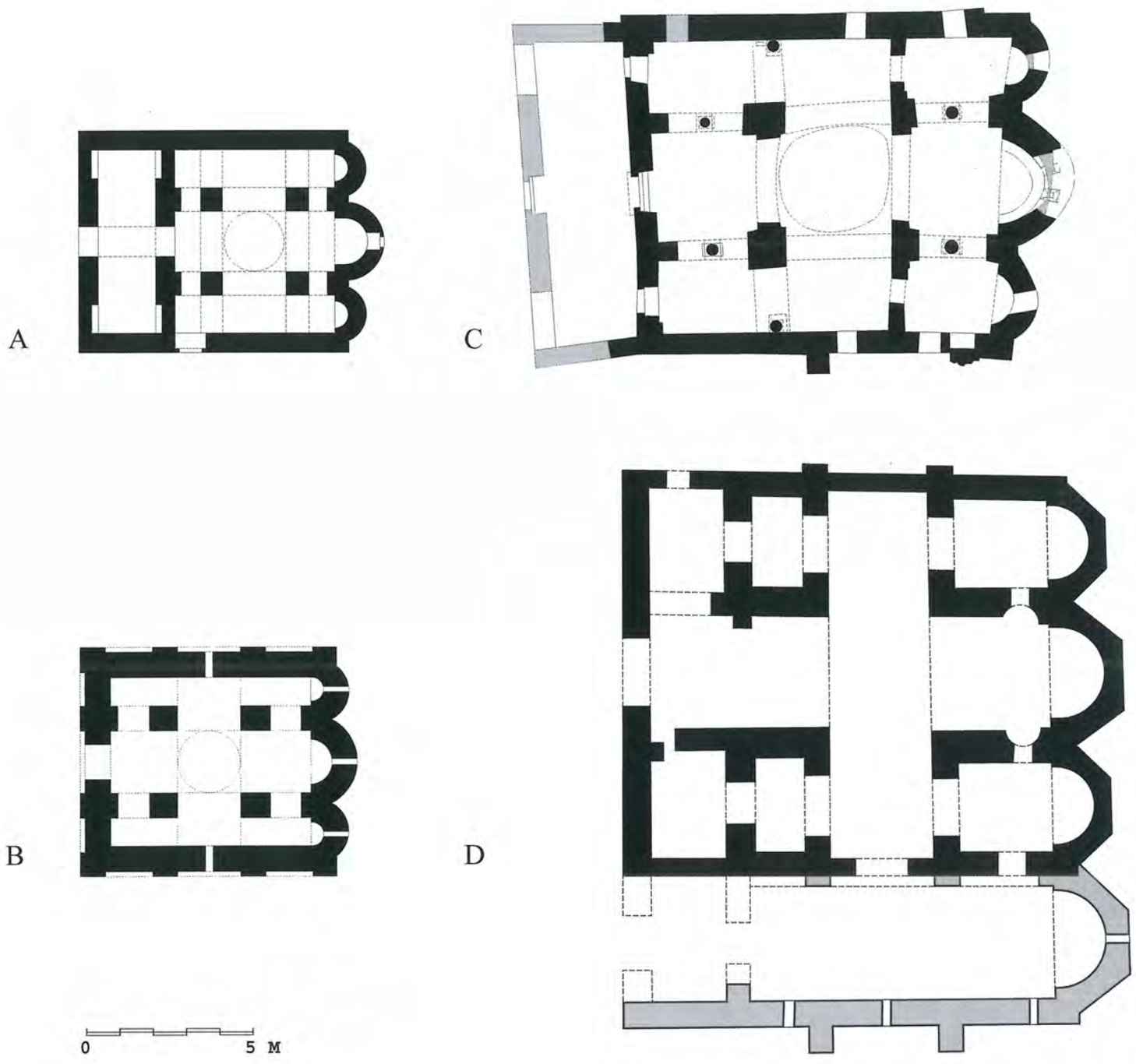
359 Mesembria, St. John the Baptist; axonometric



and was replaced by a new church built by the Byzantines after their reconquest of the area *circa* 1018–37, and dedicated to the Presentation in the Temple. The new Byzantine church, measuring 9.5 × 12.5 meters in plan, deliberately avoided the ruin of the Bulgarian church and was placed just to the west of it. Subsequently, still under Byzantine auspices, probably around 1100, the ruin of the Bulgarian church was rebuilt, the apse of the eleventh-century Byzantine church destroyed, and the two buildings were unified into a curious new conglomerate church, in which the eleventh-century church became the narthex. The plan type that we are in the process of analyzing – in the case of the complex at Vodoča – was used successively three times between the late tenth century and the early twelfth. Significantly, it was used by the Bulgarians, as well as by the Byzantines, illustrating unequivocally that the choice of a church type would not have been affected by differences between the two adversaries engaged in perpetual conflict. Mutual animosities that the Bulgarians and the Byzantines may have harbored for each other would have been expressed in other ways.

The church of St. John the Baptist at Nessebar (Mesrembria), Bulgaria, is one of the best-preserved monuments, and certainly the farthest removed from the group, whose other examples are largely concentrated in the central and southern Balkans (fig. 358).[141] The church, measuring 10 × 13.5 meters, does not have a narthex in its present form (fig. 359). In most other respects – spatial and structural articulation, external articulation of forms, and the building technique – St. John the Baptist reveals an adherence to the basic type. At present the crude building technique is fully visible, raising the question of the building's original appearance. Most likely it, too, had a coat of plaster that may have been painted in emulation of a building technique, as we have suggested in other contexts.

Related, though slightly different in plan, the church of Hagios Germanos at Prespa, Greece, dates from the last decade



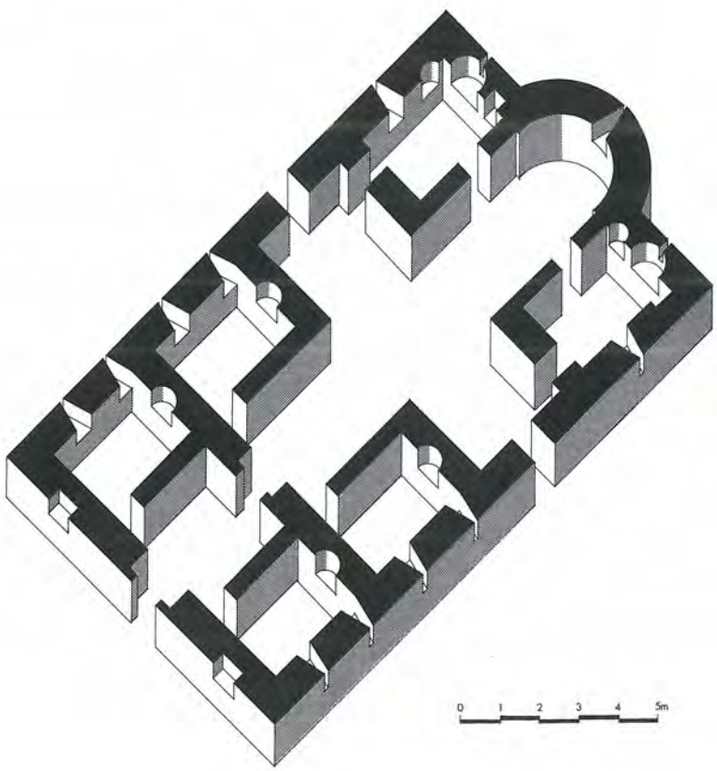
361 Inscribed-cross churches: (A) Prespa, H. Germanos; (B) Kaynarça, Panagia; (C) Arta, H. Dēmētrios Katsourē; (D) Kaisarianē (near), Taxiarches; plans

of the tenth century, and is related to the Bulgarian architectural activity in the south-central Balkans (figs. 360 and 361A).[142] Measuring 6.5 × 11 meters, this well-preserved small structure was incorporated into a giant church of the same dedication in the course of the nineteenth century. The original building is distinguished by square, rather than rectangular proportions in its naos plan. Likewise, its structural system involves square instead of rectangular piers supporting the dome. On account of this, the church superficially resembles cross-in-square churches. However, the lateral spaces in Hagios Germanos are covered by longitudinal barrel vaults as in other churches of the inscribed-cross type. Long covered by an exterior coat of plaster, the church has recently been stripped clean, revealing a building technique in which rough stone and bricks are freely mixed. The significance of this church rests primarily in its intended original function – built by the Bulgarian patriarch Germanos, it

362 Arta, H. Dēmētrios Katsourē; general view from SW

accommodated his tomb and also the tombs of Emperor Samuel's parents and his brother. An inscribed tomb slab, identifying its occupants, dated 992–93 and giving the name of the donor as Samuel, was removed by the Bulgarians during the Second World War, and taken to Sofia. Other documentary and

363 Liutbrod (near), Sedem prestola; axonometric



internal evidence unmistakably points to the fact that this was meant to be a Bulgarian royal mausoleum church, constructed before the building of the basilica of Hagios Achilleios on the island of the same name in the lake of Mikrē Prespa.

The recently discovered small church within the large monastery of K'rdzhali, Bulgaria, illustrates another example of the type and its general popularity.[143] The church is dated by the excavator roughly to the ninth or tenth century. It was replaced on the same site by a major triconch katholikon built during the eleventh century, about which more in Chapter 7. Measuring 6.5 × 12 meters in plan, this church is comparable in many aspects of its plan, as well as dimensions, to the church of Hagios Germanos just discussed. Preceded by an oblong narthex, the church had a square naos, dominated by four relatively massive square piers, possibly supporting a dome. The fact that the church had a pair of responds on its western wall, but not on its northern and southern walls, suggests that, in all probability, the building had the form of a small, barrel-vaulted basilica, rather than a cross-in-square scheme dominated by a central dome. It also had clearly separated lateral chapels with their own altars, the bases of which were discovered in the excavation. The two side chapels, along with the main apse, were, characteristically for this group, semicircular internally as well as externally. The exact date of this church eludes us, as does the question of its patronage, but its monastic origins, in all likelihood Byzantine, are not in doubt.

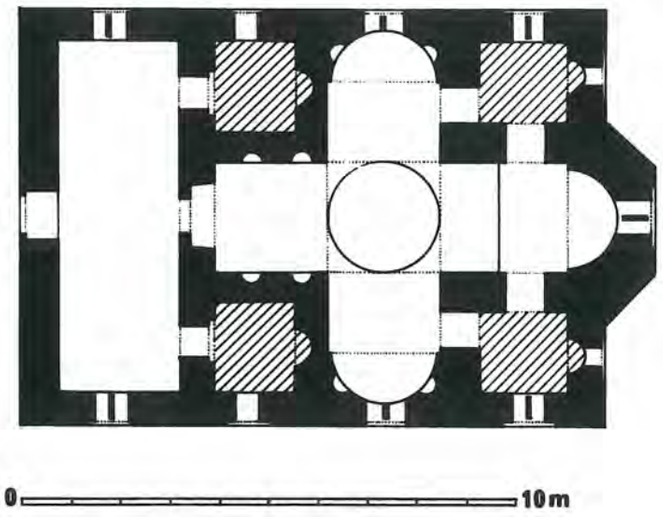
The third member of this small subgroup is the church of the Panagia at Kaynarça (previously Genna), Turkey.[144] In a very bad state of preservation, it has recently been studied and properly identified.[145] Measuring 7 × 7.6 meters in plan, the Panagia is practically of identical dimensions to the preceding two churches (fig. 361B). It differs from them because it has no narthex and three of its façades have a system of pilasters supporting blind arcades that correspond to the interior articulation of spaces and to the structural disposition of the building. Neither the church of Hagios Germanos nor the one at K'rdzhali Monastery has such a rigorous system of façade articulation. The phenomenon has been associated with developments in the Byzantine capital, though it has clear echoes in architecture as far afield as the church of the Philerimo Monastery on Rhodes (fig. 311) and the Palace Church at Pliska (fig. 398). Externally, the building is characterized by crude, predominantly stone construction. Its original dome, which no longer survives, was elevated on a relatively high cylindrical drum with four axially disposed widows. The formal and constructional characteristics of the church of the Panagia relate it unmistakably to the buildings of the ninth or tenth century that we have seen.

The last group of inscribed-cross churches will illustrate variations in the articulation of the corner spaces of buildings of this

type. Functionally speaking, as indicated already, these corner spaces were commonly seen as being semi-independent from the naos, a notion fully confirmed, for example, by the remains of altar bases found *in situ* at K'rdzhali. Such functional independence was architecturally underscored by massive rectangular piers that provided a degree of physical separation between the naos and the corner spaces, impossible in traditional columnar buildings such as basilicas. This point is of major significance because it suggests that the use of massive piers instead of columns may have had an additional, functional dimension, beyond the scarcity of ready-made columns and the perceived crudeness of construction.

The ninth-century church of Hagios Dēmētrios Katsourē at Arta, Greece, illustrates one of the ways in which the architects of this period dealt with this problem.[146] The church measures 10.5 × 16.7 meters (including the rebuilt narthex) in plan (figs. 361C and 362). In this case the dome is supported by four piers irregularly shaped in plan and more closely resembling squares than elongated rectangles. The resulting sense of openness between the naos and the corner compartments was countered by the placement of four ancient columns supporting arches within the broad openings. Thus, four columnar screens were created between the naos and the corner compartments. The eastern pair of these corner spaces is externally articulated by a pair of semi-cylindrical apses, suggesting that they may have functioned as independent chapels. The western pair of compartments, on the other hand, has large rectangular openings in the eastern walls. On both sides, these are covered by flat lintels that support a section of wall above. Each of these walls contains a large semicircular niche, in size and placement related to the small apses at the east end of the church. Thus, the church appears to have been initially equipped with four corner chapels.

Ambiguities in design regarding the separation of the lateral spaces from the naos, as we have seen them in Hagios Dēmētrios Katsouris in Arta, did not exist in the church of the Taxiarches, near Kaisarianē Monastery, Attica, Greece.[147] Substantial ruins of this impressive tenth-century church stand on a hilltop in the immediate vicinity of the well-known eleventh-century monastery. The church was built on the remains of a three-aisled, three-apsed fifth-century basilica, whose foundations were reused in a limited way in the construction of the tenth-century church. The church measures 12.5 × 15.5 meters in plan, and thus compares favorably with most of the other examples of this type (fig. 361D). In other respects, the church of the Taxiarchai deviates from the rest. Its naos, for example, has practically the same width as the lateral spaces. Externally, all three have three-sided apses, all of virtually the same size. The naos is separated from the lateral spaces by massive piers. In addition, transversal walls further segregate the four corner chambers. Doors that perforate

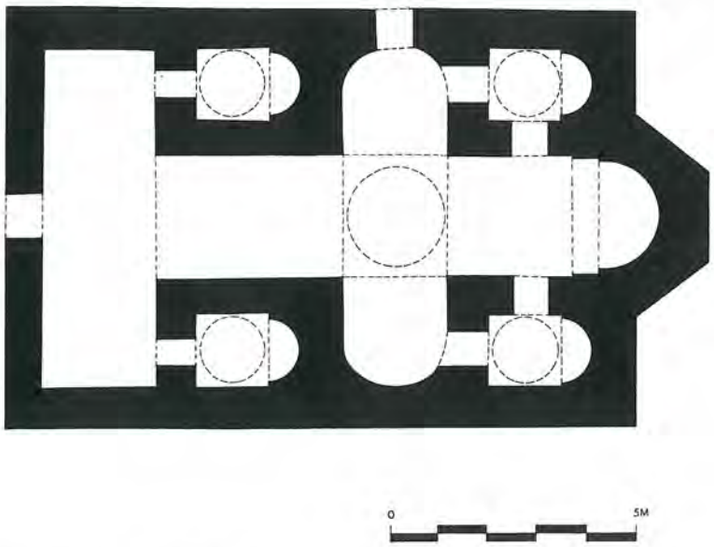


364 Aulis, H. Nikolaos; plan

these transversal walls facilitate passage from one compartment to the next. Whether under such circumstances one may assume that the corner chambers functioned as chapels is impossible to determine. The entire planning scheme, it should be noted, has a practically identical counterpart in the church now known as the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Constantinople (fig. 281).

A church possibly of considerable importance for the understanding of the problem under investigation, known as Sedem prestola ("Seven Altars"), is located in the monastery by the same name near Liutbrod, Bulgaria (fig. 363). The present church is the result of an extensive nineteenth-century reconstruction, but its foundations may belong to a much older church, whose layout may be reflected in the present building.[148] The main part of the church, measuring 9.5 × 13.5 meters (17.5 m with the narthex), has similar general proportions to the church of St. John the Baptist at Nessebar. The form of the inscribed-cross is much more apparent here, however, because it is fully articulated by solid walls. These enclose and define the four corner chapels. Two additional chapels are similarly separated from the narthex proper. Thus, the church has a total of six chapels. The number of their altars – six – along with the main altar, gives the total number of seven, reflected in the monastery's name.

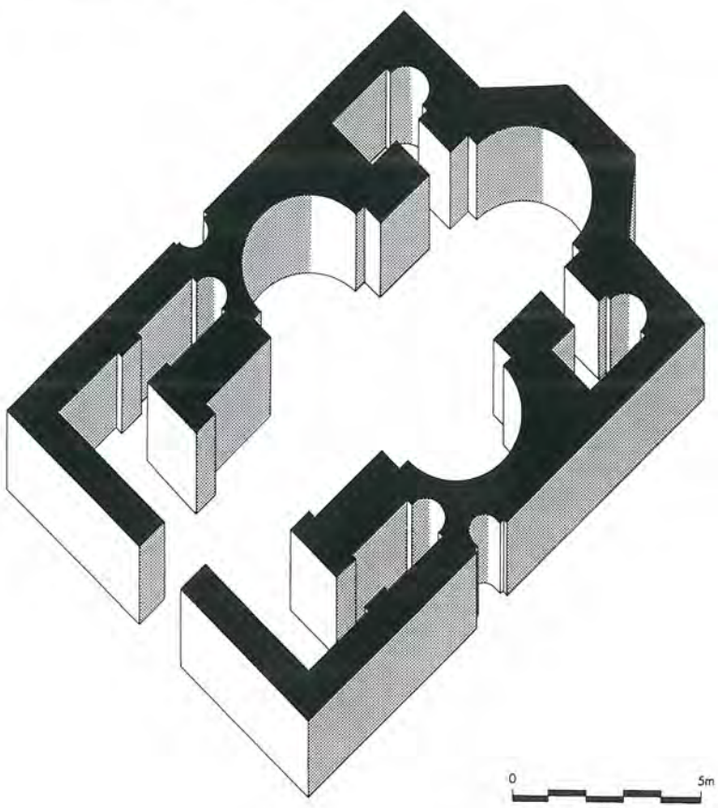
The clearest articulation of the corner compartments as separate chapels is found in a related group of churches, in which the inscribed-cross scheme is combined with that of the triconch. The finest example of this group was the now lost church of Hagios Nikolaos at Aulis, Boiotia, Greece (fig. 364).[149] Although it may have been built in the first half of the eleventh century, it is included here, for it represents the product of a trend whose roots reach back into the ninth century. One of the characteristics of this group, Hagios Nikolaos included, is the



365 Krupište, Kale, church; plan

simple overall rectilinear form with a single projection, that of the main apse. The overall dimensions of the church were relatively small – 8.5 × 13 meters (including the narthex). Without the narthex, the church plan was a perfect square (8.5 × 8.5 m).

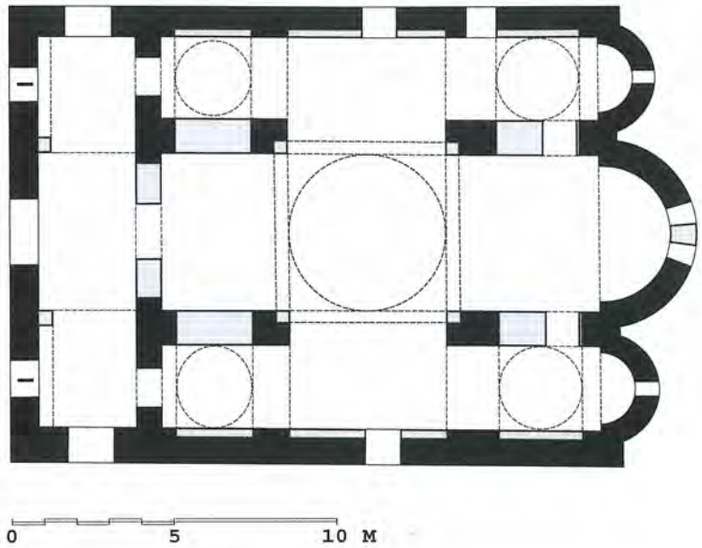
366 Kulata, church; axonometric



Internally, the cruciform naos had an identical width to the four square chapels, neatly packed into the corner spaces between the arms of the cross, their small apses embedded in the thickness of the eastern walls. The western pair of chapels was accessible from the narthex, the eastern pair from the lateral arms of the cruciform naos. The eastern pair also communicated directly with the sanctuary, suggesting that they may have doubled as pastophories. The north and the south arms of the cross terminated in apses whose round forms were contained within the thickness of the exterior walls of the church. Each of the two lateral apses contained two miniscule niches, symmetrically arranged framing the central window. Four more similar niches were situated as symmetrical pairs within the western arm of the cross. The function of these eight tiny niches is not known, but they certainly had an aesthetic role in the articulation of the interior space.

Two other churches display planning characteristics that are essentially identical to those of Hagios Nikolaos at Aulis. The first of these, discovered in foundations only at Kale, Krupište, FYROM, has dimensions that practically match those of the church at Aulis – 8.5 × 14.3 meters (fig. 365). The excavators postulate that it may have been rebuilt in the ninth or tenth century on older foundations.[150] It has also been suggested that the church may have had four small domes over the corner chapels, but this must be considered strictly as a hypothesis. The church at Aulis, for example, is known to have had simple barrel vaults in the same locations. The second related monument is the church, also discovered in foundations only, near the village of Kulata, in southwestern Bulgaria. Slightly larger in overall dimensions (11.3 × 16.5 m), this also differed in various details of its design from the other two churches (fig. 366). For one, its naos was considerably wider (4 m) than the lateral chapels (1.2–1.5 m). This, in turn, placed much greater emphasis on the central domed space and, correspondingly, on the lateral apses, which here have a much greater spatial role. The four lateral chapels in this scheme are somewhat played down, the eastern pair accessible only from the sanctuary. Another detail of the church at Kulata is deserving of notice. Unlike the two preceding examples, the simple prismatic building mass is here externally cut into by a pair of niches, 1 meter in diameter. These niches are placed at the point where the wall mass associated with the lateral apses is the greatest. One would expect a similar pair on the east side of these apses, which would have brought into relief the inscribed form of the apses, but no traces of them were found. The detail is in many ways reminiscent of exterior detailing in Armenian church architecture. The church at Kulata, therefore, may be an indicator of such influence coming from distant Armenia via Constantinople, where Armenian impact in the tenth century has been noted.[151]

Our discussion of the inscribed-cross church type will conclude with a consideration of the church of Episcopē (originally Koimesis [Dormition]) at Tegea (Niklē), Arkadia, Greece,[152] built on the remains of an ancient Greek temple, on the orders of one Antiochos Epiphanēs, during the second half of the tenth century (fig. 367). In its general layout it recalls the group of most typical inscribed-cross churches, yet it differs from them in several significant ways. First, in terms of its size (14.5 × 23.5 m) the church was one of the largest examples of the type. Second, the interior disposition reveals that the western pair of piers was built integrally with the western wall of the naos. Thus, there was no direct communication between the western arm of the cross and the lateral spaces. Third, the corner spaces, though not fully articulated as separate chambers in spatial terms, were accentuated externally by four small domes elevated on cylindrical drums, much like the main, large dome over the naos (fig. 368). The architecture of this church thus acquired a certain formal characteristic that placed it into a larger context – that of the so-called five-domed churches – very different from that we are considering here.[153] To us, the Episkopē at Tegea is less interesting as a typological phenomenon than as a confirmation of a functional *and* formal trend clearly in evidence throughout this period, whereby the corner spaces in churches became gradually appropriated for functionally separate needs, notably those of independent chapels. This problem was first broached in our discussion of the Nea Ekklēsia in Constantinople, where written sources inform us that the church had four subsidiary chapels and five domes visible externally.[154] Since the Nea has disappeared without trace, the solution at the Episcopē at Tegea and other churches in this group – chronologically closest to the Constantinopolitan monument – gain particular significance. The exterior character of the church at Tegea, notwithstanding the heavy-handed restoration it underwent in the 1930s, reveals general consistencies with the architecture of this period. Its three apses are semi-cylindrical; its domes are elevated on cylindrical drums; its building technique is relatively crude; and its walls are marked by recessed dogtooth friezes and applied tile diaper patterns, which have since flaked off. All of these characteristics have been encountered on other ninth- and tenth-century monuments analyzed above.



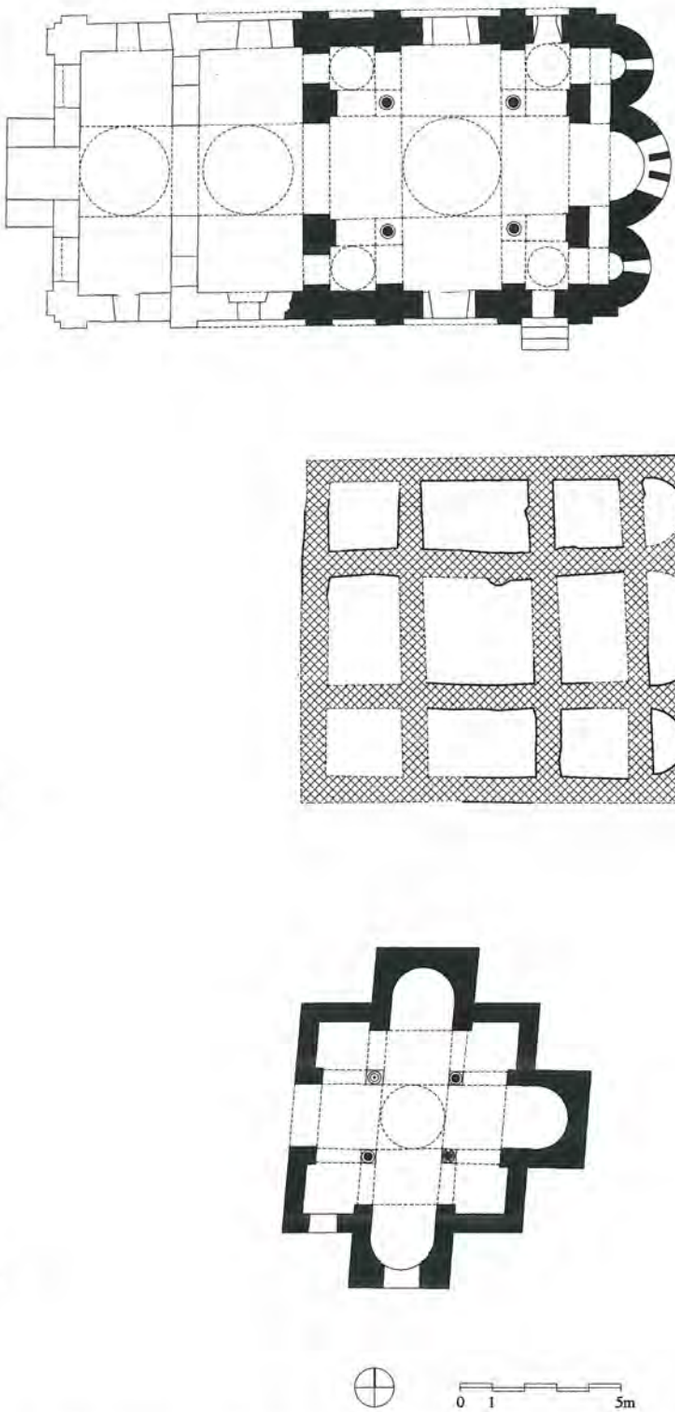
367 Tegea, Episcopē; plan

CROSS-IN-SQUARE CHURCHES AND DERIVATIVE TYPES

The cross-in-square church, as noted in a number of instances in this chapter, is a type defined by modern scholarship as characterized by the square proportions of its naos and by a four-column supporting system for its centrally positioned dome. At the same time, modern historiography has ascribed this type a disproportionate role, by singling it out not only as the "ideal" church planning scheme, but also by suggesting that it was "the most widely spread Middle Byzantine church plan."[155] This notion, certainly in the context of the ninth and tenth centuries, is utterly misleading. Although the type did acquire some popularity in Constantinople and other important centers (e.g., Pliska), it remained virtually unknown until *circa* 1000. In addition to those already discussed earlier in this chapter, we can refer to but five additional examples.

The katholikon of Petrakē Monastery (Monē Petrakē) in Athens, Greece, preserves the original part of the church, datable to the end of the tenth century.[156] The plan, measuring 9.5 × 11.5 meters, displays a high level of sophistication that anticipates

368 Tegea, Episkopē; general view from E



369 Cross-in-square churches: (A) Athens, Monē Petrakē; (B) Kotor, St. Triphon, foundations; (C) Prčanj, St. Thomas; plans

later developments (fig. 369A). In certain significant ways, as we shall see, this church differs from other Athenian churches of the eleventh century. Thus, it could be postulated that the plan may have been imported from Constantinople. This, it will be recalled, may also have been the case with the plan of the Panagia at the monastery of Hosios Loukas. The basically square plan of Monē Petrakē was expanded eastward by an additional shallow bay that accommodated the sanctuary, as in Constantinopolitan churches. The naos features four freestanding columns supporting the barrel-vaulted arms of the cross and the central dome. The four corner compartments, in this case, are covered by saucer domes. The most distinctive feature of the katholikon of Monē Petrakē is the system of shallow pilasters that clearly delineate – on the exterior and on the interior – the individual bays. It is this manner of wall articulation that finds its closest parallels in the architecture of the capital, but has neither precedents nor followers among the monuments of Attica.

Another important example came to light as a complete surprise during the excavations conducted during the 1980s. The old church of Sv. Tripun (St. Triphon) at Kotor, Montenegro, had long been known in scholarship before its archaeological discovery.[157] Built in 807 (?), the church is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitos in his work *De administrando imperio*, and is described as "domed" (*eilmatikos* in Greek).[158] Because Constantine Porphyrogenitos used the same term, in the same text, in reference to the church of St. Donatus at Zadar, which survives and is essentially circular in plan, the general assumption was that St. Triphon also must have been similar in form. Instead, the excavations brought to light the foundations of a small church of a cross-in-square type (fig. 369B). Probably in the twelfth century, this church was destroyed and replaced by a large Romanesque basilica, substantial portions of which are preserved in the present building. Judging by the surviving remains, the original church was of the compact cross-in-square variety, so that its sanctuary must have been very shallow, or may have partly intruded into the nearly square plan of its naos.

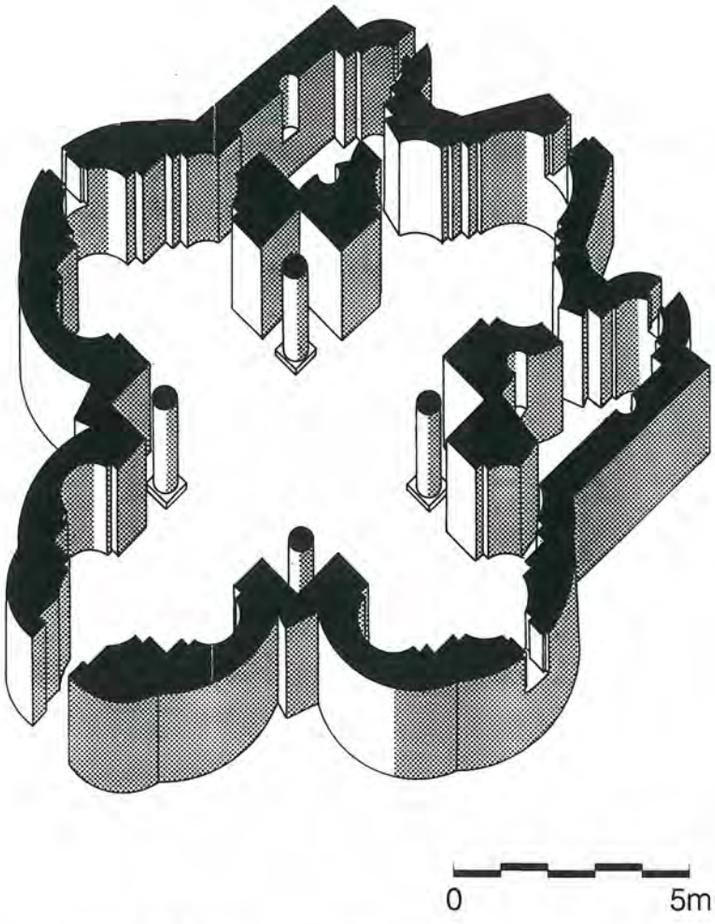
The appearance of a church belonging to the same type, whose remains have been identified in the crypt of the church of "Old St. Peter's" Sv. Petar Stari in Dubrovnik, Croatia, suggests a degree of Byzantine architectural activity in the Dalmatian towns under their control during the ninth and tenth centuries. Perhaps the finest example of the cross-in-square type among the east Adriatic monuments is the church of St. Thomas at Prčanj, in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro.[159] Dated to the ninth century, its appearance has been linked to the construction of the church of St. Tryphon, in Kotor itself. The excavated remains of St. Thomas reveal a slightly distorted, compact cross-in-square plan, combined with a triconch scheme (fig. 369C). Measuring 9.2 × 11 meters in overall dimensions, this was a relatively small church. In it, the main and the lateral apses project substantially beyond the basic cubical mass of the building. Their semicircular forms are contained within rectilinear wall masses, in a manner comparable to that seen in the church of

370a Prčanj, St. Thomas; capital

370b Prčanj, St. Thomas; capital

Holy Cross at Nin. While the church of St. Tryphon was clearly an urban public church, whose construction was linked with the presence of the body of St. Tryphon, the city's patron saint, the function of the church of St. Thomas is unclear, though it probably belonged to a monastery. All three of the churches belonging to this group were built of rough fieldstone mixed with large quantities of mortar. The technique, in other words, generally matches that already observed as having been widespread throughout the Balkans during the period in question. Three of the four capitals belonging to the columns from the central part of the building were uncovered in the excavation. They are all of the same type and were all clearly made for this church (fig. 370). They belong to a type that on the one hand echoes late antique characteristics and on the other signals the early characteristics of the so-called crocket capitals that appeared in the West later. All of this is of some relevance in our attempts at understanding the outside influences in Dalmatia, a region that by 1000 had increasingly emerged as an important frontier zone between the worlds of Byzantium and the medieval West. Indeed, the similarity of the plan of St. Thomas to contemporary Carolingian monuments must not be ignored. Yet, at present, it seems wise to leave all avenues open, since much will depend on the ability of future scholars to provide more definitive answers to this and related issues.

The last of the monuments in this group is unique in many respects. Built in 870–71, the church of Hagios Andreas at Peristerai, Greece, is one of a very limited number of monuments from this period that is dated with absolute precision (fig. 371).[160] Situated in the hills surrounding Thessaloniki, the church must owe some of its unusual features to a creative building workshop from a larger center. Unlike the precision with which it can be dated, its type defies classification according to the established nomenclature. At its core is a cross-in-square unit with four freestanding columns supporting a centrally positioned dome. Projecting from this core in all four directions are four triconch units, each covered by a dome, slightly smaller than the central one. The absolute biaxial symmetry that was thus created was modified by the addition of two lateral apsed chapels on the north and the south sides flanking the sanctuary triconch. Thus the building was given a conventional arrangement on the east side, while in all other respects it departs from known conventions. The focus of those who have sought to



371 Peristerai, H. Andreas; axonometric

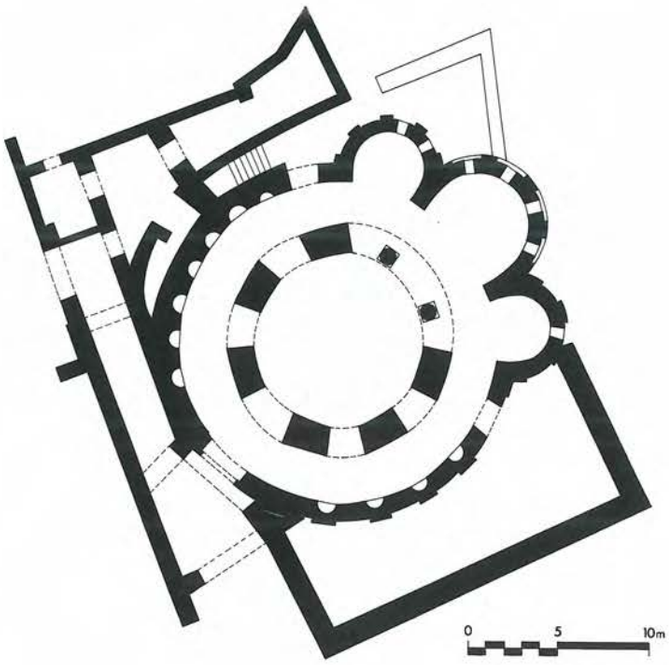
interpret its architecture has been its five domes, organized along the main axes. On account of this scheme and on account of its apostolic dedication (St. Andrew), the structure has been compared to Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. This comparison should be considered as having merely associational significance because of major differences in scale. The overall dimensions of the church of Hagios Andreas are 15.3 × 16.5 meters. As such, it probably would have fitted easily under any one of the domes of the Holy Apostles. Although the comparison to the Holy Apostles must be considered with caution, possible general links with Constantinople need not. The extraordinarily innovative design scheme of Hagios Andreas presupposes a master builder with broad knowledge and experience. Whether he emerged from ninth-century Thessaloniki is difficult to judge. In the case of Constantinople, the answer would certainly have to be affirmative. Notwithstanding its unique design, both on account of its scale and its general architectural character, Hagios Andreas finds many parallels in contemporary architecture in the Balkans. Featuring simple geometric forms without surface articulation and built in crude fieldstone, the church is now covered with plaster of much later date. Its original appearance, as in the case of so many other buildings belonging to this period, thus leaves much to our imagination.

CIRCULAR CHURCHES

Along with basilicas, circular church designs that appear in this period most clearly confirm an adherence to late antique prototypes. Unlike the basilicas, circular churches were rare, and their popularity generally speaking limited. What needs to be emphasized, before we turn to the specific examples, is that none of these churches was strictly speaking "circular," though the circle, as a geometric form, comes closest to describing their general shape. The second point is that the design schemes that were used show little relationship to each other, indicating that the ideas did not emanate from a single prototype, and that they may not have come from the same center. In discussing the so-called Round Church at Preslav, Constantinopolitan connections were postulated, and even a possible model for its design was proposed. A very different pattern of circumstances appears to have surrounded the construction of one of the largest and best-preserved early medieval churches in Dalmatia, the rotunda of the Holy Trinity, now better known as St. Donatus (Sv. Donat) in Zadar (ancient Iadera), Croatia (fig. 372). The church was begun around 800 within the open space of the ancient Roman forum, adjacent to the early Christian cathedral and the episcopal palace.[161] Evidently started with a somewhat different scheme in mind, the church was modified by the addition of a gallery by *circa* 900 at the latest. Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the church is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitos as being domed (*eilmatikos*), and consisting of two superimposed churches, the upper one "like a triforium (*katichoumena*) . . . into which they mount by a spiral staircase."[162] In a nutshell, his brief account describes the building very well. St. Donatus is a relatively large building, whose roughly cylindrical main form has an exterior diameter of 20 meters (fig. 373). Within this cylinder is inscribed a smaller one, whose inner diameter measures 9 meters. The inner cylinder rises to a height of 23 meters (about 26 m to the apex of the roof) and is covered by a low conical wooden roof. The slightly tapered upper part of the cylinder has given rise to the speculation that the building may have been originally domed, though this does not seem likely. In its uppermost section six tiny widows make a clerestory zone, externally resembling a low cylindrical drum, comparable to dome drums in contemporary Byzantine architecture. The lower part of the central cylinder is perforated by a two-tiered arrangement of eight arcades supported on piers and columns on each

372 Zadar, St. Donatus; general view from E

373 Zadar, St. Donatus; plan



level. The taller, ground-level arcade, supported on more massive piers, opens through a columnar tribelon into a three-apsed sanctuary of the main church, originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity. A comparable arrangement was repeated at gallery level, where a triapsidal sanctuary of identical plan, but of lesser height, occupies the same position. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitos, this was a separate church, though its dedication is not mentioned. Access to the upper church is gained via a large spiral ramp and stair that wraps around the exterior of the main cylinder. It is in that area, along the north and the west sides, that the church was related to the episcopal residence, of which little remains. The interior face of the external wall at ground level was articulated by eleven slender niches (about 1 m in diameter) of unknown function. These were suppressed during the second phase of construction. The frequent occurrence of such niches in the interiors of several of the churches already discussed should be noted. Externally, the building is articulated by means of shallow pilaster strips, forming tall blind arcades. These correspond to no structural elements inside the

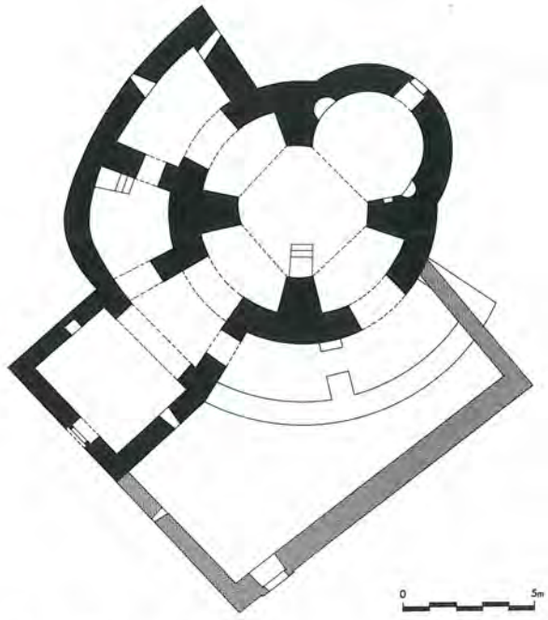
374 Novi Pazar, SS. Peter and Paul; general view from NW

building, and therefore their role must be left an important open question. The simple geometric overall forms and crude building technique of the church show affinities with contemporary church architecture in the Byzantine world. The building *opus* relied on small-stone rubble with large quantities of mortar. In its foundations the church reveals the reuse of a large number of fluted column drums, pilfered from the ruins of the Roman forum within which it was built. In this respect, too, it reveals affinities with contemporary Byzantine practice, as seen at Skripou. Although the general dating of Sv. Donat to the early years of the ninth century is not in doubt, the exact circumstances of its construction remain unknown. This has given rise to many hypotheses variously linked to the Byzantine or the Carolingian building heritage.[163] If we bear in mind that Zadar at that time was still under Byzantine control, and that the actual differences between what has been defined as Pre-Romanesque and early Middle Byzantine architecture may not have been as pronounced as scholars have been inclined to claim, the point may be moot. St. Donatus, just as the Round Church at Preslav, may belong to the last phase of a Byzantine architectural *koine* to have prevailed throughout the Balkans, within which regional architectural "dialects" were just beginning to emerge.

Different in scale and layout, and considerably more perplexing in many respects, is the rotunda dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul (Sv. Petar i Pavle) near Novi Pazar, Serbia (fig. 374). Built on the summit of an ancient burial tumulus, the church has

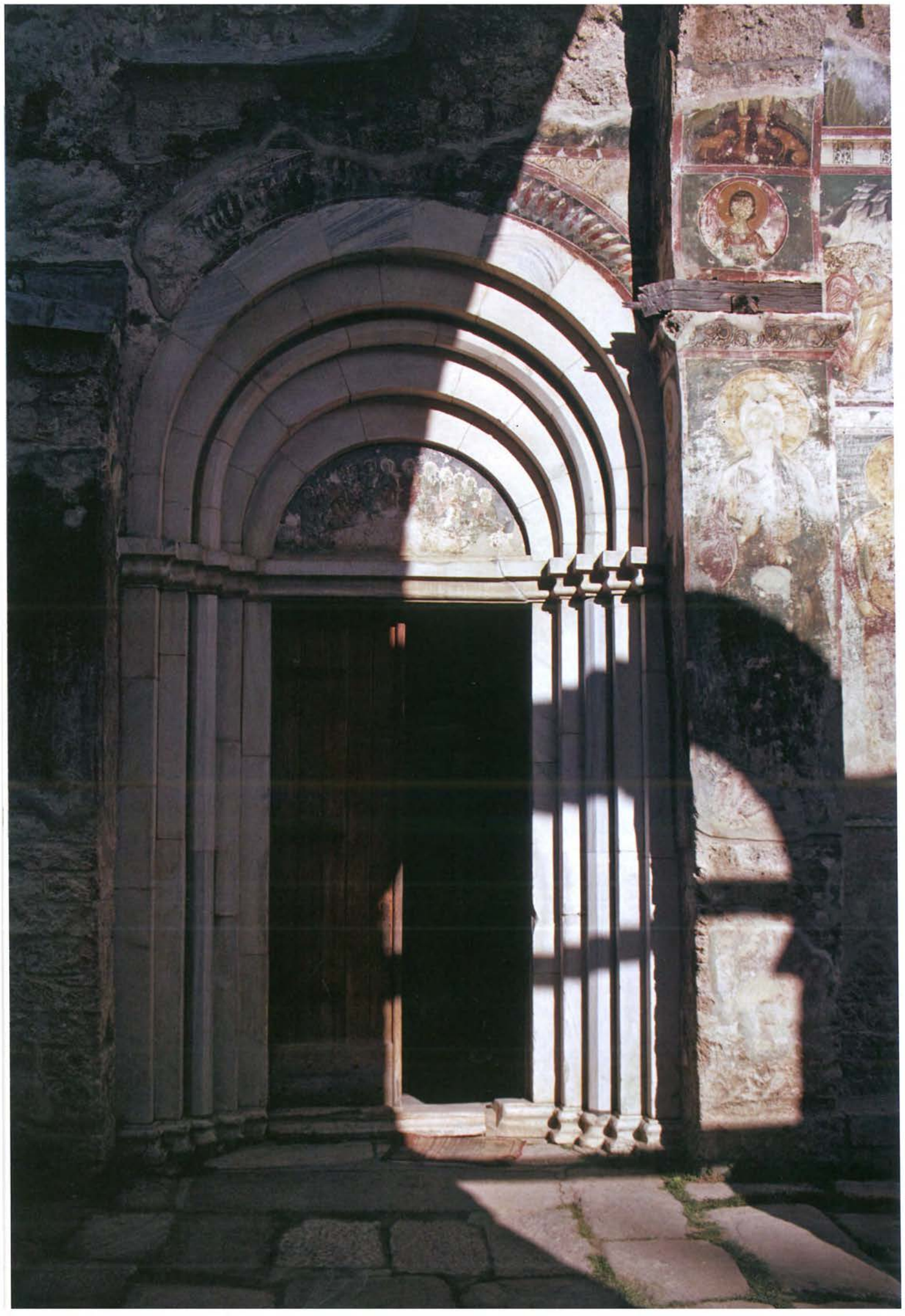
intrigued several generations of scholars and has yielded many hypotheses as to its origins and its original architectural form.[164] Presently, most scholars seem to accept a ninth-century foundation date, and its tenth-century establishment as an episcopal seat. Older building foundations (sixth century) continue to be promoted by some, as well as the original function of the building as a baptistery, both of which are based on shaky archaeological evidence. What is not in doubt is that the core of the building is a rotunda with an exterior diameter of 10 meters (fig. 375). Internally, it is articulated by four diagonally placed massive spur walls that form four distorted conches, of which the eastern one is the largest and protrudes from the cylindrical wall of the rotunda. Horseshoe-shaped in plan, this conch accommodates the sanctuary marked by a bishop's throne on the main axis. The space was originally separated by a tribelon on two columns, whose bases have been discovered. This arrangement recalls the arrangement at St. Donatus at Zadar, and points to other similarities between the two buildings – horseshoe-shaped main apse, wedge-shaped main masonry supports, a well-like central space, the use of clerestory windows, and a comparable building technique. The original cylindrical building core of SS. Peter and Paul was surrounded, at least two-fifths of the way, by an enveloping space, above which rose a gallery, considerably lower than the vaulted ground floor itself. Only parts of the ground-floor envelope have survived in their original form, on the north and west sides of the building. The outer diameter of this ambulatory arrangement, whose exterior wall more or less ran parallel to that of the cylindrical building core, was 16.5 meters. While its function remains unclear, the similarity of its physical disposition to the outer ambulatory at St. Donatus is undeniable.

Comparable architectural characteristics of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Donatus have long since been noted. Their perceived relationship with the Carolingian revival, however, must not be pushed too far in view of the specific historical circumstances. Byzantium, though weakened and challenged by various adversaries, still held an upper hand in Balkan affairs. Its own "revival" – though a "renaissance" it was not – was a significant phenomenon, as the volume of known buildings discussed in this chapter unmistakably suggests. The important realities that must be remembered in this context are several. The utter decline and the near disappearance of the building trade during the seventh century were followed by a slow and prolonged process of recovery. Major building workshops, once a hallmark of Byzantine imperial production in the capital and beyond, ceased to function in a manner known in the centuries preceding the period of decline. Once the economic conditions again became favorable, and a new building spree began, it had a very different character from the great building campaigns of the past, such as that



375 Novi Pazar, SS. Peter and Paul; plan

under Justinian I. Dependent on new patterns of patronage, Byzantine building production in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries lacked the coherence of an imperial "style." Its conceptual underpinnings may have been linked to the main centers, but its execution appears to have passed into the hands of local builders. Their employment and hasty training by master builders equipped with greater experience and new ideas are in evidence throughout the Balkans. Buildings such as the Panagia at Skripou, Hagios Andreas at Peristerai, Hagios Achilleios at Prespa, and even St. Donatus at Zadar and SS. Peter and Paul at Novi Pazar, have many aspects in common, but they lack the coherence of a "style" that the older scholarship had sought desperately to define. It is this lack of "style," perhaps, that has kept these buildings in relative obscurity. A general economic recovery, and the resulting cultural reawakening dependent on a new decentralized system of patronage, led to the establishment of new centers of building activity. Prosperous towns, such as Kastoria, Ohrid, and Preslav, along with the traditional centers – most notably Constantinople – became foci of a newly constituted, booming building trade. It was the new centers that contributed to a highly diversified architectural picture, whose ultimate legacy was the emergence of regional "styles" under the newly developing political and cultural circumstances. While the first clues of these developments became perceptible during the ninth and tenth centuries, their final materialization was to become fully apparent only during the twelfth century with the diminishing role of Byzantium as the exclusive power broker in Balkan affairs.



7

Between East and West

circa 1000–*circa* 1250

The two-and-a-half centuries between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1250 constitute a period of major changes in the political and cultural life of the Balkans.[1] At its beginning, the Byzantine Empire assumed once again – and for the last time – control over the entire territory of the Balkan peninsula. Two hundred years later, in 1204, the Byzantine Empire itself disintegrated for the first time since its inception nearly nine centuries earlier. The background to this surprising course of events was both dramatic and enormously complex. At the core of the problem appears to have been the mounting polarization between "the East" and "the West," the two Christian worlds grown increasingly different from each other. Their conflicting views and interests intensified in the Balkans, along the old fault-line dividing the ancient world between the Greek-speaking East and the Latin-speaking West. The permanent rift between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches, made official in 1054, may be viewed as the main catalyst, or alternatively, as a symbolic product of multiple processes brewing over long periods of time. The ultimate "Balkanization" of the area – to use one of the favorite modern Western political clichés – actually began during *this* period, within the growing political vacuum created by the shrinking Byzantine Empire, and culminating after its collapse in 1204. Although the empire managed to stage a comeback in 1261, never again was it to be more than one of the petty players on the Balkan scene. During the last centuries of its existence its successes, if the term is appropriate at all, no longer reflected economic or military power. Beginning already in the second half of the eleventh century, the empire's survival rested substantially on the management and manipulation of its neighbors, whose miscalculations and misfortunes all too often counted among the main Byzantine "achievements".

The second millennium began with the Byzantine counteroffensive against the expansive policy of the Bulgarian emperor Samuel (986–1014). A protracted campaign, skillfully managed by Emperor Basil II, became a chief objective on the road toward reclaiming control of the Balkans in general. Following the ultimate devastating defeat of Samuel's army in 1014 and his death in the same year, the door to a complete Byzantine reconquest of the Balkans was flung wide open. By the time of his own death, in 1025, Basil II had achieved his paramount goal. It must be remembered that this emperor also managed to restore Byzantine control of Asia Minor and that by 1025 he had begun to plan a campaign against the Arabs in Sicily. The seeming invincibility of the Byzantine Empire at the time of his death proved to be as short-lived as its moment of glory following the death of Justinian I in 565. Circumstances, of course, were very differ-

376 (*facing page*) Sopoćani Monastery, Church of the Trinity; main portal (see fig. 571)

LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
Sava
Danube
BELGRADE
Drina
Morava
BUCHAREST
Danube
BLACK SEA
SARAJEVO
Neretva
ADRIATIC SEA
PODGORICA
SKOPJE
SOFIA
Maritsa
Vardar
TIRANA
Axios
Strymon
Evros
SEA OF MARMARA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
ATHENS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0
100
200
300km

Map 7

Key to Map 7

Agios	53	Heybeliada	2	Mesaria	72	Sapareva Banía	30
Amphissa	70	Hortiatis	4	Mileševa Monastery	117	Serres	18
Andravida	106	Hosios Loukas Monastery	9	Mljet	99	Servia	19
Anhelion	48	Hosios Meletios Monastery	11	Monastery of H. Ioannis Prodromos	31	Sisani	24
Apollonia	68	Isova	105	Monastery of St. Peter de Campo	98	Skripou	54
Areia	62	Ivangrad	120	Monemvasia	80	Sopoćani Monastery	118
Arta	78	Iviron Monastery	41	Morodviz	37	Split	85
Asenova Krepost (near Asenovgrad)	108	Kaisariani Monastery	6	Nerezi	39	Stara Pavlica	27
Athens	5	Kalambaka	17	Nin	100	Stična Monastery	90
Bachkovo Monastery	14	Kalyvia Kouvara	49	Ohrid	23	Ston	92
Bijelo Polje	119	Kambia	79	Olynthos	43	Strumica	44
Biograd	89	Kastoria	7	Omiš	93	Studenica Hvostanska	122
Boiana	109	Kelli of H. Prokopios	42	Ouranoupolis	32	Studenica Monastery	115
Charouda	67	Kerkyra	69	Panik	96	Thebes	57
Chonika	63	Kitta	65	Patalenitsa	112	Thessaloniki	3
Christianoi	81	Knin	88	Peć	123	Trikala	52
Constantinople	1	Knin (Source of Cetina)	97	Pherrai	38	Trnovo	107
Daphni Monastery	10	Koluša	45	Platani	55	Trogir	84
Djunis	33	Kostanjevica Monastery	91	Plataniti	50	Varassova	56
Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery	116	Kotor	86	Prizren	22	Veljusa	35
Dragano	60	K'rdzhali Monastery	15	Prokuplje	21	Veroia	16
Drenovo	26	Kriezotē	61	Pylē	51	Vlacherna Monastery	47
Drivast	101	Kurbinovo	8	Rab (Island of Rab)	83	Vodoča	36
Enez (Ainos)	25	Kuršumlija	29	Ras (Arsa)	114	Xenophontos Monastery	40
Erateinē Dōridos	46	Kuti	95	Rila	111	Ypsēlou	74
Erēmos	75	Ligourio	71	Rogačići (near Sarajevo)	103	Zadar	82
Gastounē	76	Lopud	94	Ruen (near Plovdiv)	113	Zanjevačka crkva	34
Geroumana	66	Loukisia	59	Sagmata Monastery	12	Zaraka	104
Gornji Matejevci	28	Manastir	20	Salona	87	Zaton	102
Hagia Triada	64	Manolada	58	Samari	77	Zemen Monastery	110
		Melida	73			Žiča Monastery	121
						Zigos Monastery	13

ent, but the manner of rapid unraveling, caused by economic problems, internal uprisings, external attacks, and, above all, by incompetent leadership and treachery, yielded the same bleak results. By all accounting, Basil II proved an even shrewder politician in the administration of his military conquests than he was a successful commander in battle. The Byzantine aristocracy, having endured Basil's reforms aimed at curtailing its power, rebounded, becoming a dominant force in Byzantine politics over the following decades. Its shortsighted aims, championed also by a number of emperors who rose to power by a variety of means, yielded disastrous economic, political, and military results. To an extent, these were obscured by the dazzling cultural manifestations and ostentatious spending that at least in the eyes of some produced a satisfactory illusion of prosperity and success. The art of rhetoric, not surprisingly, became the most valued form of expression. Substantially blinded by its own distorted sense of self, the Byzantine Empire became a hapless witness of the mushrooming of new states on its territories – Croatia (in the 980s), Duklja (1040s), and in the course of the twelfth century Serbia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia. At the same time, foreign powers began to make serious intrusions into the Byzantine territories, as was the case with the Normans in southern Italy and in Epiros (in the 1070s and 1080s) and the Seljuk Turks in eastern Asia Minor (in the 1070s). The list of invaders in the twelfth century expanded to include former partners and allies – Venice and Hungary. Hungary became a major new player on the Balkan scene, especially after 1102, when it formally absorbed the state of Croatia. According to an agreement signed in that year, Croatia recognized the Hungarian king, while maintaining some form of nominal autonomy. The formalized relationship with Croatia provided the Hungarian king with a license to intervene also in the affairs of Dalmatian cities. This initiated a pattern of recurring conflicts with Venice that would continue well into the fifteenth century. Operating behind the scenes, in many of these developments, was the papacy in Rome, itself eager to reassert its jurisdictional rights in the Balkans and to expand its sphere of influence wherever and whenever an opportunity arose. Growing tensions between the Byzantine and the

Roman churches reached a symbolic, but lasting climax in 1054, when their high representatives formally excommunicated each other. The so-called Great Schism that began with this act has endured to our own times. Its political ramifications began to be felt only decades after the actual event.

The First Crusade, initially undertaken as a joint venture between the Byzantines and the Western powers, with papal blessing, had the formal aim of "liberating" the Holy Land from the Arabs. This soon proved to be – at least in Byzantine eyes – a Western colonial ploy to conquer territories for its own benefit. If the behavior of Western troops crossing the Byzantine territories en route to the Holy Land kindled serious doubts about the sincerity of the entire enterprise, the conquest of Antioch (1098) and finally of Jerusalem (1099) must have dispelled any remaining illusions as to the ultimate objectives of this "holy war." The bitterest of the related experiences was yet to come, in 1204, when the armies of the so-called Fourth Crusade took aim at Constantinople itself. The Byzantine capital was forcibly taken and subjected to three days and nights of murder, rape, plunder, and destruction. The city's treasures, religious and secular, along with private possessions, were taken away to grace churches, palaces, and treasuries of Western cities – from Paris to Venice – where many of them may still be seen. The conquest of Constantinople was part of a pre-planned scheme to eliminate the Byzantine Empire and replace it by a "Latin Empire." The executors of this scheme, confronted from the outset with deep resentment and the opposition of the population they sought to rule, clung to their prey with ever-increasing difficulties for fifty-seven years. The principal benefactor, and the mastermind behind this plan, was Venice, whose colonial ambitions in the eastern Mediterranean were satisfied with the control of the Adriatic and the Aegean, as well as of the lucrative trade routes linked to Constantinople. Despite the formal dismantling of the Byzantine Empire, its "ghost" endured in the form of splinter states – the so-called Empire of Nicaea, the Empire of Trebizond, and the Despotate of Epiros, with their three leaders each claiming the title of "Byzantine Emperor." Of these three states, only the last was physically situated in the Balkans, while the first – responsible for the ultimate restoration of the empire in 1261 – despite its location in Asia Minor, was significantly oriented toward the Balkans.

The demise of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 was the result of a process that lasted approximately a quarter of a century. It began immediately after the death of Manuel I Komnenos in 1180, a shrewd ruler whose pro-Western attitudes were balanced by his military successes and generally successful diplomatic activities. At great cost Manuel managed to restore the Byzantine frontier on the Danube, but his achievement proved futile and short-lived. The establishment of a regency, in the name of his twelve-year-old son and successor Alexios II, under Manuel's French widow, Mary, led to an intensification of the brewing hatred against the Latins. An unavoidable coup, and the resulting pogrom of the Latin population in Constantinople in 1182, further fueled the flames of hatred in the West. The first opportunity for retaliation came with a new Norman attack on Byzantium. After taking Durrachion without serious opposition in 1184, the Normans marched on Thessaloniki, which they captured in August 1185. The conquest of Thessaloniki with large-scale plundering and a massacre of the city's population was a foretaste of the sack of Constantinople. The loss of the second city of the empire expedited the brutal overthrow of the last Komnenian emperor, Andronikos I (1183–85), hated for his attempted draconian reforms. The return of the house of the Angeli, with Isaak II (1185–95, and again 1203–04), spelled the triumph of uncontrolled corruption and a total disintegration of the authority of the state, thus setting the stage for the ultimate conquest of the Byzantine capital by the Crusaders in 1204.

Its old adversary Bulgaria took full advantage of the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. It reemerged in 1186 as the so-called Second Bulgarian Empire, with its new capital at T'rnovo. Another major beneficiary of the newly created circumstances was the state of Serbia, whose fortunes continued to rise through the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth. Bulgaria and Serbia, from *circa* 1200, remained permanent players on the Balkan scene, and the eventual equals of the Byzantine Empire in its reincarnated form after 1261. Thus, the political map of the Balkans by *circa* 1250 had become substantially different from what it had been *circa* 1025.

The tumultuous political changes that took place during the two-and-a-half centuries under consideration in this chapter had their corollary in the changed cultural picture in the Balkans. Though the two developments were undoubtedly related in many respects, a simple equation between the two is not only unwise, but is also actually impossible to draw. Culturally, Byzantine input in the Balkans during this period still remained unmatched in importance. Yet, it must be stressed that Byzantium no longer held a cultural monopoly on the Balkan scene. Of further importance is the fact that Byzantine culture itself no longer projected a monolithic image, but became much more open and responsive to the neighboring, "alien" cultures – western European, as well as Islamic.[2] While this did bring about the breakdown of some "traditional barriers," others remained firmly in place. Aspects of barrier breakdowns also occurred within the framework of Byzantine society itself, linking "high" and "popular" cultures, bridging divisions between "religious" and "secular" realms, for example. New outlooks in the literature and art of the period provide a wealth of information regarding changes in attitudes and perceptions, and ultimately

in new ways of trying to understand the role and the place of man in the universe, and his relationship to God. Forms of "realism" transformed Byzantine artistic expression without compromising its traditional, abstract underpinnings. All of these processes may strike one as slow and petty from a modern perspective, but they bespeak a society undergoing very significant transformations in its own right. They also reveal ways in which Byzantine culture defined itself in relationship to the growing presence of other cultures, particularly the Western culture that made its first assertive appearance on the Balkan stage during this very period.

Architecture, no less than the other arts, shows patterns of change on different levels. Between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1250, for the first time, it is possible to see definite differences between "Byzantine" and "Western" architectural developments, taking place quite independently of each other. The seeds of such a course of events could already be detected, albeit in very limited ways, during the ninth and tenth centuries. In that context, the strong Byzantine output was itself diversified into many "regional trends." The general decentralization of the Byzantine state was undoubtedly one of the main contributing factors in the emergence of new development patterns. Others have to do with the local accumulation of wealth and the emergence of new classes of patrons, as well as with the mobility of artisans, tied to a given place not by ethnic or religious belonging, but by professional demands. All of this led to unexpected, sometimes outright surprising developments that defy conventional explanations. It is only within a broad framework of investigation that some of these seemingly puzzling phenomena become fully intelligible.

Taking into account the pronounced diversification in architectural production, the material in this chapter will be presented in a slightly different manner from the pattern established in the preceding ones. It will open with a discussion of "The Byzantine Sphere," followed by the "The Western Sphere," and will end by considering the developments related to the "The Lands Between" (Bulgaria and Serbia). Within each of these categories, the method of investigation will generally follow the established pattern. The discussion, in each case, will begin with a consideration of urban developments, followed – where applicable – by fortifications and monasteries, and will end with church architecture.

THE BYZANTINE SPHERE

Despite the fact that the Byzantine state, between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1250, was undergoing a process of decline marked by exhausting wars, territorial losses, a deteriorating economy, and the weakening of central authority, the presumed typical symptoms of such conditions – urban decline and stagnation in the building industry – strangely are lacking. Paradoxically, therefore, this was an age of considerable urban growth in the Byzantine world, with architectural production reaching one of the high points in the long history of the empire. These phenomena are not easy to explain, though some of the reasons for their occurrence are fairly obvious. In part, the trend began with the Byzantine reconquest of the Balkans, and Emperor Basil's jubilantly aggressive policy aimed at giving the military conquest a lasting political and cultural dimension. Though Basil II can by no means be called a great builder, the conditions that he created within the empire inspired a flurry of building activity. This can hardly be associated with the imperial building programs of old. It was a result of the combined efforts of the Church and the wealthy at the pinnacle of Byzantine society. Basil II recognized the dangers potentially stemming from the insatiable appetite of the established Byzantine aristocracy for the enlargement of its wealth, at the expense of the state. He fought this growing trend in earnest, encountering major opposition. Following his death in 1025, the Byzantine aristocracy, having been substantially replaced by a predominantly new type of military aristocracy through Basil's reforms, took the reigns of power fully into its own hands.[3] During this period efforts at increasing tax exemptions, a perpetual goal of the Byzantine upper class, yielded a completely lopsided situation. The state became hopelessly impoverished, while huge wealth accumulated in the hands of the few living on country estates or in large urban centers, above all in Constantinople. Those in the possession of large wealth were inclined to spend it freely, especially on private residences, whose opulence commonly aimed at outdoing the competition. A *protovestarios* during the reign of Basil II, for example, who was accused of buying up his native village and transforming it into a private estate, was punished accordingly.[4] The twelfth-century aristocracy, on the other hand, felt free to make their residences resemble "cities in magnitude and not unlike imperial palaces in splendor."[5] According to a twelfth-century Western eyewitness, one Odo of Deuil, "the wealthy [of Constantinople] overshadow the streets with buildings and leave these dirty, dark places to the poor and to travelers."[6] Investing in private churches and monasteries, likewise, was a common practice among the members of a class for whom buying privileges had become the exclusive means of conducting business. Occupants of the imperial throne, themselves often risen from the ranks of aristocracy, were commonly pacesetters in these trends. According to Michael Psellos, the building of the church of Hagios Georgios of Mangana under the auspices of Constantine IX resulted in gold flowing like "a torrential stream from the public treasury as from an inexhaustible source."[7] Blinded

by vainglory – not unlike the ruling class in France during the last years of Louis XVI – the members of the Byzantine court and aristocracy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries had but one common goal, the pursuit of their own private interests. Private estates, palaces, and resplendent gardens, created under these circumstances, appear to have provided a grand stage for an ostentatious lifestyle in a world obsessed with illusions, and whose time – unobserved – was rapidly running out. The well-known Byzantine epic poem known as *Digenis Akritas*, most likely itself a product of the eleventh or twelfth century, provides a clear idea of the frame of mind of the Byzantine aristocracy, as well as of its ideals and aspirations.[8] Inasmuch as the social factors we have briefly considered are of crucial importance, our attention will now turn to the physical evidence and to those sources that will enable us to visualize, at least in part, the built environment that the Byzantine patrons and their builders sought and were able to create.

Urban Developments

The subject of urban developments during the medieval era in the Balkans has begun to receive the attention of historians relatively recently. Archaeological information, though gathered painstakingly over many decades, has never been presented comprehensively, thus making the subject still relatively inaccessible.[9] One of the most surprising corollaries of the general process of political and economic decline of the Byzantine state was a steady rise in population and urbanism from the late eighth century to the twelfth.[10] A number of factors contributed to these developments, among them a substantial increase in large private landholdings, displacing, at an increasingly rapid rate, the traditional small peasant proprietors. As the empire shrunk territorially, the value of land increased, with a resulting spiraling trend that saw the rich becoming much richer, and the poor much poorer, the number of the latter significantly on the rise. Territorial losses that the empire endured, especially in Asia Minor, resulted in large population emigration waves that further exacerbated the basic problems. A pattern of population increase apparently affected the towns, those of the Balkans experiencing a particularly fast rate of growth.[11] Many of the old cities, even in their shrunken form, experienced a period of renewal and limited growth. Such was the fate of Veroia, Serres, Philippi, Kitros, and Edessa. Other cities, as was the case with Belgrade and Braničevo, appeared as new creations, but on locations of older, abandoned settlements. Here we may speak of the "continuity of the site," as opposed to "continuity of life" that characterized the previous group. Finally, during this period of general renewal, there are even examples of the founding of entirely new settlements, as was the case with Servia, Zichne, and Drama in the regions of Thessaly and Macedonia. The same appears to have applied to the town of Ras in central Serbia, apparently initially built as Byzantine Arsa. Archaeological information on these towns is meager, but outlines of a general picture are beginning to emerge.[12] Needless to say, our knowledge of urban life during this era, no less than in the past, relies heavily on our understanding of what went on in the major urban centers.

CONSTANTINOPLE

The Byzantine capital continued to dominate the Balkan urban scene throughout this period. Its size and wealth persisted in making it the largest and the most prosperous city not only in the Balkans, but also in all of Europe. Estimates of its population size (as high as 400,000 inhabitants) and its urban density are compared with the state of affairs in the sixth century, under Justinian I.[13] The size and wealth of Constantinople drew the particular attention of the western Crusaders, whose figures provide especially useful insights into the conditions of the city before the catastrophe of 1203–04. In the aftermath of those events, the city was not only plundered, but was also left physically devastated. This began during the first storming of the city, on behalf of the blinded Emperor Isaac II, whom the Crusaders temporarily helped to place back on the Byzantine throne (July 1203–January 1204). A Crusader historian, Robert de Clari, informs us that an area of Constantinople as large as the city of Arras had been destroyed at that time. Major devastation came only in 1204, when, according to Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the number of houses that burned was so large that it matched that of the three largest cities in France taken together.[14] The destruction took various forms, as ancient churches underwent conversion to new cult requirements and material needs caused the systematic eradication of such objects as the ancient bronze statuary that still enhanced the city of Constantinople at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[15] Constantinople never again recovered from the physical devastation it experienced in 1204 and the aftermath. Despite the undeniable extensive destruction and "benign neglect" that followed in the decades until 1261, the utterly gloomy picture of the city in the hands of the Crusaders has been modified recently very slightly.[16]

By contrast, the beginning of the period under consideration was remarkably auspicious. Looked upon by the Byzantines as the "Holy City," Constantinople was portrayed in excessively laudatory terms by a Byzantine writer in 1047:

> Perceive this multitude whose array is so remarkable, whose obedience so voluntary, whose piety is superhuman and whose love is innate. They all rushed here spontaneously to this holy

> Zion, to this faithful metropolis, to your new Jerusalem, whose creators and builders were God and you [reference to the Emperor].[17]

Thousands upon thousands, we are told, "have streamed as if following a sign from the ends of the world to this splendid and well-seen place, to the common resting site of the whole *oikoumene*." Rhetorical as these comments are, they were not totally unfounded. Indeed, Constantinople *was* a world-class metropolis, attracting people from all corners of the known world. The city's attractiveness was multifold. The author of the above text would like to have the reader believe that it was religious piety exclusively that drew people to Constantinople. There can be no doubt that religious piety did play an important role. An equally powerful magnet, however, was Constantinople's role as the main commercial center in the Mediterranean basin. Its multiethnic, metropolitan character was, most certainly, due to the city's unique commercial attractiveness. Foreign merchant colonies – the Venetian, the Genoese, and the Pisan being the most prominent – grew in number and size during the period. Thus the growth of the city's population also had to do with the influx of foreign traders who, together with their families, settled in ever-increasing numbers in Constantinople. Two notable repairs to the aqueduct system – one in 1021 and another in 1034 – also point to population growth through the demand for greater quantities of water in the city. Equally clear is that certain major calamitous events brought about a population influx into the city. Most notably, this was the case after the Byzantine military disaster at Manzikert in 1071, and the subsequent influx of refugees from Asia Minor.[18] The physical growth of the city, as a natural reflection of these circumstances, has been studied on the basis of written records. Particularly extensive was the growth under the Komnenian emperors (1081–1180), which has been viewed as a virtually coherent "building program."[19] Our direct access to physical evidence from this period, unfortunately, is substantially lacking and, as with several earlier discussions, must rest almost exclusively on the preserved information pertaining to the city fortifications, a few remnants of residential architecture, and a number of surviving ecclesiastical buildings. It is on the basis of these, with the help of some of the written sources, that an attempt at understanding the urban developments of Constantinople between *circa* 1025 and *circa* 1250 will have to rest.

Fortifications

As in all periods of the city's long history, the Land Walls of Constantinople underwent repairs during this time as well. The most significant intervention, however, was their expansion in the area of the new imperial palace, known as the Blachernae.[20]

377 Constantinople, Land Walls, 12th-century expansion; view from NW

This was the work of Emperor Manuel I (1143–80). Built just to the south of the so-called Pteron, the new walled complex extended more than 450 meters in length. This was clearly not merely a replacement of the old Theodosian walls in this area, but an attempt to enlarge the space within the fortified city enclosure. The new walls bulge out from the more-or-less straight line of the original line of fortifications. The double line of walls in the original system must have ended somewhere in this area in some sort of logically designed manner. By simply abutting the remaining portion of the exterior line of walls, the new construction indicates that, by this time, the original fortification system had already been superseded. The main purpose of the new walls was undoubtedly to enclose the new imperial palace, along with its gardens. The fact that the walls enlarged the fortified area also suggests that the palace itself could not be accommodated within the original walls because of the lack of available space. This, it would seem, is an important argument suggesting that the city in the twelfth century had been substantially built up, especially in this area, which, clearly also for other reasons, was deemed a suitable location for the new imperial residence. The new walled enclosure consisted of a single curtain wall with fourteen projecting towers. Curiously, from the point of view of both design and construction, the new enclosure was made up of two distinctive parts. Its northern part featured square towers; its southern section massive round and polygonal towers. The two parts were also distinguished by two very different building techniques.[21] The reasons for such differences defy what may be considered "normal" procedures. It is possible that two entirely different building teams were put to work on the two new sections of wall. While differences in building techniques could thus be easily understood, the differences in the general design of the towers are major, and are hard to understand as a simple matter of the preferences of two building crews. Whatever may have been the actual reasons, the effect of the new walls was strikingly different from the original city fortifications (fig. 377). The new towers were lower and considerably bulkier than their fifth-century predecessors. Furthermore, their spacing (20–30 m) was considerably closer than the spacing in the original system (approximately 50 m). All of the towers and the curtain wall reveal a variety of building techniques, using a number of different materials, mostly spoils. The workmanship, in general, is inferior to that of the original construction. Attention appears to have been paid to the external parts, which were actually visible, while the internal sections seem to have been built much more sloppily. This has been interpreted as strictly a matter of aesthetics, but it stands to reason that the outer face of the wall should have been of greater concern to its builders on account of its intended military function.

Palaces

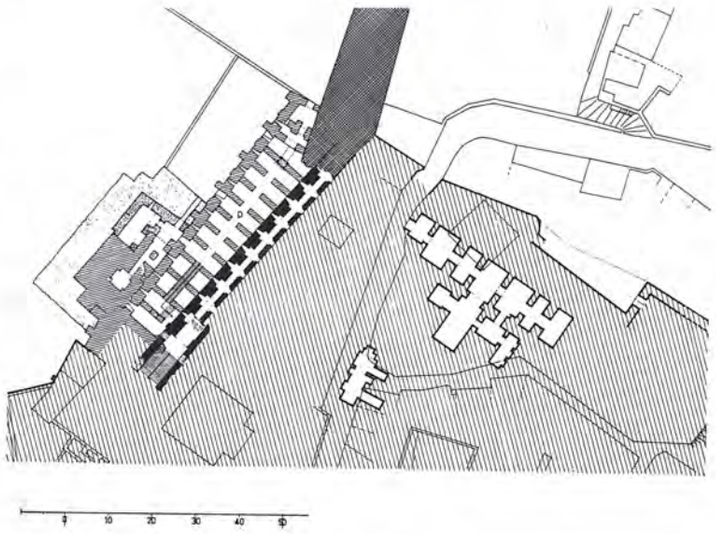
The Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors continued to be the seat of power in the Byzantine capital. Despite some scholarly opinions that, for all practical purposes, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it had been superseded by the Blachernae Palace, that notion has been proven wrong.[22] Emperor Manuel I (1143–80), the main builder of the Blachernae, has emerged as the likely patron of the most significant additions to the Great Palace complex since the tenth century. Outstanding among these must have been the so-called Mouchroutas, of which no trace survives, but which is described in considerable detail in an account of an attempted palace coup in 1200–01.[23] According to this text, this was a huge building, west of the Chrysotriklinos. It is said to have been "the work not of a Roman, nor a Sicilian, nor a Celt-Iberian, nor a Sybaritic, nor a Cypriot, nor a Sicilian hand, but of a Persian hand . . ."[24] Its interior, we are told, was decorated with images depicting "Persians in their different costumes." The most remarkable aspect of the building undoubtedly must have been its wooden roof made up of muqarnas, Islamic decorative ceiling elements consisting of stalactite-like forms. These were carved, painted, and gilded, the general manner recalling Islamic taste for building decoration. The decorative program that existed at Mouchroutas clearly introduced a foreign scheme into the Byzantine context. The notion has been discussed and different interpretations have been proposed.[25] Ultimately, it would appear that occurrences, such as the description of Mouchroutas provides us with, were far less unusual than at first it may appear. The mixing and blending of different cultural outlooks and tastes was in all likelihood a distinctive quality of court cultures across the Mediterranean basin, the Byzantine court being no exception. The mechanisms of how this may have occurred were probably varied. Hiring the best artists from different lands must have been the most common vehicle of cultural transmission, and must have occurred far more commonly than we have been willing to accept. The above-quoted statement, emphasizing that Mouchroutas was the work of "a Persian hand," also enumerates six other places where such an artisan may have come from. To us, this indirectly suggests that artisans from many lands must have been at work in the Byzantine capital during the twelfth century, and that their presence there, alongside the native Greeks, was common.

In the course of the eleventh century, construction began on another palatine residence of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople – the so-called Blachernae Palace.[26] Situated at the northwestern corner of the walled city enclosure, its construction appears to have been started by Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). An important Church synod is known to have taken place there in 1094, and in 1096–97 Emperor Alexios received there the leaders of the First Crusade, en route to the Holy Land.

It was the grandson of Alexios I, Manuel I, however, who gave the Blachernae Palace its final form. The palace complex, of which now only pitiful remains survive, became an alternative seat of power, equipped not only for imperial residential purposes, but also for staging state ceremonial spectacles. Situated as it was, near the city walls, the site was chosen with strategic advantages in mind, but also taking into account the presence of one the holiest shrines in the city – that of the Theotokos of Blachernae. The construction of the new walls created an enclosed area of more than 5 hectares. This was a large enclosure, comparable in size, for example, to the small late antique imperial city of Romuliana (see Chapter 2). Nothing of the Blachernae Palace survives above ground, but it is clear that it was situated on elevated ground, giving it a dominant position in the city, with views toward the Golden Horn, the city, and the countryside outside the walls. The only substantial portion of the palace complex to remain is part of its substructures at the northernmost point – erroneously labeled "the Prison of Anema" – where the palace came into contact with the city walls in the area of Pteron. The substructure in this area was built against the preserved section of the main Theodosian wall. Roughly paralleling that wall, it extended the area forward by approximately 11–15 meters, over a length of 55 meters (fig. 379). The substructures consisted of a series of parallel walls, approximately 4 meters apart, which supported barrel vaults, creating a lofty platform, some 20 meters above the ground level in that area, upon which presumably part of the palace once stood. Such use of massive substructures, for elevating a palace onto a desired level, had been known in the Balkans since late antiquity. One need not go farther than the Great Palace in Constantinople itself to find meaningful earlier comparisons. The achievement was impressive at its time, catching the eye of Odo of Deuil, who recorded his impressions in the following manner.

> [A]lthough having foundations on low ground, [it] achieves eminence through excellent construction and elegance and, because of its surroundings on three sides, affords its inhabitant the triple pleasure of looking out upon sea, fields, and city. Its exterior is of matchless beauty, but its interior surpasses anything that I can say about it.[27]

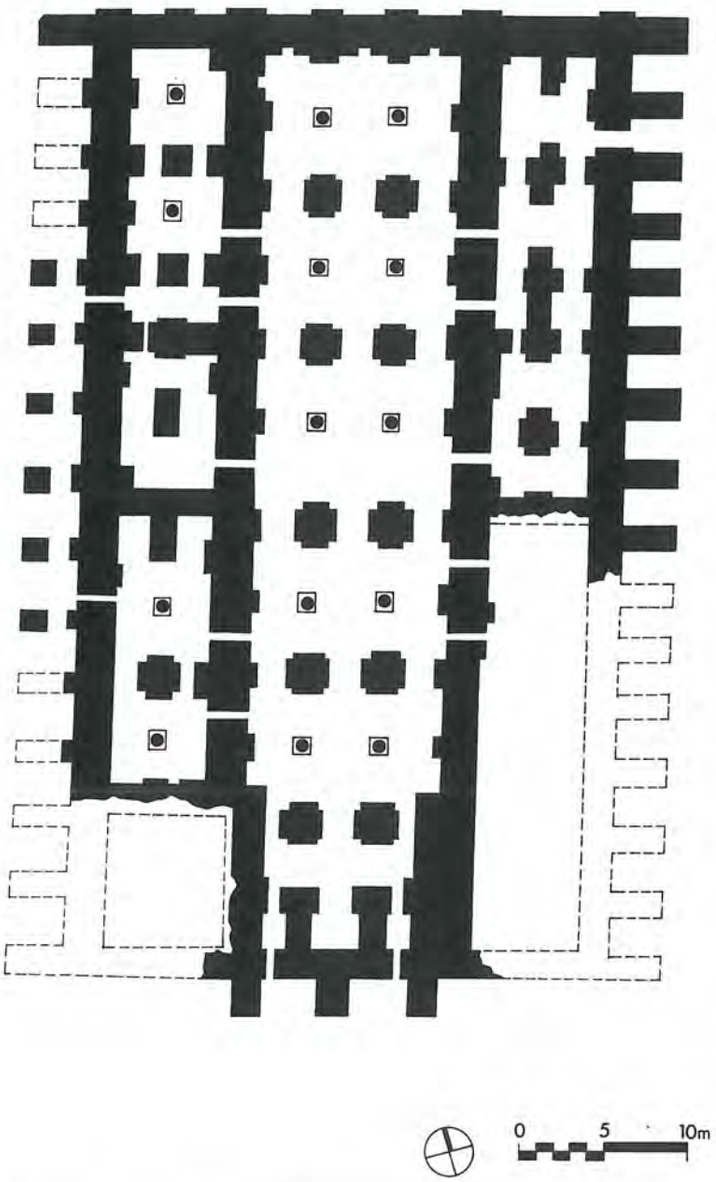
The substructure walls were cut by a central passageway that led to a staircase in the southern part of the substructure area. The stair apparently provided the only access route to the upper level of the palace from this side of the complex. The exterior wall of the substructures was marked by a series of alternating, evenly spaced shallow pilasters and deeper, projecting spurs. In their placement, both corresponded to the even spacing of the interior walls. Providing some structural reinforcement to the exterior wall, this system of projecting features also gave the long



378 Constantinople, "Prison of Anema"; plan

wall a rhythmic articulation whose aesthetic effects had become a norm, often employed in twelfth-century Byzantine architecture. Not long after the completion of this part of the palace complex, a large tower was built, abutting the exterior of the wall just described. Constructed by Isaak II Angelos (1185–95), it was intended "both for its [the palace's] protection and support, as he claimed, and to serve as his dwelling place," according to the twelfth-century Byzantine historian Nikētas Choniatēs (fig. 379).[28] As such, this would be the first example of this type of fortified residence in the Byzantine capital. Such solutions, however, were not uncommon elsewhere in the contemporary Mediterranean world. A much smaller structure, but of similar function, must have been the so-called kiosk in the royal palace

379 Constantinople, Tower of Isaak Angelos; gen view from W



380 Constantinople, Mangana Palace; plan

at Konya (Iconium), built by Kilidj Arslan II in 1173–74.[29] Probably much closer in scale and character was the Torre Pisana of the Norman Palazzo Reale in Palermo, dating from the 1140s and still well preserved. The preserved exterior of the tower of Isaac Angelos features a triple-arched opening, presumably a loggia for appearances, with a now-missing balcony, once supported on a series of column spoils used as brackets. A comparable arrangement, in a similarly elevated position, may be seen also on the main façade of the Torre Pisana.

The rest of the Blachernae Palace has disappeared without trace. In its day, it was a showpiece for the Byzantine Empire, a complex on which no resources were spared. Surviving descriptions, such as that from the twelfth-century visitor Benjamin of Tudela, bespeak the legendary splendor and opulence of the Byzantine court:

> He [Manuel I] overlaid its columns and walls with gold and silver and engraved thereon representations of battles before his day and of his own combats. He also set up a throne of precious stones and of gold, and a golden crown was suspended by a golden chain over the throne, so arranged that he may sit thereunder. It was inlaid with jewels of priceless value, and at night time no lights were required, for everyone could see by the light which the stones gave forth.[30]

In this seat of splendor and opulence the most lavish forms of entertainment were conducted, on which the dwindling resources of the state were being readily spent. Nikētas Choniatēs informs us of spectacular games at Blachernae, held on the occasion of a royal wedding *circa* 1200.[31] This involved a mock chariot race, hastily arranged in the grounds of the Blachernae Palace, instead of a real one in the Hippodrome. This text is of dual significance. On the one hand it indicates that horse chariot races were still being conducted at the Hippodrome as late as 1200. On the other hand, it indicates that the Blachernae Palace had large enough courtyards for staging such a spectacle, even in a mock format, attended by members of the court alone.

The custom of building imperial residences within Constantinople, but outside the grounds of the Great Palace, did not begin with the Blachernae complex. The practice was certainly known during the eleventh century, as is well attested by the large Mangana Palace built in the vicinity of the monastery of Hagios Georgios Mangana by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). Substantial remains of its substructures came to light during the excavations conducted in the area by French archeologists in the 1920s.[32] Measuring 40 × 60 meters in area, the preserved substructures indicate that the palace itself must have been a single building block, probably surrounded by lower elements and open porticoes (fig. 380). At present it is difficult, if not impossible, to discuss meaningfully the appearance of this building. Its compact layout, evident from the substructures, indicates clearly that it must have belonged to the Middle Byzantine, in contrast to the late antique palace types. While direct comparanda do not survive in the Byzantine world itself, useful comparisons can be made with ninth- and tenth-century palaces in Pliska and Preslav, as well as with the twelfth-century palaces of the Normans in Sicily.[33] Inasmuch as little can be said about the main part of the Mangana Palace, its substructures are revealing in several different ways. Conceptually, they display sophisticated spatial planning through the rigorous use of modular bays. From the point of view of structural principles, they reveal

an equally sophisticated vocabulary of structural components – columns, piers (square and cruciform), pilasters, wall spurs (external buttresses) – all of which are integrated into a system, defined by means of modular bays. Furthermore, spatial covering – barrel and domical vaults – articulate the individual spatial units. The use of alternating layers of several courses of stone and brick for wall construction reveals traditional Constantinopolitan practice. The exclusive use of brick with thick mortar joints in the construction of vaults likewise constitutes a familiar older building technique. The appearance of the so-called concealed-brick building technique reveals a constructional variant, typical of Constantinople during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. More will be said about this technique below.

The Mangana Palace was a product of an era of conspicuous consumption. Its construction, as well as the construction of the nearby monastery of Hagios Georgios of Mangana, occurred amidst great scandals at the imperial court involving the emperor, Constantine IX, and his mistress, Maria Skleraina. The controversy swirling around this complex, identified with the whimsy of its patron, continued after the deaths of both Skleraina, in 1047, and of Constantine IX, in 1055. Another whimsical emperor, Isaak II Angelos, may be said to have ended the issue by demolishing the resplendent building. According to Choniatēs (d. 1213), however, it was Isaak II who destroyed "the celebrated palace (*oikos*) of the Mangana, showing no respect for the beauty and great size of the building, nor yet fearing the victorious Martyr [St. George] to whom it was dedicated."[34] The precise motives for this action escape us, but they may have been driven by a desire to settle the question of proprietary rights. The same emperor is known to have dispensed with many other pieces of real estate in Constantinople, belonging to the Church as well as to private citizens. One of the known cases is that of the abandoned so-called Palace of Botaniates, which he granted to the Genoese. In this case we know that the palace had been run down, and was evidently no longer being used by the descendants of the original owner.[35] Thus, the process of physical deterioration and the destruction of palaces in the Byzantine capital may have begun at least by the last decades of the twelfth century. The events associated with the Latin occupation of the city brought this to a climax, leaving the city in a thoroughly devastated state by the time of the Byzantine reconquest in 1261.

Urban Monasteries and Churches

The number of surviving Byzantine ecclesiastical establishments in the capital that are datable to the period under consideration is substantially greater than from any other period of Byzantine history. In part, this may be a factor of their chance survival, but more likely it is a reflection of the city's growth and the ambitions of different emperors and members of the aristocracy, which often stretched far beyond their means. As in the preceding period (ninth and tenth centuries), the patronage of ecclesiastical buildings took on different forms, ranging from the restoration of old foundations, additions to existing complexes or adaptations, and the constructions of entirely new ones. We are fortunate to have a good sense of the entire cross-section of these activities, both on the basis of written evidence and surviving monuments. Unfortunately, however, the two sources of our knowledge do not always conveniently overlap. On the one hand, we may have a very detailed description of a church, but no physical traces of it; on the other, a church building may be entirely preserved, even with some of its interior decoration, yet we may not even know its Byzantine name. The task of understanding the ecclesiastical architecture of Constantinople, therefore, is gratifying, but also challenging.

The surviving physical evidence gave earlier scholars sufficient material to identify a local "style" or "school" of architecture.[36] This, in turn, has become a norm against which other, regional architectural trends have been judged, with an implicit polarized evaluative system – "the capital versus the provinces." This skewed method of analysis has come under criticism in recent years, but is still far from being fully superseded.[37] Before turning to the discussion of individual monasteries and church buildings, a few general comments about local building practices and the resulting common architectural traits, commonly referred to as the "Constantinopolitan building style," are in order. Without a doubt, Constantinople through most of its history was a center in which demand for building was great enough to warrant the permanent presence of many builders, grouped undoubtedly into several building workshops. These may be presumed to have shared their experience and technical know-how, resulting in common building traits apparent on a large number of buildings in Constantinople, and often beyond. The latter observation will be developed further when we turn to the discussion of the impact of metropolitan architecture on developments elsewhere in the Balkans. Our analysis of Constantinopolitan stylistic traits will address three specific categories: structural articulation, formal articulation, and decoration. The structural articulation of Constantinopolitan churches during the period is marked by the rigorous application of structural logic that may be perceived – on a certain level – as the direct heir of late antique architecture. The articulation of bays as space-defining elements, above all, reveals a full understanding of the basic ancient design principles. Although contemporary with Western Romanesque and Early Gothic developments, the Constantinopolitan approach was different, insofar that it represented some sort of continuity with the past, as opposed to the marked discontinuity in the case of Western medieval developments. We may even go so far as to suggest that the conceptual, skeletal

design of the main structural system as employed in the church architecture of Constantinople antedates Western medieval developments. Our observation must stop short of implying any form of mutual reliance between the two traditions, whose evolutions appear to have occurred independently of each other. It is interesting, however, that certain design characteristics in the two developments display such abstractly similar objectives. One of these is a clear emphasis on large areas of glazing, accommodated within individual bays by reducing the structurally unnecessary areas of wall between the main structural supports. As we have already noted in the previous chapter, this design tendency became evident in Constantinopolitan architecture already during the tenth century, and it continued throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the twelfth century, in western Europe, this trend coincided with the emergence of a new medium – stained glass – whose naturally illuminated pictorial compositions essentially replaced the murals characteristic of earlier medieval church architecture. The discovery of stained-glass decoration in two twelfth-century Constantinopolitan monuments has initiated a debate among scholars as to the mutual dependence of the Western and Byzantine developments.[38] The appearance of stained glass in Constantinople clearly suggests that Byzantine architects and artists were experimenting along similar lines and with similar general aesthetic objectives as their Western counterparts. One can only speak of common approaches and general objectives, however needless to say, both their end products and their materials were different from those of the West.

The eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine architecture of Constantinople displays other distinctive stylistic traits that are worth noting. One of these is the general vertical elongation of proportions in church buildings. As church buildings in the Middle Byzantine period became smaller, the diameter of their domes was reduced. By contrast, however, the height of the domes remained relatively high, resulting in proportional relationships that clearly reveal an emphasis on verticality. From this point of view the Byzantine architecture of Constantinople shows certain abstract affinities with the Western development as well. This general proportional elongation also affected the proportions of certain architectural elements, notably piers, arches, niches, and dome drums. Since the production of column shafts, as we have seen, had ceased much earlier, dependence on reused columns mandated other means of altering the proportional relationships in church interiors. The most common method became the "stilting" of arches. This implied that the traditional springing point of the arch, directly from the top of a column or pier, was deliberately elevated to a higher point by the insertion of a masonry mass. Arches and window openings thus became much more elongated, and their vertical proportions could be exaggerated at will, much like the proportions of a Gothic church interior through the elongation of compound piers and colonnettes. The ancient proportional rules formulaically relating the width and height of arches were thereby abandoned. Such changed relationships among the supporting members, and the arches and vaults they carried, required also the rethinking of the role of interior string-courses used as dividers between the vertical supports (walls, columns, piers) and the superstructure (arches, vaults). Because of the introduction of "stilting" and the resulting elongation of vertical members, it became necessary to introduce a number of string-courses, further emphasizing the multiplication of the interior tiers and the consequent impression of verticality. The multiplication of horizontal tiers also had as a side effect the reduction of the size of the individual mural compositions, as well as their multiplication. Clearly, changes of one aspect of architecture involved other changes, reflected also in the general approach to the pictorial embellishment of the interior.

In conducting their experiments Constantinopolitan builders were not readily abandoning all older norms and conventions. On the contrary, it should be stated that – in general – their approach as far as innovations were concerned was cautious and quite conservative. Thus, the tradition of sheathing interior wall and pier surfaces continued to be exercised with the same rigor as in late antique buildings. Finding and even producing sheets of marble for such purposes was much easier and cheaper than acquiring column shafts, which continued to be a prize commodity during this period. As in late antique and Early Byzantine architecture, the curved surfaces of the superstructure – arches and vaults – were given over to pictorial representations, usually executed in mosaic technique. The changed scale and proportions of church buildings went hand in hand with changes in the nature of the decorative programs. Despite the variety of scenes and individual images depicted in churches, an underlying set of general principles became a norm, carefully coordinated with the new architectural conventions.[39] The establishment of spatial hierarchies, both vertically and horizontally, was exercised in architecture and mural decoration with unprecedented sophistication. Functionally and symbolically speaking, Constantinopolitan church architecture of this period must be considered among the greatest Byzantine architectural achievements of all times, especially from the point of view of the successful integration of multiple media into a unified aesthetic statement.

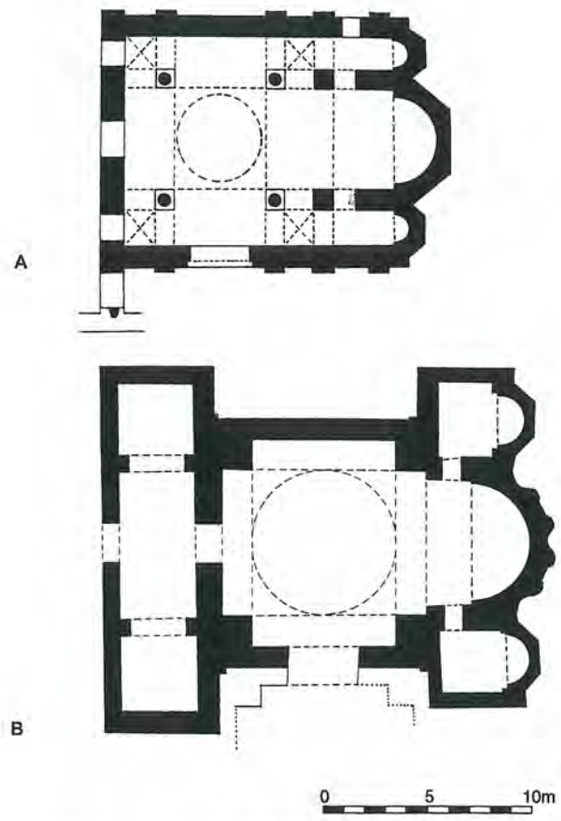
Also important in this context is the attention given to the articulation of church exteriors. Domed churches, which undoubtedly constituted most churches built during this period, reveal that particular attention was given to the centrality of planning and the role of the dome in that context. Not only was

the dome generally centered in relationship to the naos, but also to the overall plan of the church, which often included a variety of subsidiary spaces. Furthermore, the dome dominated the church mass externally, its proportions fashioned so as to culminate the generally pyramidal composition of the building as a whole. Commonly, this involved an elongated dome drum, whose faces were pierced with tall and narrow windows. Tall drums became structurally feasible, as the span of domes decreased and therefore the dangers caused by lateral thrusts experienced in earlier Byzantine churches became substantially reduced, if not eliminated. Shallow arcades, occasionally blind, but normally containing windows and doors on the ground level, articulated exterior wall surfaces, including those of drums. Individual arcades on the main building façades were framed by wall pilasters, while their size was determined by the dimensions of the spatial units within, emphasizing the degree of design sophistication. Individual arcades were further articulated by means of so-called skewbacks, stepped recesses, that emphasize the plasticity of the wall, and that enliven its exterior surfaces by patterns of light and shade without precedent in earlier developments. The edges of multiple skewbacks framing individual arcades, doors, windows, and occasional blind niches, contributed significantly to the making of linear textures on the exterior. This aesthetic quality, likewise, may be compared to similar "linear effects" in the handling of windows, portals, and other features of church façades in Gothic architecture, though the manner in which these were achieved differed vastly.

In addition to the degree of plasticity and their "textured" quality, the façades of Constantinopolitan churches were also marked by patterns inherent in the building techniques. In addition to the conventional, centuries-old methods of alternating several courses of brick with several courses of carefully cut ashlars, other building techniques also appeared. One of these, known as the "recessed brick" technique, was long thought to have been the exclusive hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Frequently used in buildings of the city, it found broad application over a wide geographic territory, and it lasted beyond the twelfth century.[40] The banding effect inherent in the "recessed brick" technique is but one of many colorful aspects of façade articulation during this period. Meander friezes, dogtooth cornices, and a variety of individual motifs (such as "sun-burst discs," "indented hearts") all became part of a decorative vocabulary aimed at enlivening the exterior surface of the church.[41] Thus, despite its small size, or perhaps because of it, the Middle Byzantine Constantinopolitan church became a precious object, reminiscent in some ways of gem-studded reliquaries, which were often made in the form of miniature churches. This, too, it should be noted, is a phenomenon that is conceptually comparable to Western developments. Finally, an aspect of façade articulation about which very little information is preserved in Constantinople is their plastering and painting. Preserved by chance, evidence pointing to this practice in the Byzantine capital has come to light only recently, but its application may have been far more common than is currently thought.[42] The last point focuses on an extremely important issue regarding Byzantine architecture in general. The painting of church façades, indeed, may have been an important defining element in what we think of as building aesthetics and, therefore, in what is understood as the "style" of architecture. This important problem cannot be resolved here, and must remain open for further discussion.

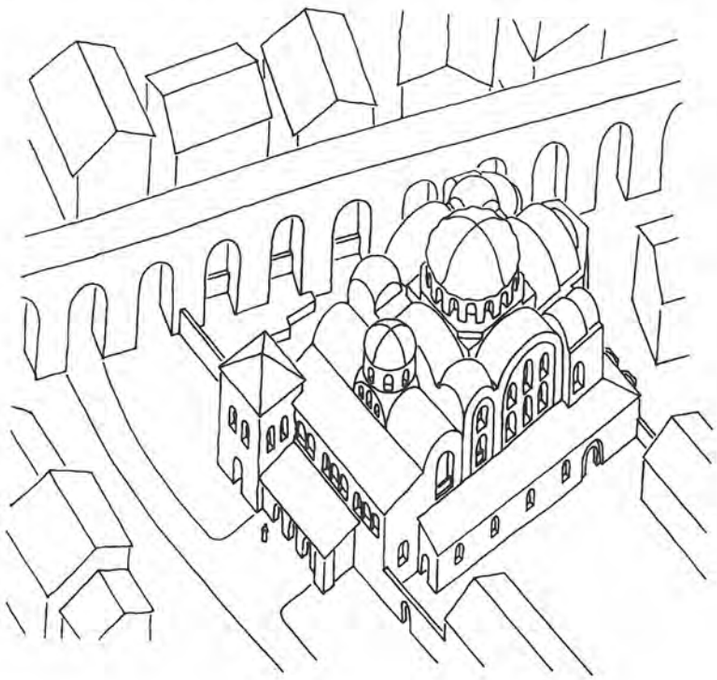
The surviving evidence – both physical and textual – for church construction in Constantinople during this period appears to suggest that significant building had a relatively slow start before the middle of the eleventh century. Once the building momentum began, it lasted virtually without interruption until the Latin occupation in 1204. What seems paradoxical in this context is that Basil II, whose reconquests of territories in the Balkans spurred major architectural production in those regions, left nothing of significance that may be associated with his name in the capital. Our survey of what is known about Byzantine church and monastic architecture in Constantinople during the eleventh and twelfth centuries will begin with a consideration of building restoration and remodeling, an activity whose role following the end of Iconoclasm was continuously increasing. Economics and practicalities were certainly significant factors in these matters. However, the role of the past with all its venerable associations must not be underestimated. At times, one might argue that maintaining an old building would have been more difficult and expensive than constructing a new one. Yet, other considerations must have occasionally intervened, causing patrons to invest in expensive upgrading projects of venerable older structures. An outstanding example of such an approach is the church of the celebrated Studios Monastery. The basilican church, already six hundred years old by the middle of the eleventh century, had undergone a series of repairs during the intervening centuries. It appears that at no time was it contemplated to pull down the venerable building and replace it with a new one. Thus when Emperor Isaak I Komnenos (1057–59) became a patron of the monastery, his work focused on the "beautification" of the church, though the precise meaning of this term unfortunately remains unclear. The project would seem to have continued under Michael VII Dukas, who, in 1078, may have been responsible for commissioning a new *opus sectile* floor for the church.[43]

A different restoration approach was employed by the patrons of the katholikon of the Chora Monastery, which underwent two extensive remodeling phases during the very period of time we



381 Constantinople, Monastery of Chora, katholikon: (A) 11th-century; (B) 12th century; plans

382 Constantinople, Kalenderhane Camii, 12th-century church; axonometric



are considering. The first of these is associated with the patronage of Maria Dukaina, the mother-in-law of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Between 1077 and 1081 she is believed to have commissioned the construction of a cross-in-square church on the site of the remains of an older, probably sixth-century monastic structure (fig. 381A).[44] The new building, possibly damaged in an earthquake, was completely replaced within several decades by another church, apparently built under the patronage of Isaak Komnenos, brother of Emperor John II (1118–43). The new church adopted a domed-cross plan, a scheme essentially anachronistic at the time (fig. 381B). In all likelihood, the solution had to do with an attempt to resolve rationally the problem inherent in the previous structure, whose collapse may have been ascribed to the choice of the structural system – the main dome supported on four slender freestanding columns. The new solution replaced the columns with massive piers occupying the corners of the square naos (9.5 × 9.5 m). In the process the naos was widened, now covered by a dome whose diameter of 7.5 meters considerably exceeded the probable span of only 4.5 meters of its predecessor. This church, too, eventually fell victim, probably, to an earthquake and was extensively altered during the first decades of the fourteenth century, about which more in the following chapter. The most interesting aspect of the relatively quick succession of two different planning schemes at the Chora is that they may be associated with members of the same workshop. The remaining elements of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches reveal that the two buildings were constructed using a practically identical recessed-brick building technique. This suggests that the twelfth-century masons working at the Chora may have actually been trained by the builders of the eleventh-century church.

Yet another variation on the theme of "restoration" in twelfth-century Constantinople is exemplified by the church of the Virgin Kyriotissa, probably the katholikon of an unknown monastery, and now known by its Turkish name as Kalenderhane Camii.[45] The twelfth-century construction phase is the most important preserved component of this enormously interesting and informative monastic site, whose evolution through history we have touched on in previous chapters. In this particular case we do not know what may have prompted the rebuilding of the church. Whatever the causes, the result was unusual in many respects. Its predecessor, the so-called Bema Church, constructed in the seventh or early eighth century, was evidently deliberately dismantled, except for its vaulted bema, and replaced by a cross-domed church (fig. 382). Various aspects of the older structure and other constraints on the site dictated to a considerable degree the configuration of the new structure. Again, on account of its size, conditioned by the preserved apse of the older, basilican church, the builders opted for a conser-

vative design scheme. The new church was large by Middle Byzantine standards, measuring 26 × 40 meters in its overall dimensions, including the two narthexes and a portico. The central building core, still substantially preserved, measures approximately 19 × 19 meters, over the middle of which rises a dome, 8 meters in diameter (fig. 383). The dome is situated at the intersection of the deep, barrel-vaulted arms of a cross that rest on four corner pier clusters. This concept recalls earlier solutions, such as Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. The massive character of the structural supports at Kalenderhane were surely the result of the need to make the building tall, responding to the inherited height of the bema, and incorporating galleries over its western parts. The three arms of the cross opened through tribelons into the surrounding spaces, an inner narthex on the west side and strangely narrow and low ambulatories on the south and north sides. These no longer survive, presently exposing the very tall core of the original building to full view. The exterior of the church was once further enlivened by a dome that rose over the inner narthex and its gallery, and by domes above three of the four pier clusters, but none of these survives. The asymmetrical appearance of the building would have been further emphasized by a tower, now also lost, which rose over the northwestern corner, over the foundations of the late antique bath that stood on the site in the fifth century (see Chapter 3). The asymmetry must have been a deliberate aesthetic choice. Less can be said about significant irregularities in the construction of the building. No two walls seem to have been built at right angles; the ambulatories had varying widths; and the construction of the twelve-sided ribbed dome reveals irregularities uncommon not only in the architecture of the capital, but also almost anywhere in the Byzantine world. The reasons for such sloppiness in construction – rare in the architecture of Constantinople – are not easily found. This is all the more surprising because the building size and its relatively lavish interior decoration have been viewed as evidence of imperial patronage.[46] Here it is important to remember that the building was constructed sometime between 1195 and 1204, on the eve of the Latin conquest of Constantinople and during a period of highly distorted standards. In fact, one could argue that the church was a perfect symbol of its age – large in size, ostentatious in appearance, but built in haste without any attention paid to the usual building norms. It may be thought of as an irrational act of vanity, one of many that were associated with this moment of total social and political chaos. It was only a short time after its completion that it became a Latin church under the new rulers of Constantinople.

Judging from the preserved evidence, restoration efforts in Constantinople during the eleventh and twelfth centuries reflect general attitudes that were common already during the preceding centuries. A "restoration" undertaking could imply a range of interventions – from using highly conservative measures to preserve as much of the old structure as possible, to drastic approaches, where the only thing that might be respected was the site of the older church. Under the rubric of "restoration" we need to consider also certain other design and construction attitudes that reflect close links with the past. Thus, reuse of ancient elements, especially of column shafts and capitals, continued, as did the application of marble revetments on the walls of church interiors up to the springing points of arches and vaults. Materials for wall revetments, as we learn from Choniatēs, were pilfered from the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors, for the purpose of restoration of the church of Archangel Michael at Anaplous, at the orders of Isaak II Angelos.[47] Chronologically, this would have occurred just a few years before the beginning of construction at Kalenderhane, where lavish marble revetments and multiple marble architectural spoils are strongly in evidence.

The surviving churches of Constantinople that were built *ex novo* indicate that the so-called cross-in-square may have become the most popular church type during this time. At least eight such churches are known from this period. Of these only three were certainly imperial foundations. The remaining five – most of whose names and dedications we do not even know – were most likely private foundations. Likewise, these five churches were not only comparatively small, but in certain cases were also

383 Constantinople, Kalenderhane Camii, 12th-century church; general view from S

384 Constantinople, Kilise Camii; general view from SE

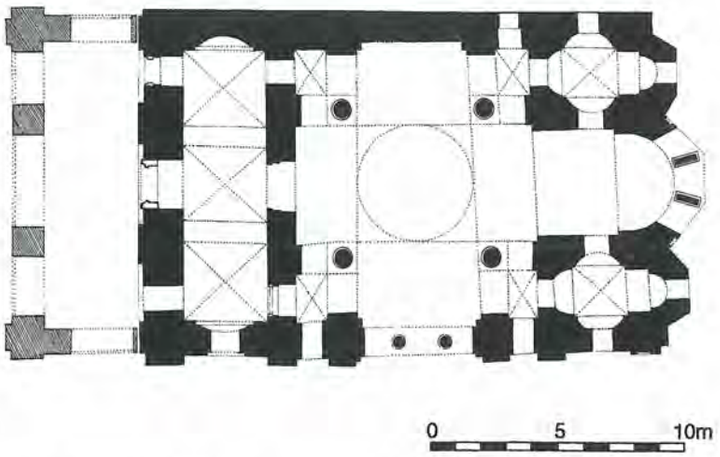
outright modest by Constantinopolitan standards. The smallest and simplest of all appears to have been a church of unknown dedication, known only as Sekbanbaşi Mescidi.[48] Its remains destroyed in 1943, this was a small building (only 10 × 13 m in plan), characterized by a four-column naos and an oblong narthex. What distinguished this church most from the rest of Constantinopolitan churches was the absence of an additional bay between its apses and the naos; the iconostasis in this case evidently related to the eastern pair of the four columns that supported the dome. Equally uncharacteristic locally was the semi-cylindrical exterior form of all three apses. Closely related is another church, sometimes referred to as Hagios Ioannis en to Troulo (Hiramî Ahmet Paşa Mescidi in Turkish), whose history before 1453 is completely obscure.[49] Fully preserved, though heavily restored, it measures approximately 9 × 16 meters in plan. It differs from Sekbanbaşi Mescidi only insofar that its bema had the usual additional bay, separating it from the cross-in-square naos. The dome, 4 meters in diameter, is supported on four fine reused fifth-century columns, the main arches and vaults springing directly from the tops of the capitals. This contributes to the very squat proportions of the building, which seem to differ considerably from other churches dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Other features, such as the semi-cylindrical form of the three apses and the cylindrical exterior form of the dome drum, reinforce this impression. The twelfth-century date ascribed to this church without documentary evidence, therefore, must be taken with caution. If proven accurate, it would suggest that lesser patrons of architecture in Constantinople did not have access to the best building workshops operating in the city at the time, and that they may have relied on building teams from elsewhere. Another unknown church, known only by its Turkish name Odalar Camii, slightly larger than the preceding two examples, may also have belonged to a privately endowed monastery.[50] Measuring 13 × 19.5 meters excluding the outer porticoes, its remains were studied before their final demise in the 1950s. Rebuilt on several occasions, the building had a lower church or crypt (possibly belonging to the twelfth century), while its fully developed Constantinopolitan cross-in-square upper church may have been the product of an extensive rebuilding after the great fire of 1203. The lower church was used for burials, but the dates and possible identities of the occupants have never been adequately explored.

Another four preserved cross-in-square churches constitute a group in their own right. Distinguished not only by their larger size, but also by their construction technique and stylistic details, they may be said to reflect the essential characteristics of the Constantinopolitan architectural style of this period described in detail above. Since three of the four churches are unmistakably associated with imperial patronage, one is inclined to assign all four to building workshops operating under imperial auspices. The smallest of the four – the so-called Kilise Camii – is not known by its Byzantine name, but may be the oldest church of the group, possibly dating from as early as *circa* 1000.[51] In its original state, the church, measuring 11 × 19 meters, was preceded by an oblong narthex terminating in shallow segmental niches in its lateral walls. The broad exonarthex of the church, as well as a belfry, an open portico, and a chapel along the south flank of the church, were all added in the fourteenth century (see Chapter 8). Built in alternating layers of single courses of stone and multiple courses of brick, the church displays the rigor characteristic of Constantinopolitan construction in general (fig. 384). The lateral walls lack surface articulation, save for the central bay containing a tribelon on the ground level and a triple "thermal window" directly below the barrel-vaulted arms of the cross. The central bay is framed by triple skewbacks, emphasizing the plasticity of the building form, in contrast to the two-dimensional effect of the surrounding walls. Plasticity of form is also highlighted at the east end, where the windows and tall blind niches are framed within double recesses. The same is true of the small blind niches in the "attic" zones of the three apses, corresponding in their placement to the openings and blind niches of the lower zone. The eight-sided dome drum is perforated by eight windows, each of which is framed by double skewbacks. Each corner of the drum is marked by a slender cylindrical colonnette executed in alternating bands of stone and brick, integrally built with the surrounding masonry of the drum walls. The protruding colonnettes support projecting double dogtooth friezes that curve over the arched frames of each of the windows, creating a "rippled eave" effect, characteristic of Constantinopolitan domes. This may be one of the oldest preserved Middle Byzantine examples that did not undergo alterations during

Ottoman times. Internally, the dome is scalloped, revealing another characteristic feature of architecture in the capital.

The church of Christ Pantepoptes (now Eski Imaret Camii) was built, possibly before 1087, by Anna Dalassena, the mother of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). The church was the katholikon of a nunnery into which the aged patroness retired *circa* 1100.[52] Though not very large – 14 × 22 meters (not counting an open porch on the west side) in plan – the church displays many characteristics that place it among the finest architectural achievements in Constantinople (fig. 385). The cross-in-square unit, much as at Kilise Camii, was framed by a fully developed tripartite sanctuary at the east end, and by an oblong narthex terminating in shallow segmental niches within its lateral walls. Beyond this basic scheme, the church reveals its sophistication in the handling of various details. The lateral chapels flanking its bema, for example, are small tetraconchs, as opposed to the triconchs at the Kilise Camii, while its south façade (the only one fully visible) reveals a system of articulation directly related to the spatial articulation of the interior (fig. 385). Furthermore, the externally delineated bays are framed by double and triple skewbacks, each bay containing carefully centered doors and windows. Built of stone and brick on the ground level, the upper parts of the church are practically all-brick construction. Projecting stone string-courses outline certain significant levels, also inside the building. The church had an upper level above the narthex, whose corner bays extended into areas corresponding to the western corner bays of the cross-in-square scheme on the ground level, in a manner recalling that in the tenth-century North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips (see Chapter 6). The original function of this gallery space is unknown, though it is clear that it was accessible through an exterior door on the south façade, now blocked. This door was presumably linked to some part of the monastery compound, all of which has disappeared without trace. The exterior walls of the church display a sparing use of decorative patterns: interlocking chevrons, meanders, and "sun-burst" discs. Used in a rigidly confined manner, these, along with the wall surfaces themselves, may have been completely plastered over and painted in emulation of a building *opus*.[53] The aesthetic effect of such exterior treatment would have played a considerable role in the appearance of buildings, but conjuring this must be left entirely to one's imagination. It should be noted that the dome of Pantepoptes, with an interior diameter of 4.5 meters, is elevated on a twelve-sided drum, whose exterior is articulated in a manner closely resembling the main dome drum of Kilise Camii (fig. 386).

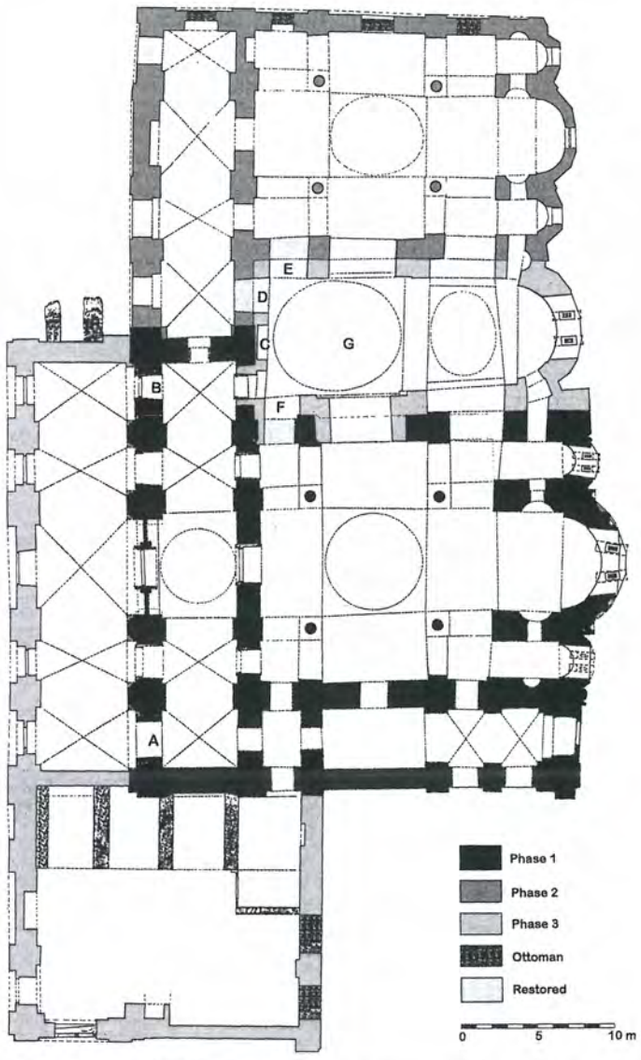
The highest level of sophistication in the application of the cross-in-square design scheme is encountered in the two churches built within the compound of the Pantokrator Monastery (now Zeyrek Camii) by members of the Komnenian imperial dynasty (fig. 387). The first, and the more resplendent of the two, was the church of Christ the Pantokrator, commissioned by Empress Irene with her husband Emperor John II Komnenos, between 1118 and 1124.[54] Upon its completion, but before 1136, Emperor John II added another similar church, dedicated to Eleousa (the Virgin of Mercy), on the north side of the complex. Subsequently, and still before 1136, the third, single-aisled church dedicated to Archangel Michael, was squeezed in between the two larger buildings (fig. 387). The south church, dedicated to Christ the Pantokrator, was, as far as we know, the largest cross-in-square church in Constantinople. Measuring 19 × 32.5 meters in plan, and featuring a dome 7 meters in diameter, it consisted of a square naos, extending eastward into a tripartite sanctuary, and preceded on the west side by an oblong, single-domed narthex, 30 meters in length. The enormous narthex extended laterally 5.5 meters beyond the width of the building core. On the south side, this projection corresponded to the width of a space that extended along the south flank of the church all the way to its eastern limit. The function of this space remains a mystery, as does the question whether a comparable space may have been contemplated along the north side as well. The perfectly symmetrical arrangement of the narthex with its lateral projections would seem to imply such an arrangement. The large, sixteen-sided main dome, internally ribbed, was originally carried on four very large red marble columns, apparently spoils from an unknown late antique building, which must have augmented the monumentality of the interior. The columns were removed in Ottoman times for another function and were replaced by the present Turkish-Baroque piers. The interior, about whose functional content we know a considerable amount from the surviving typikon (dated 1136), was lavishly furnished, and must have been one of the most resplendent



385 Constantinople, Christ Pantepoptes; plan

386 Constantinople, Christ Pantepoptes; dome

interior spaces in all of Constantinople.[55] It was outlined by a splendid *opus sectile* floor, one of the masterpieces of that medium. The church is also renowned for its wall revetments (preserved in the bema alone), for its sculptural decoration, and for the remains of its stained-glass windows. None of these features is satisfactorily preserved, yet an idea of their splendor may be conjured. On the other hand, absolutely nothing of the original mosaic program has survived, and none of the original elements of church furniture has been preserved *in situ*. Full appreciation of the splendor of the Pantokrator church as it must have appeared in the twelfth century, therefore, is a taxing enterprise for one's imagination. The exterior of the church must have been considerably more modest than its interior. Yet, in its present state, it is just as elusive as the original interior. Built in a sophisticated manner by contemporary standards, utilizing the current "recessed-brick" construction technique, the church was characterized by external articulation that matched its interior spatial disposition. External bays are framed by double, triple, and quadruple skewbacks that must have given the original façades a lively texture and pronounced plasticity. The best sense of the sophistication of design may be gleaned from the east façade. Dominated by attenuated windows and equally attenuated wall niches, framed by double recesses and arranged in two tiers, the east façade reveals the extent to which the proportions of individual elements of buildings had changed by the 1130s (fig. 388). Such characteristics also apply to the proportions of church furniture – the original iconostasis screen and the ambo – fragmentary evidence for both of which has survived. Contemporary Komnenian painting and sculpture display a similar elongation of proportions. In other words, this general aesthetic



387 Constantinople, Pantokrator Monastery, complex of churches; plan

388 Constantinople, Pantokrator Monastery, S. Church; east end

attitude, as one of the chief characteristics of the Komnenian style in architecture and art alike, has one of its finest exponents in this building.

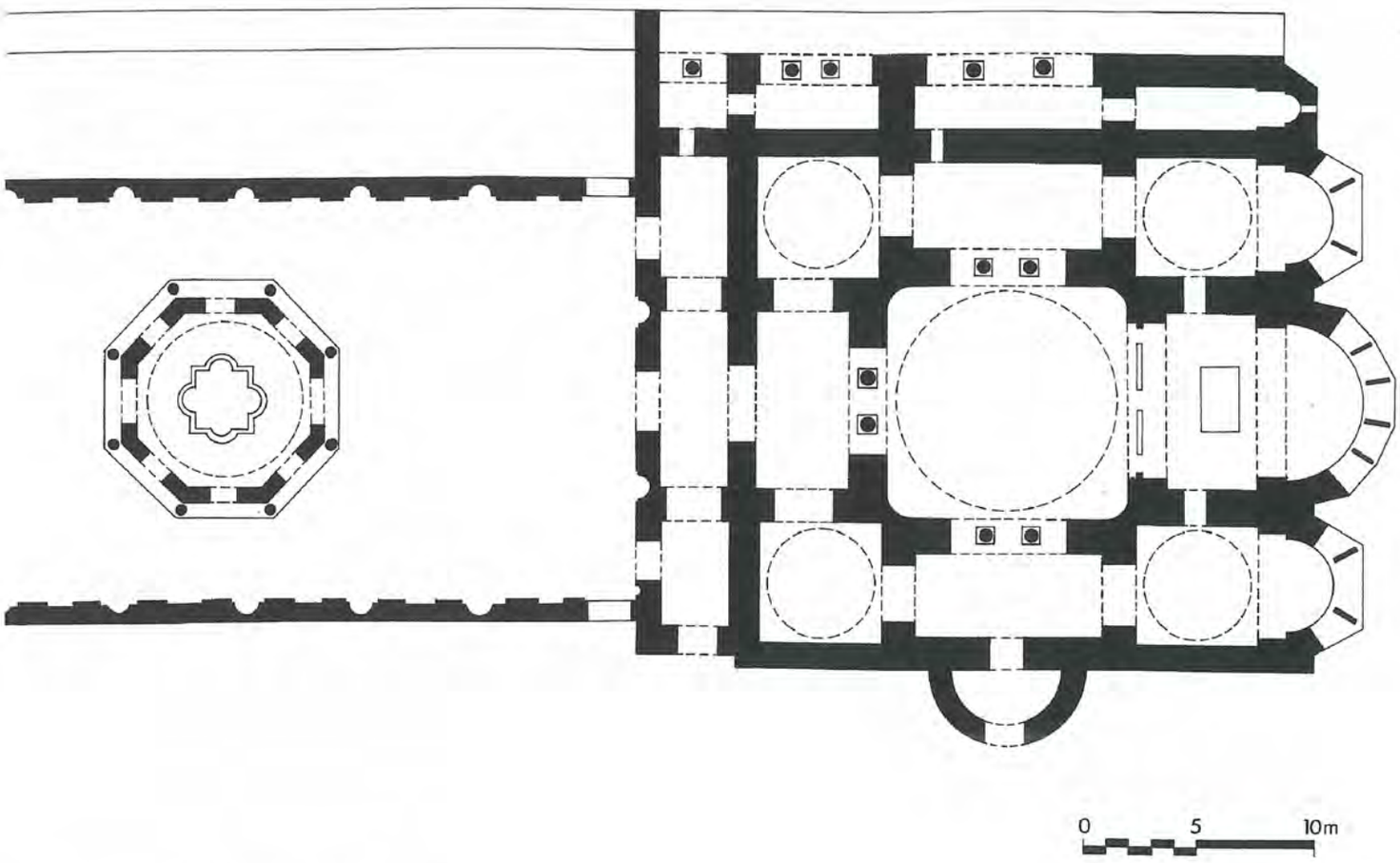
The north church of the Pantokrator Monastery complex, dedicated to Eleousa, repeats the main planning scheme, though without the degree of sophistication seen in the Pantokrator church. Slightly smaller than its predecessor (16 × 29 m), this is still a very large cross-in-square church. The pronounced irregularities of its central domed square may well be the results of later damage and repairs carried out on the building. The dome with its clumsy cylindrical drum perforated by eight large windows, and no internal ribbing or scalloping (characteristic of the other four domes in the complex), is probably the result of Ottoman rebuilding. The visible exterior façades of the church, and particularly the east façade, reveal not only a close stylistic relationship with the church of the Pantokrator, but such technical similarities that the two buildings must be deemed the work of the same workshop, constructed in close succession. The church of Eleousa was distinguished by the fact that it was accessible to the public at large. As the focus of an important cult – that of the famous *Hodegetria* icon, periodically brought in procession from the church of Blacherna – the Eleousa church played a significant role in the life of the city. Its public role was but one of the public functions of the Pantokrator Monastery. Conceived of and endowed as a major philanthropic institution, the monastery was the most important monastic as well as civic institution in Constantinople during the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire. Relatively little of the complex has survived, save for two large cisterns and a few fragmentary wall remains. The complex is known because of the detailed description in the

typikon. Besides the remaining churches, the monastery also included a hospital with five departments and fifty beds, a medical school, an apothecary, a hostel, a home for the aged, baths, and workshops for a variety of trades. The high public profile of the monastery eventually led to its active role in the political life of the empire during the last two centuries of its existence. Its grip on the population of Constantinople must have been so great that it evidently caused Mehmed II to close the monastery immediately after the conquest of the city in 1453.

Before leaving the Pantokrator Monastery, we must consider one of its idiosyncratic functions, related specifically to the church of Archangel Michael. Sandwiched between the churches of the Pantokrator and the Eleousa, this church was planned as the mausoleum of the Komnenian dynasty. In terms of its architectural style and construction techniques, it is indistinguishable from its two larger neighbors. It is its unique design and function that are deserving of particular notice. The plan in many ways was determined by the space left between the neighboring churches, at its west side hemmed in by their adjoining narthexes. Notwithstanding the fact that it is the smallest of the three churches, and in some ways resembling a subsidiary chapel of the other two, the church of Archangel Michael was by no means a small building. Measuring 10.5 × 21.5 meters in plan, it defies conventional typological classification. Its design appears to have evolved in the course of its construction; originally, it may have been conceived as a huge single-aisled domed church.[56] Its sixteen-sided western dome, though lower than the main domes of the other two churches, is in fact the largest dome in the entire complex. Ovoid in plan, its maximum span is 8.5 meters, while its minimum span is 7.5 meters. Structurally buttressed by the flanking buildings, it rests on four thin arches and correspondingly slender piers, while much of the area between the piers was left open, linking the church with its neighbors. The eastern dome rises over what may seem to be the sanctuary proper of the church. Because none of the original church furnishings has been preserved, we may wonder whether the area under the eastern dome constituted a separate chapel, making the area under the western dome a large narthex. Considering the fact that the imperial burials were concentrated in the western part of the building, and that burials under the naos dome and in the sanctuary were generally avoided in Byzantine practice, such an interpretation of the disposition of the church of Archangel Michael is feasible. In any case, the church is known to have contained the impressive tombs of the Komnenian emperors, notably those of John II and Manuel I, their spouses, and other members of the imperial family. The church was also renowned for the famous "Red Stone of Ephesos," believed to be the Stone of Unction on which the dead body of Christ was placed after His removal from the Cross. It was Emperor Manuel I who acquired it, and had it placed within the imperial mausoleum with the clear intention of underscoring the relationship between the imperial burials and the holy relic directly associated with the death of Christ. No association could have been more powerful and, from the religious and ideological points of view, more attractive.

Four additional churches built during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Constantinople form a coherent group. All of them belonged to the type known as the "cross-domed church with ambulatories." All four were imperial foundations, and for three of them we can say that they were fairly large buildings by contemporary standards. The oldest of the four – the church of Theotokos (the Virgin) Perivleptos – is known from written sources only.[57] Damaged in a major fire in 1782, the church and other monastic buildings have since disappeared completely. The building was recorded in the early fifteenth century by a Spanish ambassador, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, who visited it at the time when it was still the katholikon of a functioning monastery. The monastery and the church were built under the auspices of Emperor Romanos III (1028–34); the church was apparently restored under Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078–81). The church, we are told, was approached through a large courtyard with many different types of trees. Externally decorated with images, it is said to have contained five altars and the tombs of two emperors, presumably the two patrons of the monastery. The main body of the church was "a round hall, very big and tall." No Middle Byzantine church is known to have been truly round, so this must mean that the central space was large, essentially square in plan, and domed. Since this "hall" is said to have been enclosed "all round by three aisles which are joined to it," it is quite safe to assume that the main space was separated from ambulatories by columnar screens. On account of its implied great height, it may have also had galleries. At the ends of the ambulatories and the corresponding galleries above them may have been two pairs of chapels, flanking the central bema on two levels. This would account for the "five altars" referred to in the text. The monastery included a large refectory decorated with mosaics with a long white marble table in its midst. Other features of this refectory that were described by Clavijo may be compared to monastic refectories elsewhere. It should be noted that no monastic refectory of Byzantine Constantinople has been preserved. The description of the Perivleptos refectory provided by Clavijo, therefore, is all the more important.

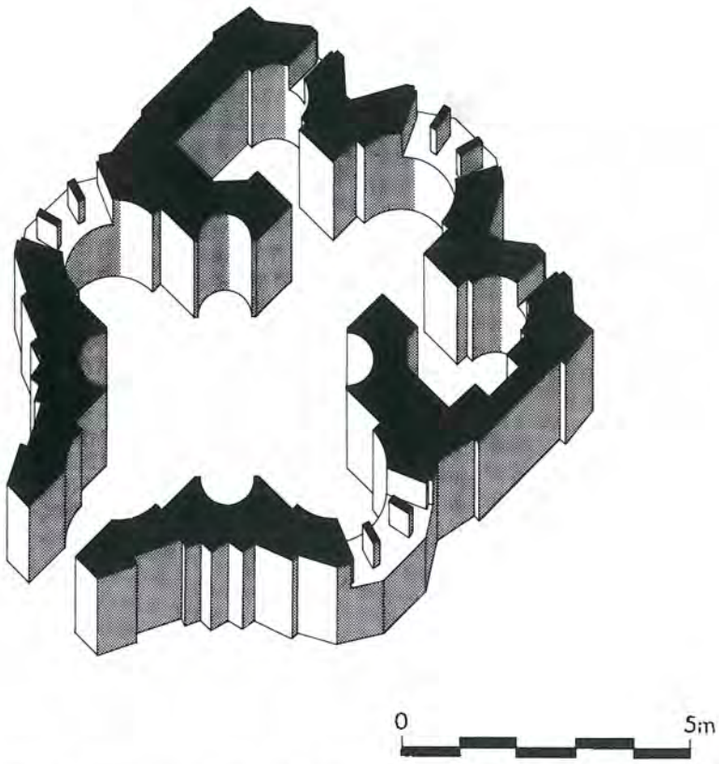
The church of Hagios Georgios of Mangana, built under the auspices of Emperor Constantine IX (1042–59), has also been completely destroyed. Unlike Theotokos Perivleptos, its substructures have been laid bare by the extensive archaeological excavations conducted in the 1920s (fig. 389).[58] Like Theotokos Perivleptos, the church of Hagios Georgios is also known from



389 Constantinople, H. Georgios of Mangana; plan

written sources that enhance our idea of this important building. It, too, was the katholikon of a large monastery situated on the sloping terrain just below the eastern flank of the present Topkapi Palace. The monastery was in the proximity of the Mangana Palace, also built by Constantine IX. The complex, as described by Michael Psellos, was so vast as to be fit for horse-riding, consisting of gardens and meadows all arranged on terraces, with abundant water and equipped with baths.[59] The monastery church was preceded by a large atrium-like court, in the middle of which stood a monumental octagonal *phiale* recalling that in front of the katholikon of the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos. The structure was undoubtedly domed, and contained an octagonal quatrefoil font in the center. The walls of the court framing this *phiale* were richly articulated with wall niches and multi-layered pilasters with engaged semi-cylindrical colonnettes. All of the features were executed in brick, in the characteristic recessed-brick technique, embellished with additional decorative patterns. This lively articulation of walls has stylistic parallels in Constantinople and elsewhere, as far east as Russia, while its origins have been sought in the architectural traditions of Armenia and Georgia.[60]

The church of Hagios Georgios itself was an ambitious undertaking, as may be gleaned from its plan, as well as from Psellos' scathing criticism of the patron. According to Psellos, the building was pulled down on two occasions, after having been already substantially built, because of the vain emperor's dissatisfaction with the result.[61] From Psellos we learn that the reasons for the emperor's whimsical decisions may have been several. On the one hand, we are led to believe that the proximity of the residence of his lover, Maria Skleraina, gave the emperor the pretext for taking an overly keen interest in the building of the church. On the other hand, the emperor is said to have wanted to rival other churches in Constantinople in size. It is true that the building was large (24 × 29 m; 27.5 × 33 m including the outer porticoes), and that its main dome, with a diameter of 10 meters, was the largest among the known Middle Byzantine domes in Constantinople. Even so, its dome was only one-third the size of the dome of Hagia Sophia. Here we must wonder whether



390 Constantinople, Heybeliada, Panagia Kamariotissa; axonometric

391 Constantinople, Heybeliada, Panagia Kamariotissa; general view from SE

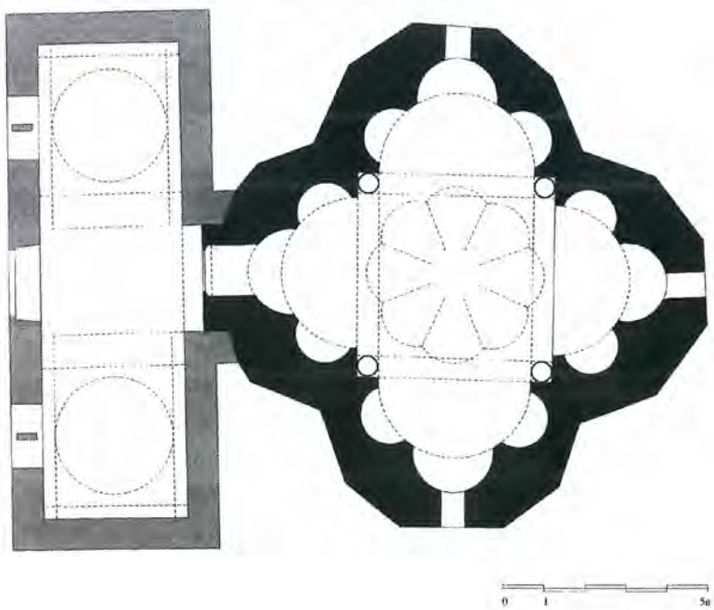
Psellos' assertion that "the Emperor had not quite succeeded in his contest with the other churches, and having vied with one in particular, had won second prize," could have meant that he had Hagia Sophia in mind, as has been assumed.[62] The difference in magnitude between the two buildings is major. The plan of the entire church of Hagios Georgios could have been inscribed into the inner circle of the base of the dome of Hagia Sophia – the diagonal of the former matching almost exactly the diameter of the latter. More likely, then, the rivalry Psellos was referring to related to another, probably contemporary building, whose identity remains unknown. Hagios Georgios was a cross-domed church with ambulatories, but with some variations on the type. The massive piers on which the main dome rested were variants of conventional cruciform piers. Regular cruciform piers, incidentally, were used routinely in the construction of the church's substructures. By changing the configuration of the main piers, the builder was evidently able to increase the size of the dome from 8 meters to 10 meters. Possibly, the changes to which Psellos referred involved the alteration of the main piers along the lines just described. The result was an unusual scheme in which the four corner compartments are square spaces, 5 × 5 meters in plan, while the connecting ambulatory spaces are narrower, only 4 meters wide. The corner compartments may have been domed and perhaps served as subsidiary chapels, recalling the presumed arrangement at the Nea Ekklesia within the Great Palace (see Chapter 6).[63] The piers supporting the main dome of Hagios Georgios were characterized by their curving inner corners, a feature rarely encountered in Byzantine architecture, but more at home in the architecture of Armenia. It was this feature, along with a related solution in the small eleventh-century church of Panagia Kamariotissa, on the island of Chalkē (present Heybeliada) in the Sea of Marmara, that provided scholars with evidence of possible Armenian impact on the Middle Byzantine architecture of Constantinople.[64] Though miniscule in size (7.5 × 9 m; 12 m including the narthex), Panagia Kamariotissa displays a richness of spatial articulation not encountered in other preserved churches of Constantinople, but not infrequent in provincial centers in the Balkans during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (fig. 390). Its square core, barely 3 meters across, has its corners clipped at a 45° angle, and tiny, attenuated niches set into them. The intervening spaces open into four apsed arms, the eastern one of which is longer, designed to accommodate the altar table and to provide access into the lateral chapels flanking the sanctuary. Externally, the church, even in its poorly preserved state, shows formal characteristics of eleventh-century architecture (fig. 391). Marked by elongated proportions, it features highly stilted windows in its apses, above which small niches intensify the sense of elongation and the plasticity of the walls. The general dating of these formal features is strengthened by the presence of the "concealed brick" technique throughout the building.

The Panagia Kamariotissa, for all its extraordinary characteristics, was not an isolated building in eleventh-century Constantinople. Recent research indicates that the church of the Panagiotissa (better known as Panagia Mouchliotissa, after its

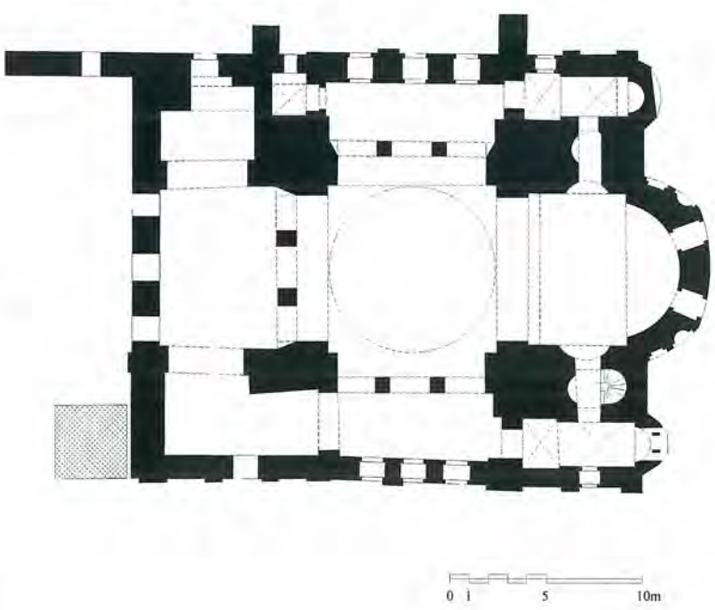
second founder, one Maria Palaeologina or Maria of the Mongols [tōn Mougoulōn]), previously believed to be a late thirteenth-century construction, was actually initially built during the eleventh century.[65] Closely related to the Panagia Kamariotissa, the original church was also a tetraconch, only slightly larger than its counterpart on the island of Chalkē (fig. 392). Measuring 12 × 12 meters in its original form, the church was expanded, soon after the original construction, by the addition of a narthex (13 × 5 m in plan). Greatly disfigured by the later modifications and covered – externally and internally – by thick coats of plaster, the building has lost much of its original elegance. It is clear, however, that its central domed space originally had four late antique engaged columns supporting the four pendentives. Four semicircular apses, each articulated internally by three absidioles, frame the central square (only 3.8 × 3.8 m in plan). The dome is internally scalloped and was marked externally by double engaged colonnettes between the windows. A similar system of exterior articulation is known from the katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos (see fig. 324). Ironically, though the church of Panagiotissa is the only remaining Byzantine church in the city that was never converted into a mosque, it is one of the most disfigured buildings, as a result of its continuous use and changing needs. Nonetheless, it is a major testimony to the intensive building in the capital during the eleventh century, much of the activity stemming from private patronage.

The second large cross-domed church with ambulatories is the best preserved of the four monuments in this group, yet ironically we know practically nothing about it. It is known only by its Turkish name – Gül Camii – while earlier scholarly efforts to identify it either as the church of Hagia Theodosia or the katholikon of the Evergetis Monastery have failed in resolving the issue.[66] Measuring 20 × 25 meters (36 m with the exonarthex), the church was only slightly smaller than Hagios Georgios of Mangana (fig. 393). Erected on an artificial platform created by a system of vaulted passages and chambers, the church recalls the Mangana counterpart in that regard as well. The layout of the two lower stories is completely different, however, while their possible function is unknown. The core of Gül Camii is a cruciform space dominated by a 7-meter-wide dome and originally separated from the ambulatories and inner narthex by columnar screens (masonry piers have replaced the original columns). The columnar screens recur also at the gallery level. The barrel-vaulted arms of the cross, however, extend over the galleries, reaching to the exterior of the building. They rest on four extremely massive, essentially rectangular piers. The eastern pair of these piers is approximately 3 × 6 meters in plan. The ambulatories terminate in large chapels at the east end of the building, an arrangement that is repeated also on the spacious upper gallery. The exterior of the church provides an idea of its impressive overall mass, which still looms high over that portion of the city even today. Because of the substantial repairs that it underwent during its history, the building appears in a highly modified form. In the first place, the low, windowless dome that now crowns it is the result of a major reconstruction that must have taken place following an earthquake during the reign of

392 Constantinople, Panagia Mouchliotissa; plan



393 Constantinople, Gül Camii; plan



394 Constantinople, Pamakaristos Monastery, Katholikon; dome

Sultan Murad IV (1622–40). It is apparent that the entire superstructure of the building, the lateral tympana, and the walls below them, as well as most of the main apse, were rebuilt, possibly at that time. The original portions of the exterior, where preserved, reveal an adherence to the Constantinopolitan architectural style of the period at its best. The elongated blind niches that articulate the lateral apses on two levels, executed in recessed-brick technique, find their closest parallels in the apses of the south church of the Pantokrator Monastery. Because of its large size and the quality of construction, clearly reflecting its inherent importance, it is fair to assume that this must have been an imperial foundation. On the basis of its stylistic and technical details, the building is tentatively dated to around 1100.

The case of the main church of the Pammakaristos Monastery (now Fethiye Camii) is remarkably different, as far as the available evidence is concerned.[67] Here, the founder appears to have been a certain John Komnenos, a high-ranking court official, related to the imperial family. The church, as was the case with most new churches built during this period, was envisioned as the place of burial for its patron and the members of his family. Of the original building – paradoxically – only the main dome, with its supporting structure, is preserved. The rest has practically disappeared, absorbed in part into the later Palaeologan additions, and transformed later still by Ottoman interventions. Yet, on the basis of a careful study of the monument, the original church can be hypothetically restored with a fair degree of accuracy. The church, measuring 14.5 × 21.5 meters, was a relatively small version of the cross-domed type with ambulatories. Its core consisted of an atrophied cross, covered by a dome 5 meters in diameter. The barrel-vaulted arms of the cross were, in this case, very shallow (1–1.5 m in depth), resembling massive arches rather than conventional barrel vaults (fig. 394). The four large piers on which these arches rested were modified during the Ottoman interventions on the building. At the same time the three columnar screens – on the west, north, and south sides – were also removed, thus eliminating the original separation of the building core from the ambulatories.

On the basis of our analysis of the four churches just discussed, it is apparent that the cross-domed church type and the variants thereof were quite popular in Constantinople at this time. If we add to these the solutions used in the twelfth-century remodeling at the monastery of the Chora, and at Kalenderhane, we see that structural conservatism must have played an important role in the architectural development of the capital. This notion will become even more apparent when formal experimentalism, strongly evident in some of the provinces, is contrasted with the picture of the architecture in Constantinople we have just acquired.

THESSALONIKI

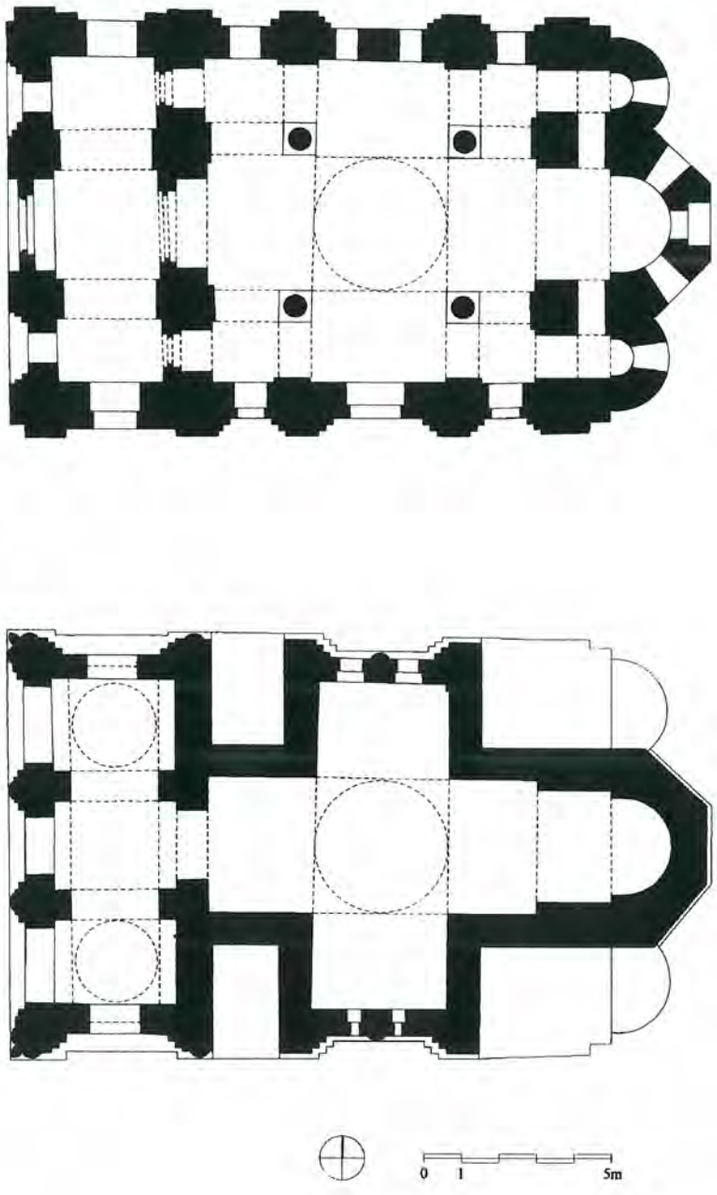
Architectural activity in the second city of the empire during the period under investigation lagged substantially behind what we have seen in the imperial capital. Essentially, this was a continuation of the pattern we saw already during much of the ninth and tenth centuries. Despite occasional intervals of relative economic prosperity, and even a leading role that at times it assumed, Thessaloniki must have continued to give the impression of a substantially dilapidated ancient city. Protected behind its massive ancient walls, it contained several venerable old churches that must have satisfied its immediate religious needs. Some of them, as was the case with Hagios Demetrios, contained religious shrines of prime importance that attracted not only the natives, but also visitors from afar. The cult of the city's patron saint, St. Demetrius, had grown steadily, particularly during the periods of major difficulties. Through various disastrous events, such as the Arab siege of 904, he acquired a new status of warrior-saint, previously not associated with him.

Thessaloniki rose to a new level of prominence under Basil II, who, in the 990s, made it his main base of operations against the Bulgarians. Periodic threats posed by foreign invaders during the eleventh century were minor compared with the assaults that the city had experienced during the preceding centuries. Preserved descriptions of an annual fair held in celebration of St. Demetrius in the western outskirts of the city, on the other hand, provide an impression of a prosperous commercial center with bustling international trade. All of this came to an end in the 1180s, which witnessed the beginning of another prolonged dark period in the city's history. The savage Norman sack of the city in 1185, followed by the massacre of its citizens, reduced Thessaloniki to ruins and left it substantially depopulated. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the city became one of the main bones of contention among the various power players in the region.[68] Initially taken by the Latins, it remained in their hands only until 1224, when Theodore I Doukas, despot of Epiros, conquered it and subsequently proclaimed himself Byzantine emperor in 1227. Theodore's "empire" became a rival to the legitimate heir to the Byzantine throne, who had established himself with his court in Nicaea. The rivalry was finally resolved in 1242, when Theodore's son, John, was forced to recognize the authority of the emperor of Nicaea, John Vatatzes, who finally took control of the city in 1246. Thus, Thessaloniki became once again, at this point symbolically, integrated into the Byzantine Empire. Finally, in 1261, it fully reclaimed its ancient status of the "second city of the empire," following the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologos.

Our knowledge of building activity in Thessaloniki from *circa* 1000 to *circa* 1250 is relatively meager. This, of course, could be a reflection of the poor rate of survival of buildings from this period. On the other hand, the fact that so many buildings from the fifth and sixth centuries, as well as the later ones from the fourteenth century, still stand would seem to indicate that the actual volume of construction during this time was relatively small.

Two monumental inscriptions executed in brick on the outer faces of an acropolis tower, mentioning the names of a *chartoularios* Andronikos Lapardas and his "servant" Michael Prosouch, and thus dated to *circa* 1167, suggest that the city's fortifications underwent some repairs during the twelfth century.[69] Along with an inscription on yet another acropolis tower near the Heptapyrgion mentioning the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Basil (1145–69), this evidence suggests that particular attention was given to the strengthening of the acropolis enclosure. This, in turn, reflects a general pattern of fortification construction under Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), during whose reign both of these interventions took place.[70] Despite their monumental inscriptions, these constitute little more than patchwork, amounting basically to limited repairs of the partially damaged towers of the old city wall.

395 Thessaloniki, Panagia Chalkeon: ground level and gallery; plans



Other interventions in several of the city's venerable churches indicate that Thessaloniki was undergoing some general facelifting during the two-and-a-half centuries in question. Thus, the city's cathedral, Hagia Sophia, acquired frescoes in its narthex during the eleventh century, while its galleries underwent substantial remodeling in the course of the twelfth century. The small fifth-century church of Hosios David also underwent repairs, as is evidenced by the *Nativity* and *Baptism* frescoes in its barrel-vaulted south cross arm. The two scenes and small fragments of two other compositions all belong to the original Christological cycle of paintings introduced into the church during the third quarter of the twelfth century. Finally, the fifth-century basilica of Acheiropoietos acquired new frescoes in its south aisle, apparently during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. What the occasion for the introduction of the standing figures and busts of the *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* may have been remains unknown. If the dating of these frescoes is correct, their painting may have occurred following the reincorporation of Thessaloniki into the legitimate Byzantine imperial orbit after 1246. The choice of the subject matter – the *Forty Martyrs* – not commonly depicted in Byzantine art, and displayed here above the entire aisle colonnade facing the south, possibly the main, church entrance, gives them added significance. Indeed, this may have been a symbolic commemoration of the great massacre of the Thessaloniki citizens following the Norman invasion of 1185.

The prosperity of any city is most readily gauged by the character of its urban architecture. Unfortunately, in the case of Thessaloniki, our evidence again is meager at best. The lifestyle of the wealthy class of Thessalonians during this period cannot be substantiated by archaeological evidence, though textual evidence provides clear indication that opulent residences did exist. Describing the house of one Leo Sikountenos, the author of a text dated 1174–75 indicates that its interior featured paintings that depicted the emperor's virtues, Old Testament prophets, and even a portrait of the emperor himself.[71] Although we know nothing about either the location of this house or its interior layout, the fact that it had an elaborate program of painted

images on its walls and perhaps its vaults indicates that it was no ordinary residence. Unfortunately, for all its intrinsic interest, this piece of information falls short of giving us a sense of what the urban fabric of Thessaloniki in the course of the Middle Byzantine period may have looked like.

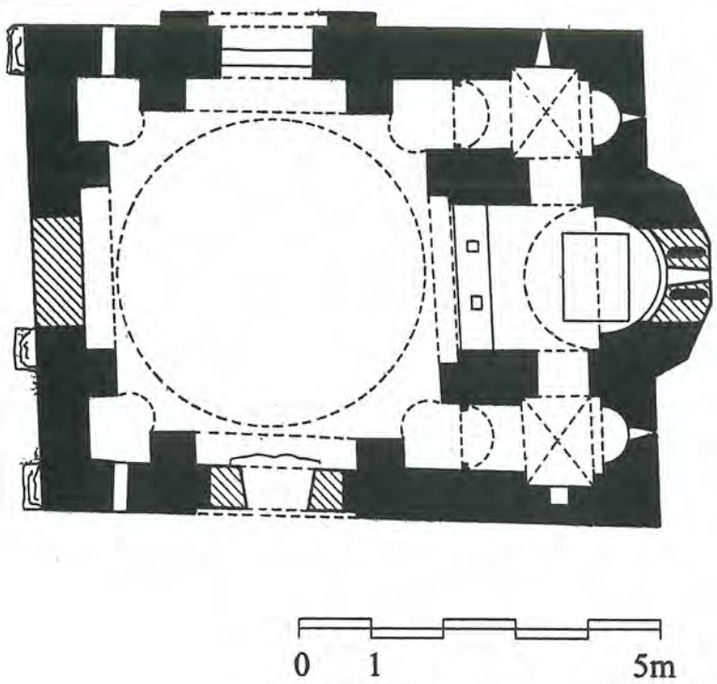
The only standing datable building of consequence belonging to the period is the church of Panagia Chalkeōn.[72] Although its original Byzantine name is not known, the epithet *Chalkeōn* is a toponym referring to the area of town where coppersmiths' workshops have traditionally been located, and where they are still found today. An inscription carved on a stone lintel above the main door indicates that the church was a private foundation of a *protosphatharios* Christophoros, the katepan of Lagoubardia, and his family, and that it was built in 1028. Of relatively modest dimensions, measuring 11.5 × 19 meters in plan, the church belongs to the standard cross-in-square type (figs. 395 and 396). Virtually identical in size to the Kilise Camii in Constantinople, and featuring a comparable plan, the church also shares other characteristics with Constantinopolitan architecture. Its square naos, in a manner common for churches of this type, was marked by four freestanding columns that carry the main dome. The column shafts and bases are evidently ancient

396 Thessaloniki, Panagia Chalkeon,; general view from S

397 Thessaloniki, Panagia Chalkeon; capital

spoils, but the capitals were carved for this purpose and belong to the group of Middle Byzantine emulations of late antique basket capitals with guilloche-framed crosses in relief articulating their faces (fig. 397). To the east, the naos relates to a three-part sanctuary, originally separated from the naos by an iconostasis. To the west, the naos is preceded by an oblong narthex, as wide as the church. The naos, the sanctuary, and the narthex are subdivided into bays, each spatial unit clearly articulated – internally and externally – by means of pilaster strips. Each bay unit is vaulted, by either a barrel vault or a cross vault. An oblong space, corresponding in size and shape to the narthex, is situated directly above it. Resembling a miniature gallery, the means of gaining access to this space are presently unclear. There are no built stairs within the church, so that we must presume that access was originally external, from one of the nearby, no longer extant buildings. This isolated upper room communicates with the naos through a large arched opening, recalling *Westwerk* openings in Carolingian architecture. Whether we can assume that an individual, or several individuals, would have used this window during services can only be a matter of conjecture. Domes elevated on tall octagonal drums crown the corner bays of this room above the narthex. These contribute to the impression of the significantly attenuated proportions of the building. This is underscored also by the main dome, whose tall octagonal drum has windows arranged in two tiers in each of its faces. The windows are framed by double skewbacks that give the dome an increased sense of plasticity. Similar double and triple skewbacks frame all the other window openings on the exterior. The church was built entirely of brick, a characteristic that recalls the upper church of the Myrelaion in Constantinople. As at the Myrelaion, the façades of the Panagia Chalkeon are subdivided horizontally by a continuous stone string-course, though its position here does not provide an entirely rational relationship with the articulation of the interior spaces. Also comparable to the Myrelaion church are the curiously heavy semi-cylindrical buttresses that mark certain salient points, though their use, too, is not as consistently rational as at the Myrelaion. As in the case of the Myrelaion, the Panagia Chalkeon was planned as a mausoleum for its founder and presumably for members of his family.[73] A large arcosolium, whose arch penetrates the thickness of the exterior wall, is placed in the central northern bay of the naos, directly opposite the south entrance door. Thus, in terms of its location, if not its form, this tomb – most likely intended for the burial of the church donor – recalls tombs and shrines in several earlier Byzantine churches.

398 Thessaloniki, Hortiatēs, Metamorphōsēs; plan



The Panagia Chalkeon remains an isolated, tangible remnant of Middle Byzantine Thessaloniki. For that reason, its full significance is difficult to gauge. Was it a product of local workshops or was it, unique as it appears to be, the work of imported builders whose one-time visit to the city left no other traces of this style of architecture? Difficulties in answering this question are matched by the difficulties of finding another context for this church. The Panagia Chalkeon simply has no direct parallels anywhere and thus stands out as a unique achievement.

Despite the fact that we know of the activities of twelfth-century builders in Thessaloniki, no building in the city survives

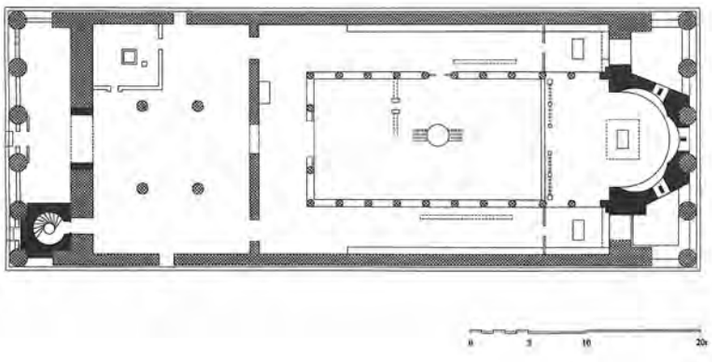
from this period. The problem is ameliorated in part by the chance survival of a small monastic church of the Metmorphōsēs (Transfiguration) in the village of Hortiatēs, just outside of Thessaloniki.[74] The small octagon-domed structure is unusual in several respects. Most surprising is the appearance of this church type in Macedonia. The type, believed to have emanated from Constantinople, became popular in the southern parts of what constitutes present-day Greece and in the Aegean Islands, but it appears to be unknown outside this relatively confined territory. Architecturally, the church is quite small, measuring merely 7 × 9.7 meters in plan (fig. 398). In its present form it lacks a narthex, which it once had and which, in all likelihood, was part of the original scheme. Its dome, 4.5 meters in diameter, rests on an octagonal base formed by six engaged pilasters and two massive piers that help form the tripartite sanctuary. The spaces between the pilasters vary. Those along the building's main axes are spaced more widely and carry arches that help support the dome. The other four, situated in the diagonal locations, are connected by squinches that complete the octagonal base. The dome itself is a result of a later reconstruction. Its present blind form, hidden under a pyramidal roof, probably replaced the original dome, which may have been elevated on a drum and perforated with windows. Lateral arches supporting the dome originally framed triple windows that must have been the main source of light for the interior. These features, along with other general design characteristics of this small church, point to Constantinople as the most probable source of its architecture. Its building technique features an uneven mixture of brick and stone, a sporadic application of recessed bricks, and raised pointing, all finding their closest parallels in the church of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi, built in 1164 (see below, p. 410). On account of its design and construction technique, and also its poorly preserved frescoes, the church must have been chronologically very close to the one at Nerezi.

The description of the house of Sikountēnos in Thessaloniki, the architecture of the churches of Panagia Chalkeon and of the Metmorphōsēs at Hortiatēs, as well as frescoes in the church of Hosios David, indicate that the economic conditions in Thessaloniki during much of the twelfth century must have been reasonably favorable to sustain construction and decoration of the quality implied by these examples. It must be borne in mind, however, that within a decade or two of these accomplishments one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of the city – the Norman sack of 1185 – brought this trend to a halt, reduced much of the city to ruin, and left it utterly depopulated. The decline appears to have been so severe that apparently it took a century before new construction within Thessaloniki began yet again.

ATHENS

A major shift in architectural activity took place in Athens during the eleventh century and, especially, during the twelfth. Athens, a major city in antiquity, had virtually sunk into oblivion during the seventh to tenth centuries. Following the Byzantine defeat of the Arabs in 961, and especially after the reconquest of the Balkans under Basil II, Athens, along with other urban centers, experienced a new period of revitalization and economic prosperity.[75] Emperor Basil's triumphal entry into Athens in 1018 included special religious services in the city's cathedral, the church of the Panagia Athēniotissa, actually the most famous of all converted pagan temples – the Parthenon. This was an act of supreme symbolic significance. More than a typical military triumph celebrating the reconquest of lost Byzantine territories, this was an unprecedented visit of an emperor to the cradle of Hellenic civilization, a conscious reminder of the importance attached to the perceived roots of Byzantine culture. The subsequent extensive restoration of the cathedral, for which archaeological evidence exists, is but one of the clear indicators of the increasing prosperity of Athens, as well as a growing awareness of its historical significance (fig. 399).[76] In its restored form, the church must have exceeded in size all churches built during the same period anywhere in the Balkans. Measuring 21.5 × 58.5 meters, not taking into account the exterior colonnades of the temple, the building must have made an enormous impression on contemporaries, which could have been matched only by the largest early urban churches still standing in Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The growth of Athens during the eleventh and twelfth centuries is attested to by a document known as the *Praktikon*, a copy of which survives, and which provides information regarding the structure of urbanized areas of Athens and the names of individual neighborhoods. The sense of prosperity is best attested by the surviving buildings, particularly the churches that will be discussed below. The evidence from another source

399 Athens, Panagia Athiniotissa; plan



– the accounts of Michael Choniatēs, metropolitan of Athens during the last two decades of the twelfth century – provides a stark contrast to the implied earlier prosperity. The general turmoil into which the empire was thrust after the death of Manuel I in 1180 apparently also affected Athens, though probably only indirectly. The poverty and ignorance of its inhabitants, along with the ruinous state of its monuments, lamented by Michael Choniatēs, bespeak conditions that echo those already seen in Constantinople and Thessaloniki during the closing decades of the twelfth century.

A limited sense of the medieval urban form of Athens has been reconstructed from the textual and archaeological evidence painstakingly gathered over the decades. The medieval town clearly grew around the great ancient monuments that had survived. The most important among these – the Parthenon – as the city's cathedral, continued to dominate its skyline from the fortified Acropolis. Other ancient temples on the Acropolis – the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Nike – survived in good condition, though their exact function in the Middle Byzantine context remains unknown. The Propylaea was partially converted into the official residence of the metropolitans of Athens, and was equipped with a private chapel. In 1204 Franks occupied Athens and became the rulers of Attica, Korinthia, and Boeotia, their territorial possession historically known as the Duchy of Athens, or alternatively, as the Lordship of Athens and Thebes.[77] The new rulers followed the established custom by choosing the Acropolis as their seat of power, and by converting the Parthenon, now into a Catholic cathedral, while the Propylea became a new, highly fortified residence of the Dukes of Athens.[78]

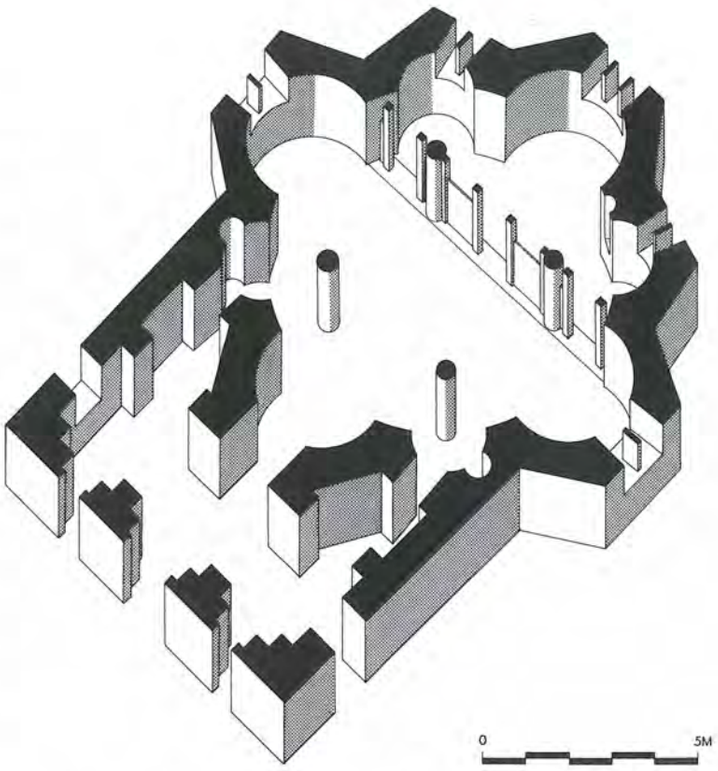
Our knowledge of the medieval urban fabric of Athens, though meager, is far from negligible.[79] It is now clear that at the peak of its prosperity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the populated area of town reached far beyond the late antique walls, the greatest concentration of population being in the area of the Agora and to the south of the Acropolis. Urban growth clearly followed a pattern of natural accretion. Streets were narrow and winding. Individual houses were densely packed together, interspersed occasionally by workshops and tiny neighborhood churches. Larger churches, and perhaps some smaller ones as well, must have mostly belonged to urban monasteries, though none of these complexes has been retrieved. Individual residential buildings were built relatively crudely. Organized around central courtyards, usually featuring a well-head in their midst, the individual ground-level rooms were apparently utilitarian spaces, used for storage, cooking, and other production activities. Living accommodations were apparently on an upper level, but none of these buildings has survived to a height greater than a meter or so above the medieval ground level. The basic principles of organization of these residential buildings show essential continuity with the urban living standards established in distant antiquity. There is no need to view these houses as having been "influenced" by Greek standards of the fifth century BC; most residential architecture built after that time shows similar general characteristics.

By far the most extensive amount of information about the medieval city, however, may be gleaned from its many churches. Of the 120 Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches that still stood in 1830, only 25 have survived.[80] Even at that, Athens has one of the largest groups of medieval churches surviving anywhere.[81] Most of these are relatively small structures, built during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. If we exclude the basilican cathedral of the Panagia Athiniotissa, dependent in its form on the ancient temple and the early Christian basilica into which the temple was converted, most of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches reveal standard plans encountered in Middle Byzantine architecture elsewhere. However, it was not the planning, but the actual building technique that made the Athenian churches coherent as a group. Well built, despite their relatively small size, these churches display cloisonné technique consisting of carefully cut porous ashlars framed by thin bricks, laid horizontally and vertically. The basically flat exterior wall surfaces were enlivened by features such as multiple horizontal dogtooth bands of brick set into the wall and at times wrapped around arched window and door openings. Occasionally, "pseudo-Kufic" terracotta ornaments were inserted between the horizontal stone blocks instead of vertical bricks. Gleaming white marble was used for such elements as door frames, window mullions, and the small colonnettes marking the corners of polygonal dome drums, as well as internally for iconostasis screens and various elements of church furniture. The picturesque qualities of these churches, along with their fine workmanship, distinguish the entire group as a local phenomenon persisting in the area of Athens, in Attica, and even beyond, between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1200. It has been argued that the fine workmanship derives from the fact that the builders and artisans working in Athens had at their disposal the finest ancient structures, whose building standards may have inspired their own work. We know pitifully little about Byzantine builders' and artisans' training and practice, but there can be no doubt that they were sensitive to the masterpieces of architecture that surrounded them. The huge quantity of Middle Byzantine sculptural fragments that has been amassed in the Byzantine Museum in Athens has been interpreted as evidence of local workshops producing elements for export.[82] Occasional structural features, such as the characteristic large vertically and horizontally interlocking blocks used as wall-base reinforcement, demonstrably derive from comparable construction techniques used in Hellenistic buildings, such

as the Stoa of Attalos II. At times set to resemble large crosses, these features were predominantly structural in purpose, but they reveal the builders' abilities to recognize in them also an aesthetic and even symbolic potential. The occasional use of such elements as lion-faced marble water spouts also betrays a conscious imitation of ancient models. Consistent reliance on ceramic roof tiles likewise reveals an adherence to ancient local building customs. The use of lead-roof sheathing, common in the architecture of Constantinople and inherited from the Roman building tradition, never affected architecture on the Greek mainland, Athens included.

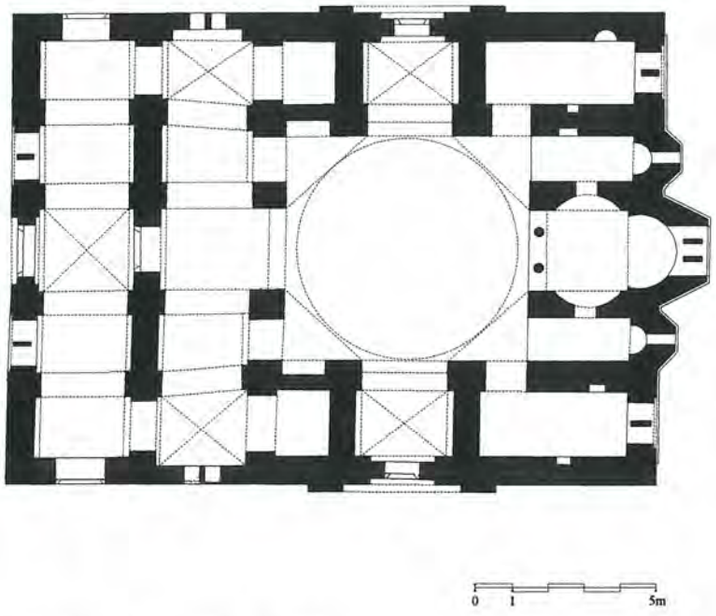
One of the oldest Athenian churches belonging to this period is the church of the Holy Apostles in the ancient Agora. Restored to its original form during the 1960s (?), the church features an unusual plan, combining various typological characteristics into a unique building form (figs. 400 and 401).[83] Measuring 13 × 19 meters in plan, its core is organised around four freestanding columns that carry its dome, 4 meters in diameter. This central aspect of the standard cross-in-square type is here inscribed into a circle rather than a square. Furthermore, the extremities of its main vaults forming the arms of the cross terminate in apses, three of which, on the east, north, and south sides, project externally. The intervening corner bays are formed as absidioles set diagonally. It is not inconceivable that the church was initially intended to be an octagon-domed building, but that the concept was modified in the course of construction by the insertion of the four columns carrying a much smaller dome. With a span of 8 meters, such an octagon-domed church would have been comparable in scale, if not in form, to the Nea Moni in Chios. In its executed form the church features an iconostasis screen that is attached to the eastern pair of columns, thus asymmetrically reducing the naos. To the west, the church is preceded by a narthex, whose curiously shaped space accommodates the apse of the western cross arm, which thus became invisible externally. Probably built *circa* 1000, the church of the Holy Apostles has all of the technical and formal characteristics identified above as being common to Athenian church architecture of this period. On this basis, it has been compared to the church of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas, believed to have been built *circa* 946–55 (see pp. 298–300).

The comparison of the Holy Apostles with the church of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas is of particular relevance for our understanding of the origins of Athenian church architecture around 1000. Potential Constantinopolitan connections on the level of ideas should be borne in mind. This notion, expressed also in conjunction with the church of Monē Petrakē (see pp. 337–38), gains credibility from another unique Athenian building, datable to the first decades of the eleventh century – the church of Soteira Lykodemou (fig. 402).[84] Heavily restored after 1847, at the time of its adaptation for use by the Russian community of Athens, the church retains enough of its eleventh-century character to warrant such consideration. Measuring 13.5 × 19.3 meters, it belongs to the so-called Greek-cross domed octagon type, whose principal Middle Byzantine example, the katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery, will be discussed below.



400 Athens, Holy Apostles; axonometric

401 Athens, Holy Apostles; general view fro SE

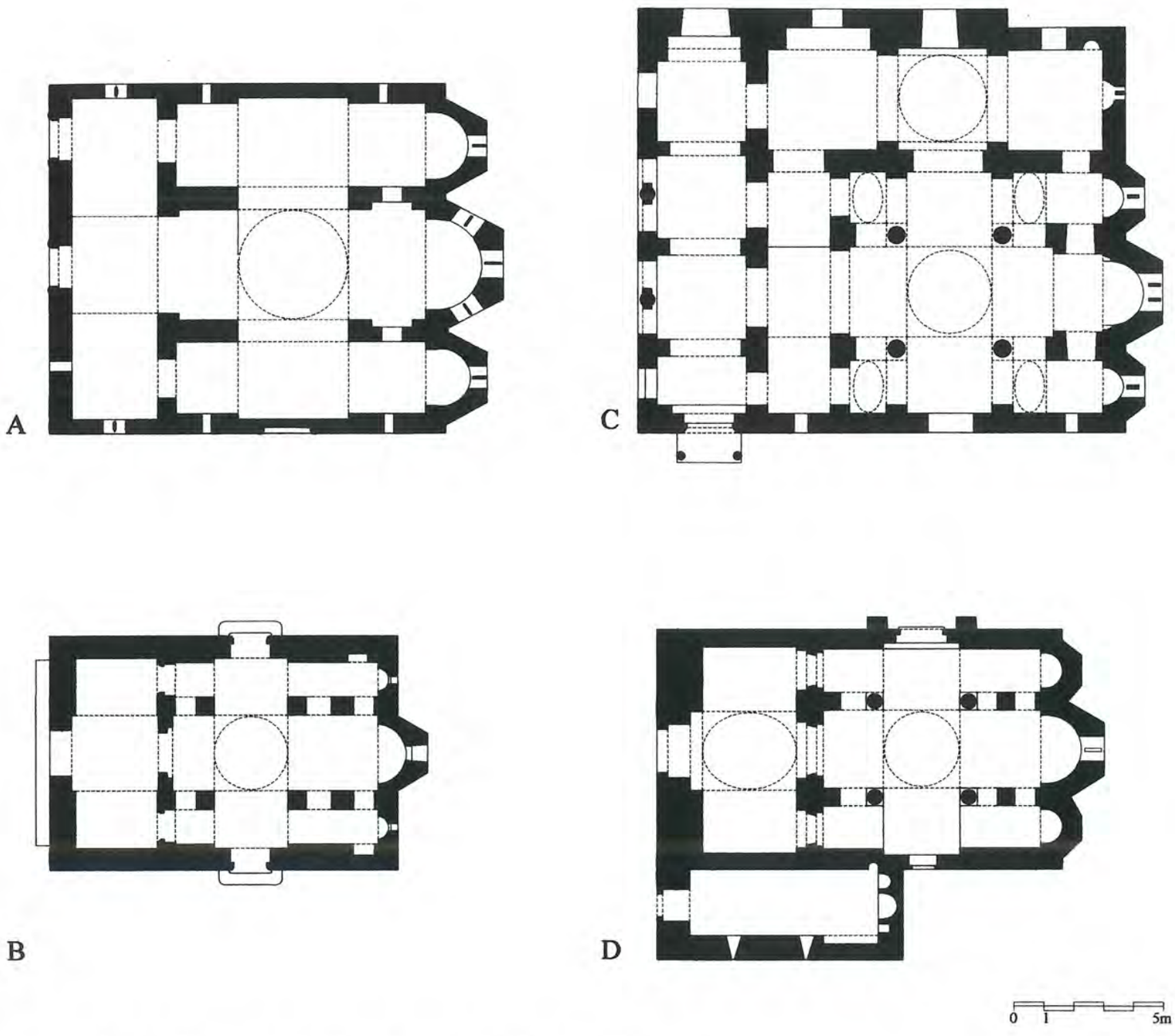


402 Athens, Panagia Lykodimou; plan

Links between Athens and Hosios Loukas are undeniable, and may actually have recurred on two occasions, suggesting a protracted link between these important centers of architectural activity. The crucial question, whether the builders at Hosios Loukas came there from Athens, or the other way around, remains without an answer. The issue is of particular significance if the potential Constantinopolitan input is considered. Given the possibility that both Hosios Loukas churches antedate their Athenian counterparts, the likelihood of Constantinopolitan input is made all the greater. To this may be added the potential role of Emperor Basil II, whose triumphal march into Athens following his victory over the Bulgarians in 1018 may have presented the occasion for the enlarging of the relatively new monastery of Hosios Loukas. Should such a possibility prove ascertainable, it would contribute significantly to our general understanding of the genesis of Middle Byzantine architecture on the Greek mainland. Considerably larger than any of the other Athenian churches of this period, the Soteira Lykodemou also deviates from their general typological profile. Thus, along with the Holy Apostles and the tenth-century Monē Petrakē, it may belong to the early stages of a revival of architectural activity in Athens that may have begun following the Byzantine defeat of the Arabs in 961, reaching its peak in the course the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Other Athenian churches of relevance in our discussion include Hagioi Theodoroi (built in 1049 by a *spatherokandidatos*, Nikolaos Kalomalos), Hagioi Asōmatoi, Metamorphōsis, and Kapnikarea, all from the eleventh century, as well as Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, Hagios Iōannis Theologos, and Panagia Gorgoepikoos (also known as Little Metropolis), all dating from the twelfth century.[85] All of relatively small size, it is unclear whether these were private or neighborhood churches, or whether they may have belonged to small urban monasteries. Their medieval environs destroyed without exception, they now appear as museum objects, completely divorced from their original context. Most belong to the cross-in-square type with minor variations. The church of Hagioi Asōmatoi is the simplest variant of the type, with only four columns supporting the dome. Lacking an additional eastern extension, its sanctuary was consequently situated beyond the eastern pair of columns, leaving an asymmetrical naos, preceded on its west side by an oblong narthex, an arrangement conceptually comparable to that seen at the Holy Apostles. The planning scheme used at Kapnikarea is more developed (fig. 403c). In this case, the naos is extended eastward by the length of yet another bay. Thus, a full tripartite sanctuary is created, leaving a square naos with its four freestanding columns as a separate entity, preceded here also by an oblong narthex. The space of the bema is articulated by two lateral semicircular niches, thus recalling the layout of bemas in Constantinople. Associations with Constantinopolitan architecture, however, end with these abstract similarities in planning. From the point of view of its exterior, Kapnikarea is unmistakably a local product, sharing its formal and constructional characteristics with other Athenian churches. These include the three externally three-sided apses of the sanctuary, which recur on most Athenian churches of this period. A unique feature of Kapnikarea is its open, porch-like exonarthex that extends beyond the width of the main church on the north side, taking into account a single-aisled domed parekklesion that abuts the main church along its northern flank. Such an arrangement, the result of subsequent additions, cannot be too distant chronologically from the construction of the main church. The concept is most closely related to schemes found in monastic contexts. Thus, in this case one is on fairly secure ground in proposing that Kapnikarea in all likelihood was a monastic church.

From the point of view of its spatial articulation and structural system, the church of Hagioi Theodoroi stands out as the most conservative among the eleventh-century churches of Athens (fig. 403a). It belongs to the inscribed-cross type, common during the ninth and tenth centuries (see pp. 328–37). Here, the interior is subdivided into three aisle-like spaces by four massive rectangular piers. The basilican character of the interior is reinforced by the three longitudinal barrel vaults that cover the main spaces. At the midpoint, these are intersected by transverse barrel vaults over the side aisles. The resulting central square bay is covered by a dome elevated on an octagonal drum. Notwithstanding these conservative planning characteristics, the



403 Athens, Churches: (A) H. Theodoroi; (B) Panagia Gorgoepikos; (C) Kapnikarea; (D) Kaisariani; plans

church shares most of its formal and constructional features with other contemporary churches in Athens (fig. 404).

The formal, constructional, and typological characteristics of Athenian churches established during the eleventh century continued during the twelfth. The main change may be noted in the slightly greater emphasis on the decorative treatment of exterior façades. The almost somber, planar wall surfaces are now more frequently disrupted by inserted patterns executed in brick and other materials. These, at times, include sculptural spoils from ancient buildings, whose aesthetic qualities appear to have found new appeal among twelfth-century patrons and builders. No longer used merely as building materials, these are carefully placed to their full visual advantage. At times their placement appears to have been governed by what may be referred to as "programmatic logic." No building exemplifies this attitude better than the church of Panagia Gorgoepēkoos, also known as

404 Athens, H. Theodoroi; general view from E

405 Athens, Panagia Gorgoepēkoos; general view from SW

406 Athens, Kaisarianē, katholikon; north façade, detail

the Little Metropolis (figs. 403B and 405). In plan this church adheres to the cross-in-square scheme expanded eastward by an additional pair of piers that provide a separate space for the sanctuary. The dome is carried on four piers rather than the usual four columns. The main paradigm shift, in this case, was reserved for the exterior. Faced almost entirely in large marble blocks, the building presents a unique impression. Many of the marble blocks bear architectural sculpture; others are antique funerary monuments, some with overtly pagan subjects. A number of these were appropriately "Christianized" by re-carving parts of the original decoration into crosses.[86] In addition, the church includes a number of relief panels carved at the time of construction. These unmistakably signal the beginnings of the return of sculpture as a viable medium in Byzantine art.

A number of monastic churches on the outskirts of Athens reveal similar architectural characteristics to those seen among the Athenian churches themselves. The most notable among these is the late eleventh-century katholikon of Kaisarianē Monastery on Mount Hymettos (figs. 403D and 407). This exquisitely built late eleventh-century church reveals all of the essential characteristics of contemporary Athenian churches. Measuring only 8 × 13 meters in plan, it belongs to the cross-in-square type, with an eastern extension for the accommodation of the sanctuary. Its domed narthex and the southern lateral chapel are later additions. Its walls, built of carefully cut ashlars, display one of the finest examples of cloisonné construction. Its dome, elevated on an octagonal drum, reveals a process of simplification: the flat drum faces lack corner colonnettes, and its eaves have lost the rippled character typical of earlier churches in favor of a flat horizontal cornice. The building is marked by another curiosity. The north cross arm is accentuated by strongly

407 Athens, Kaisarianē, katholikon; general view from SE

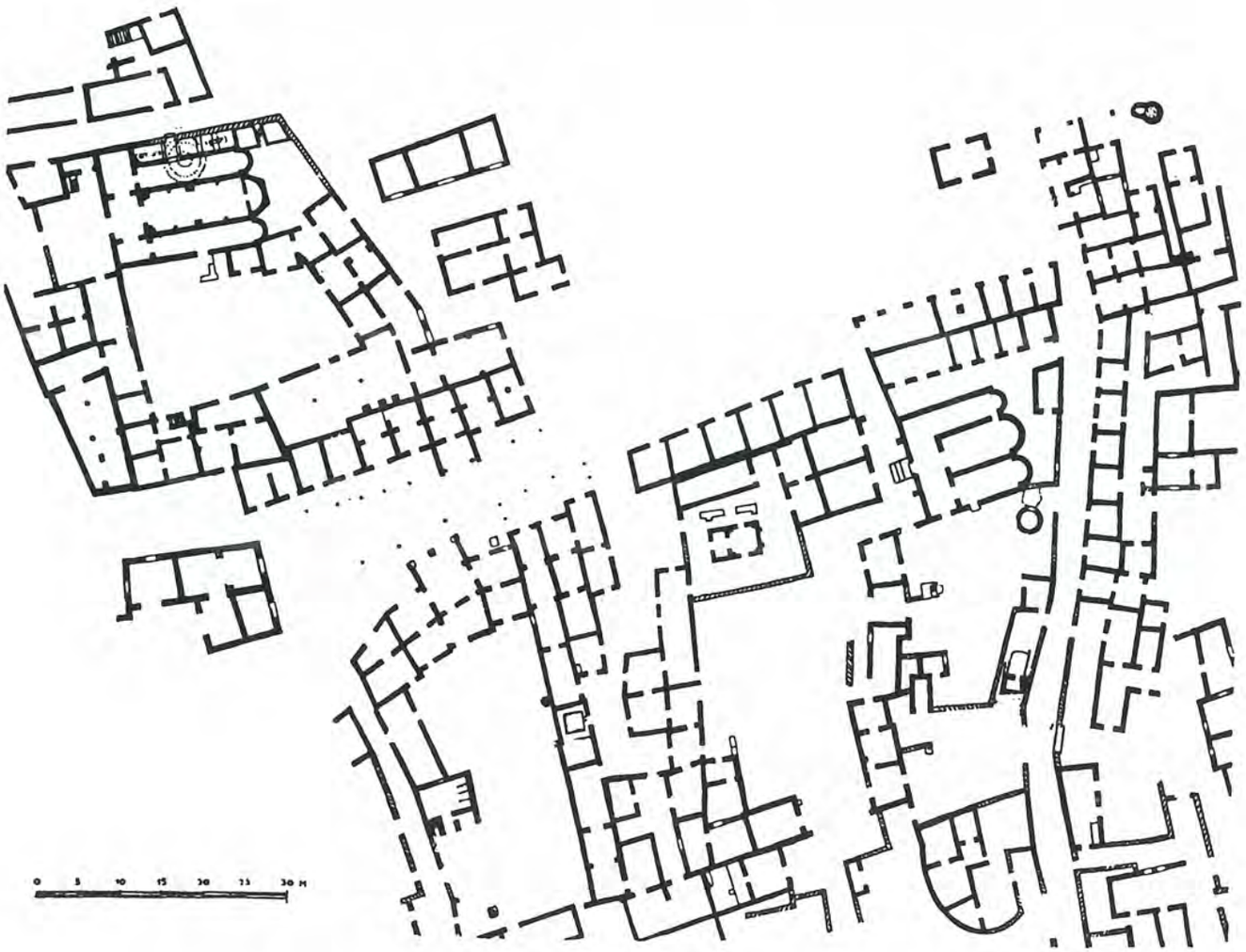
projecting pilasters that carry a large blind arch topped by a triangular gable (fig. 406). These frame a large entrance door and a two-light window above it, and the entire arrangement reflects the spatial disposition of the interior at this point. The remarkable thing about this solution is that nowhere else on the façades was any attempt made to reveal a similar relationship with the interior space. Thus, the large arch on the north side of the church must be viewed in a different light. Its role was evidently symbolic, perhaps accentuating the principal entrance into the church for the monks, or some other significant function. The

church of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas already revealed a similar feature, in that case framing the entrance on the south side of the building (cf. fig. 415). The presence of this feature at Kaisarianē suggests that its builders were still quite capable of articulating church façades with logically placed pilasters, but that they did so only for specific, symbolic reasons. In all other respects they adhered to the simple planar approach to the exterior treatment typical of Athenian churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The "great arch" such as the one on the north façade of Kaisarianē recurs on a few other churches and needs to be recognized as a symbolic element devoid of any strictly tectonic connotations. The manner of exterior articulation of Athenian churches, we must conclude, was a deliberate aesthetic choice, possibly governed by the recognition of the manner of wall articulation in ancient Greek architecture, where pilasters were essentially unknown. If our analysis of the problem proves to be correct, the long-since recognized distinctions identifying Constantinopolitan versus Greek ("Helladic") "schools" of architecture may thus fruitfully acquire a new level of meaning.[87] More will be said about this matter below.

CORINTH

Athens was but one of the ancient cities of central Greece that experienced revival and a level of prosperity in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The other two were Thebes and Corinth. Our knowledge of medieval Thebes is almost totally obscure. Corinth, on account of the fact that the later settlement occupied a different site, eventually became the subject of systematic excavations. Despite the dominant objectives of the classical archaeologists in charge of these excavations, the remains of Corinth have yielded invaluable information about the medieval town as well. Although no medieval buildings remain standing, not even churches, what is known of the urban context of

408 Corinth, Medieval city center; plan



Corinth at that time is far more coherent than what is available in Athens. Fairly large areas of the town's urban fabric have been laid bare, providing a unique opportunity for examining the structure of a settlement from this period in greater detail than is possible anywhere else. A section of the city that has come to light in the general area of the ancient agora is particularly interesting (fig. 408).[88] The most important discovery here was a large space, measuring 80 meters in length and at least 60 meters in width, that was left open within a fairly dense irregular medieval urban fabric. This was the medieval market area, whose relative location had not changed significantly since antiquity. The actual commercial area evidently also extended into nearby streets, whose buildings, at least in some cases, were fronted with shops or porticoes where stands for selling produce could be set up. Beyond this common space one finds a maze of enclosed clusters, generally organized around interior courtyards. Some of these clusters were industrial buildings (a pottery, and a glass workshop), while others served a religious function (monasteries) or accommodated one or more residential units. Notable in this context also are the smaller churches that may have functioned as neighborhood churches or may have been privately owned. Our present knowledge of religious practices within the privacy of a Middle Byzantine household is still in a very rudimentary state.[89]

KASTORIA

The case of Kastoria, Greece, is of particular significance in the context of this discussion. This small town in the western part of Byzantine Macedonia is distinguished by its picturesque location on a peninsula jutting into Lake Kastoria. Naturally defended, the strategic advantages of the location were recognized already in late antiquity, though our knowledge of that phase of the town's life is meager. It was during the Middle Byzantine period that the town entered the period of economic prosperity and stability that reached a high point during the twelfth century.[90] Our notions about the urban structure and life in Kastoria are limited and heavily dependent on a number of small but well-preserved churches that offer important glimpses of economic prosperity, social life, patronage, building, and painting workshops over a relatively long span of time. The architecture of Kastoria, unlike most of the other areas reconquered by the Byzantines after 1018, displays aspects of continuity with developments that took place during the ninth and tenth centuries, possibly even under Bulgarian control.[91] Not dated securely, the churches of Kastoria have presented scholars with numerous challenges and dilemmas that have resulted in major controversies, many of which still remain. Nonetheless, a glimpse at some of the principal monuments of Kastoria is not only possible, but essential. By considering these churches one gains a level of understanding of how local economic prosperity in this case played a crucial role in the development and continuity of regional architectural characteristics unaffected by the impact of Constantinople, on the one hand, and that of Athens and Attica on the other. Both of those phenomena will be discussed at length below.

409 Kastoria, H. Anargyroi; general view from SE

The church of Hagioi Anargyroi is now generally accepted as having been built around the middle of the eleventh century. Architecturally speaking, it is one of the finest and best-preserved medieval churches of Kastoria (fig. 409).[92] Two layers of frescoes (dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries) have been preserved within the church. Inscriptions preserved on the second layer reveal the patronage of the important local family of the Lemniotēs. The church recalls a small three-aisled basilica in plan, though functionally it is more akin to triple churches, built side by side. Measuring 10 × 12.5 meters in plan, it consists of a naos 2.8 meters wide, side aisles, each 2 meters wide, and a narthex 2.7 meters wide. The building is entirely vaulted, the naos and the lateral spaces by longitudinal barrel vaults, and the narthex by a central barrel vault and two flanking groin vaults. All of the spaces are enclosed by massive walls 1 meter thick. These appear overly thick for their intended structural role. The naos is separated from the lateral spaces by walls, the one on the north side containing two arched openings, while that on the south only one. The pronounced asymmetry in the layout appears to be predicated on the location of an exterior door in the south chapel, which is axially related to the opening that linked the chapel with the naos. Only the north chapel and the naos have doors linking them with the narthex. The thick exterior walls are articulated on their façades by evenly spaced blind niches, each framed by a double skewback. These arched niches

410 Kastoria, H. Nikolaos Kasnitzê; general view from NE

411 Kurbinovo, St. George; general view from SW

412 Kurbinovo, St. George; west façade; detail of painted building opus

do not reach to ground level, so that the flat areas of wall between two adjacent ones do not appear as pilasters. These niches appear on all but the eastern façade. Although they recall Constantinopolitan churches, where they have a direct relationship to the interior disposition of spaces, here they have no such function. Their appearance on the façades is strictly governed by aesthetic considerations. The building was executed in a local variant of cloisonné technique consisting of individual stones separated from each other by brick arrangements of extraordinary variety, some of them resembling the letters K, T, W, etc. In addition, recessed dogtooth bands frame the arches and all windows, while sun-burst motifs appear on the east and west façades. The building technique, as well as the entire decorative vocabulary, is directly related to that seen on older churches in Kastoria (Koumbelidikē, Hagioi Taxiarches, Hagios Stefanos). The idiosyncratic nature of this manner of construction is the strongest argument supporting the existence of local workshops over a long period of time. The question that remains to be solved is whether, indeed, this rich decorative vocabulary was actually meant to be visible, or whether the façades of these churches were originally plastered and painted.

Partial answer to this question comes from the church of Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitsē, built probably during the second half of the twelfth century by the local aristocrat Nikephoros Kasnitzēs (fig. 410).[93] The small church measures merely 3 × 6 meters in plan. It is a single-aisled wooden-roofed church with an oblong narthex. Its relatively thin walls (0.35 m) betray the original intention for a wooden roof covering. The simple rectangular naos with an interior span of only 2.5 meters was once separated from the sanctuary by an iconostasis screen reaching from exterior wall to exterior wall. The relatively large altar apse, semicircular internally and externally, is flanked on the interior by two miniscule semicircular niches contained within the thickness of the eastern wall. The church has two entrances – one axially situated on the west side and another on the north façade. Unlike the church of Hagioi Anargyroi, where the secondary entrance was on the south side, here it is located on the opposite, north side. This suggests that the placement of these doors was influenced by the practicalities of the urban setting, and not on particular liturgical requirements. The church was built of courses of rough stone separated horizontally by single or double brick courses. The vertical separation of individual stones shows a much greater variety than what was seen at Hagioi Anargyroi, though certain decorative letter-like motifs made of bricks continued to be used. Although the building technique has lesser resemblance to the conventional cloisonné technique, continuity with older local building practice cannot be in doubt. The external use of blind niches in this case has a strictly decorative role. Only two such niches appear on the north façade, which

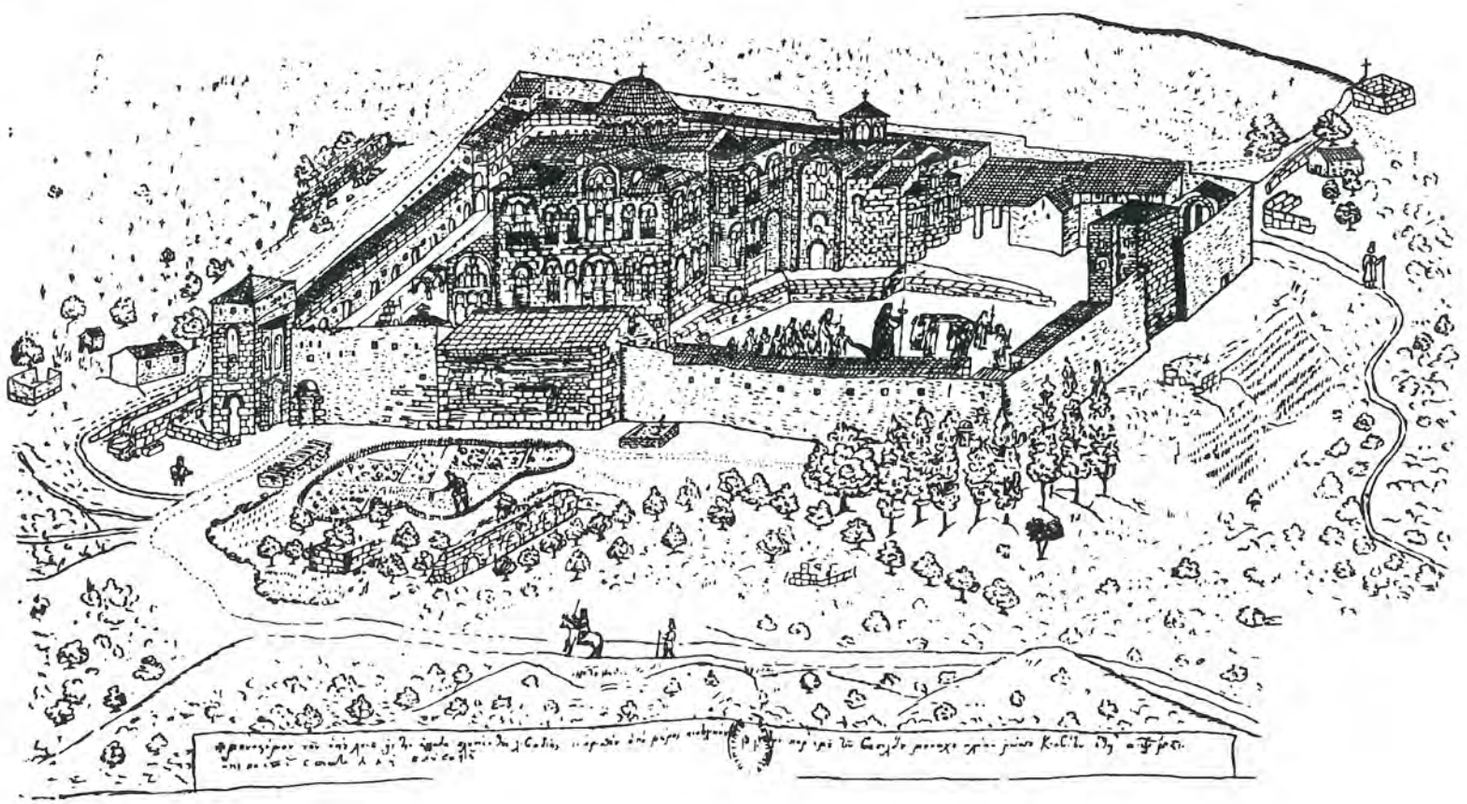
may reflect the importance attached to this aspect of the building. As at Hagioi Anargyroi, these niches have no structural relationship to the building interior and, probably on account of the relative thinness of the wall, they have merely one skewback, making them particularly shallow. Considerable emphasis on decorative brick patterns, including dogtooth friezes and bands made of triangular tiles, indicates the conservative nature of the local building practice. At the same time, the church of Hagios Nikolaos has preserved several patches of the original exterior plaster decorated with figurative frescoes, suggesting that the external appearance of this church would have been fundamentally different from what is perceived today. Another small, wooden-roofed single-cell church, St. George at Kurbinovo, FYROM, is of particular interest in this context (fig. 411). Completed in 1191, as recorded in an inscription, the church is renowned for its exquisite frescoes, whose ties with the painting tradition of Kastoria are also of prime importance. Less known is the fact that the exterior walls of this small, crudely constructed church were plastered and decorated with an emulation of an elaborate building *opus* (fig. 412).[94] The churches of St. George at Kurbinovo and Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitsē at Kastoria thus constitute important evidence supporting the notion that Middle Byzantine churches may have been routinely plastered and painted externally, presenting very different impressions from those upon which modern perceptions of their aesthetics have been based.

Major Monasteries and Monastic Architecture

HOSIOS LOUKAS

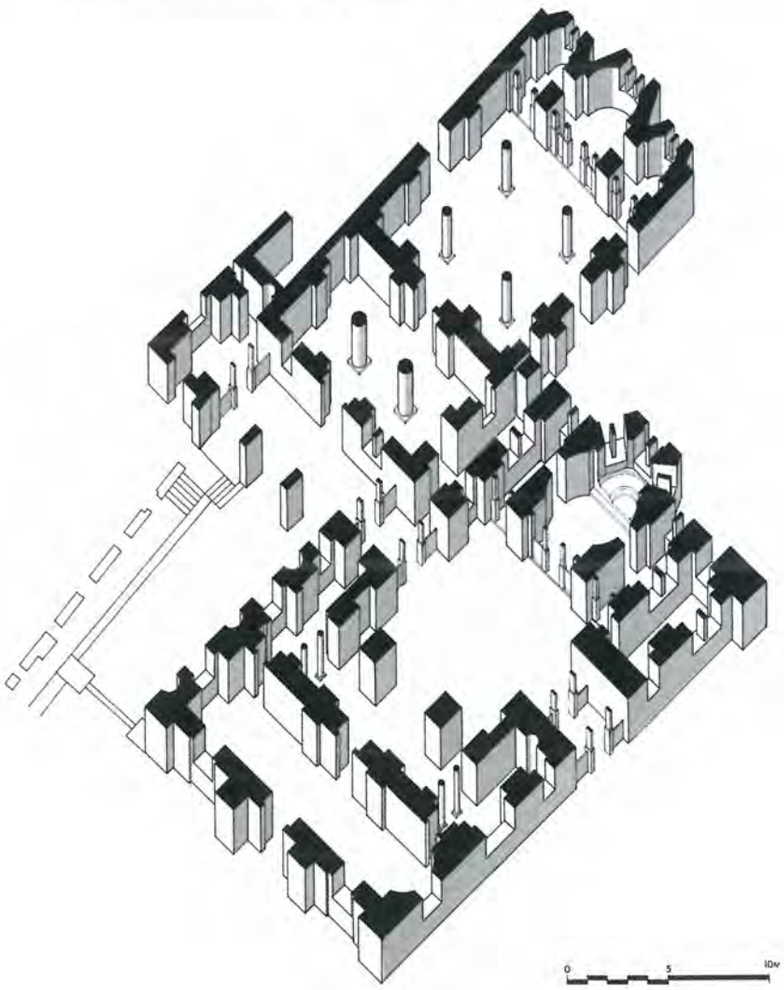
The monastery of Hosios Loukas, as we saw in the previous chapter, originated under particular circumstances already in the course of the tenth century. After 1000 the monastery underwent a major development that altered its character and established its appearance substantially as it is preserved to this day.[95] The linchpin of these changes was the construction of the new katholikon, added to the southwest of the church of the Theotokos, the southern part of whose western portico was physically integrated into the new building. Related to this major addition was also the substantial expansion of the monastery to the south and to the east. In the process, a significant change in the overall concept of the monastery took

413 Hosios Loukas Monastery, general view of monastery in the 18th century (drawing, V.G. Barskii)



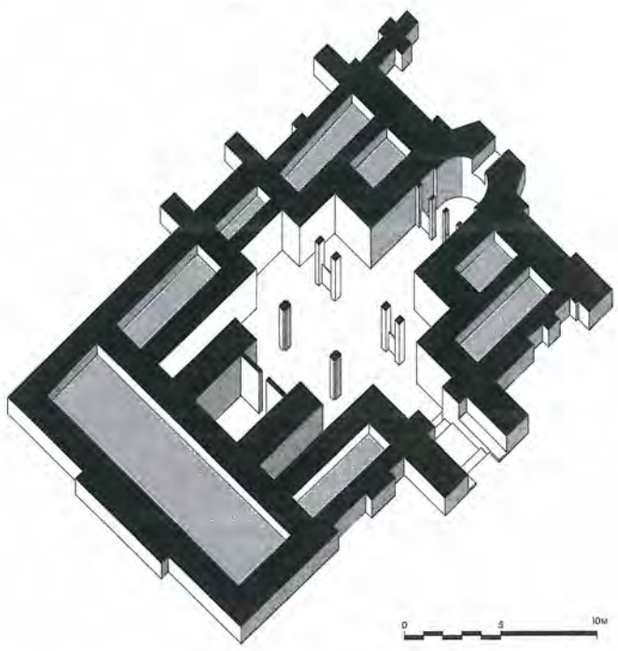
place. By virtue of this expansion, the organization of the new monastery placed the katholikon as an almost freestanding building in the center. It would seem that such a planning scheme was conditioned by the need for the accommodation of monastic processions around the church, such as that depicted on the well-known drawing by V. G. Barskii, illustrating the appearance of the monastery in the eighteenth century (fig. 414). The expanded monastery included a large refectory immediately to the south of the katholikon, a cistern, a tower, a new gatehouse in the northeast corner, stables, etc. Another tower, possibly a belfry with a chapel on the second level, arose near the present southwestern gate. Monastic cells were apparently accommodated in buildings built alongside the parameter wall of the complex. Just to the south of the apse of the refectory and outside the monastery proper was a large hostel for the accommodation of pilgrims. The existence of such hostels, especially at monasteries recognized as pilgrimage sites, was known from the fifth century.

414 Hosios Loukas Monastery, churches; axonometric



Undoubtedly the most important building within the expanded monastery was the new katholikon. Notwithstanding the collapse of its dome in a nineteenth-century earthquake and its improvised reconstruction, the church survives in excellent condition, along with its renowned mosaics. It is based on the plan type generally referred to as the "compound octagon domed," with overall dimensions of 16 × 28 meters (fig. 413). Its core, consisting of a square naos, is covered by a dome with an interior diameter of 8.5 meters. The dome is essentially carried by eight massive piers, partially freestanding and partially integrated into other parts of the building, such as the sanctuary and the lateral chapels. The octagonal form upon which the dome rests becomes apparent only at the level of the squinches that span the corners of the square. Their arched openings have the same dimensions as the arches that span the opening of the bema, the western bay of the naos, and the lateral bays, which also function as chapels and lateral entrances into the church. Four other rooms or chapels are accommodated within the corner spaces of the building block. The main part of the church is preceded by an oblong narthex whose short sides terminate in shallow niches. Sometime later, possibly in the twelfth century, an exonarthex was added, but it was removed in the late nineteenth century. The entire envelope that circumvents the domed core has an upper story that essentially repeats the disposition of the ground floor, but is more open and takes the form of a gallery. What the function of this "gallery" may have been is unclear, though it is apparent that it could be reached only via

415 Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon, crypt; axonometric



416 (*facing page*) Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon; interior looking SE

417 Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon; west façade

418 Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon; south façade, central bay

the upper story of the portico fronting the church of the Theotokos. Directly under the katholikon is a cruciform crypt, accommodating the tomb of Hosios Loukas, as well as those of a number of early abbots (fig. 415). The crypt was made accessible via a small door on the south side of the katholikon, and was intended to function as a healing place for the numerous pilgrims who flocked to the monastery for this very reason.[96] The miraculous tomb of the healer, Hosios Loukas himself, was situated in the bay directly below the space that links the katholikon with the church of the Theotokos. It is believed that this is also the precise location of the cell in which the saint originally dwelt and in which he was ultimately buried.

The katholikon reveals many characteristics that link it with the architecture of the capital and thus distinguish it from contemporary architecture in this area (figs. 416–18). The most important among these is its essentially skeletal nature, with few areas of flat walls anywhere in the building. This is in stark contrast to the architectural development referred to as the "Helladic School," about which more below. The skeletal nature of the katholikon also manifests itself in the preponderance of windows, in their character and size. All of this contributes to an interior full of light, in contrast to the much darker interiors of contemporary churches of the so-called Helladic School. The extensive use of rib vaults is another distinctive feature of the interior of the katholikon that finds few parallels in contemporary architecture in the region.[97] Finally, aspects of interior embellishment, including the marble revetment of all the walls, as well as mosaic decoration on all curved surfaces – soffits and vaults – are all typical of architecture in the capital and not elsewhere. It has long been postulated that the katholikon of Hosios Loukas was an imperial commission. This hypothesis has been repeatedly challenged, for no documentary evidence survives to support it. Without entering this controversy yet again, one should be reminded of certain historical circumstances that are not irrelevant in this context. The katholikon was built, according to the information that is preserved, either in 1011 or 1022. Basil II's celebration of a military triumph in Athens following his victory over the Bulgarians in 1018 must be understood as a demonstration of intense imperial interest in the cradle of Hellenic civilization. This, in turn, may have also been an appropriate occasion to shower imperial benevolence on the main center of monasticism and pilgrimage in the central area of Greece. While many aspects of the katholikon of Hosios Loukas cannot be explained without considering the connections with Constantinople, its building technique betrays the work of non-Constantinopolitan artisans. The technique, relying on the use of large blocks of stone and abundant brick, especially in the upper reaches, actually finds no exact parallels anywhere. A few surviving fragments of painted plaster on the west façade of the

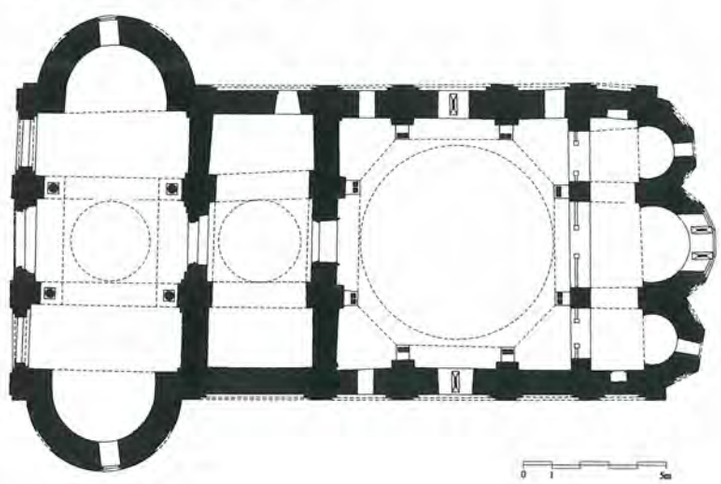
church unmistakably suggest that the building as originally built was entirely plastered and decorated with painted motifs (fig. 419).[98] These include, among other motifs, "pseudo-Kufic" letters. As we saw in the last chapter, these made their first appearance on the façades of the church of the Theotokos. Their presence here must have been part of a grandly conceived painted exterior that would have given this building a character befitting an imperial foundation. The small fragments that have been preserved on the katholikon of Hosios Loukas have survived purely by chance. They came to light after the late nineteenth-century removal of the twelfth-century exonarthex that had protected them for seven hundred years. A similar chance survival of a patch of exterior painted plaster on the south side of the church of Christ Pantepoptes in Constantinople facilitates the formulation of this hypothesis.[99]

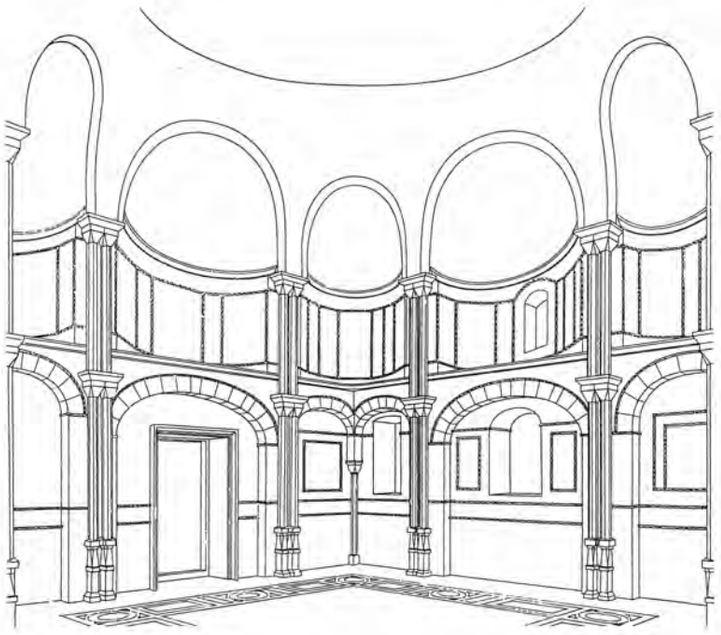
419 Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon; west façade, detail

NEA MONI

Unlike Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni on the island of Chios is a major monastery where imperial patronage is not in doubt. Founded by Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–56), the large monastery was richly endowed, though few of its original architectural components may now be discerned.[100] In addition to the refectory and a fine cistern, only traces of other early structures have been detected below many other standing buildings and remains that date from later centuries. The refectory, much like the one at Hosios Loukas, was a long, single-aisled wooden-roofed structure terminating in a large semicircular apse. Only the original apse and the long marble table are preserved. Restoration work on the entire monastic complex, enclosed by a wall and containing other important structures, such as the massive *pyrgos* on the west side, monastic cells, and parekklesia – all of which belong to the later phases of monastic history – has progressed slowly over the years. Pride of place of the entire complex, however, is the splendid katholikon, one of the recognized masterpieces of Middle Byzantine architecture. The church, measuring 10.5 × 24.5 meters, in this case is based on the so-called compact domed octagon plan (fig. 420). Here, the building core consists of a square naos alone. It abuts a three-part sanctuary featuring three apses, horseshoe-shaped internally and polygonal externally. On the west side it is preceded by an oblong narthex and a contemporary oblong exonarthex, whose two large lateral semicircular apses project freely beyond the width of the building. The narthex has a blind scalloped dome covering its central bay, while the exonarthex features three elaborate domes elevated on drums. The central of these, slightly wider and taller than the flanking ones, is scalloped, while the lesser domes feature wide ribs. The three domes have windows in their drums, two of which act as internal openings between the central dome and its neighbors. Recent research points to the fact that the projecting enclosed corridor that axially links the church façade with a tall belfry was apparently also part of the original construction. The great original dome over the naos unfortunately collapsed in an earthquake in 1881. Judging by photographs taken at the time of its destruction, as well as a drawing made by Barsky in the eighteenth century, it was nine-sided and internally ribbed. The reasons for the choice of the unusual nine-sided dome scheme are not known. Its layout and construction would have been far more complicated than the more conventional domes with an even number of sides. Externally, the drum was marked by elegant octagonal marble colonnettes between the window openings. The colonnettes were organized in two tiers: the lower featured pairs of colonnettes, upon which rested the single colonnettes of the upper tier. The

420 Nea Moni; katholikon; plan





421 Nea Moni; katholikon, interior; reconstruction drawing

large number of surviving fragments of these colonnettes, along with the evidence provided by old photographs and drawings, has facilitated an excellent graphic reconstruction of this important dome by Bouras. The present dome, reconstructed in the 1890s, rests on a much taller, twelve-sided drum, and as such has altered the overall proportions of the building considerably. The complex treatment of the original dome exterior by means of engaged colonnettes was also repeated on the interior. Here pairs of colonnettes were organized in two tiers and placed against the walls at salient points, forming the octagon upon which the dome rested (fig. 421). In the upper tier the walls were scalloped and topped by matching domical segments, creating an eight-sided scalloped base upon which the dome itself rested. The entire arrangement, for which no exact parallels survive, was clearly intended to emphasize the feeling of dematerialized dome supports. All of the wall surfaces were covered with marble veneer, while the vaults of the eight niches and all of the surfaces of the interior of the dome and the drum were covered with mosaics. Only the ones on the base of the dome and in the niches have survived. The reconstruction of the church after the earthquake of 1881 has also resulted in the elimination of the interior system of elegant marble colonnettes, which have been replaced by massive spurs covered with dark marble veneer, matching that of the walls. Thus the notion of the ephemeral nature of dome supports has been completely lost. The sophistication of the interior design of the katholikon of Nea Moni, along with its mosaic decoration, unmistakably points to the involvement of the best artisans from the capital. The recent removal of white plaster from the exterior walls of the katholikon has brought to light aspects of the original building technique. In addition to the variety of methods of construction employed – suggesting the work of a number of masons of different backgrounds – the church featured several architectural elements and decorative patterns that are unmistakably Constantinopolitan. These include a triangular corbel-table on the main apse, a large three-light window with slender marble mullions in the main apse, shallow decorative niches on the upper face of each facet of the main apse, and meander brick bands on the upper part of both small sanctuary apses. Documentary evidence linking the building to the patronage of Emperor Constantine IX leaves no room for any doubt in stressing a direct relationship between the katholikon and the capital. The recent removal of the twentieth-century plaster has also brought to light remnants of the original plaster with which the building was covered. Particularly significant is that traces of incised and painted building *opus* on the surface of the eleventh-century coat of plaster have also been found. This, along with such evidence from the churches of Christ Pantepoptes in Constantinople, the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, and the church at Veljusa, underscores the fact that already in the eleventh century, and possibly even earlier, Byzantine churches were routinely painted on the exterior with imitations of building techniques and decorative features.

DAPHNI

Alongside Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni, the monastery of Daphni belongs to the group of the largest and most impressive Middle Byzantine monasteries.[101] Built within a late antique military enclosure, just west of Athens (see Chapter 3), the monastery followed a defensive planning routine common on Mount Athos, although apparently this did not include a *pyrgos* (tower) within its compound. Of the remaining monastic buildings, one can distinguish the foundations of a large contemporary refectory to the north of the katholikon. On the opposite, south side of the katholikon are the reasonably well-preserved thirteenth-century monastic buildings with a cloister, all belonging to the period when Daphni functioned as a Cistercian monastery. Both the scale and the character of the monastery enclosure differ from those of other Middle Byzantine monasteries, clearly reflecting the fact that here the monastic buildings were incorporated into an abandoned military compound (see fig. 141). The largest and best-preserved building is the late eleventh-century katholikon, one of the finest monuments of Byzantine architecture in Greece. Built some sixty to seventy years after the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, the katholikon of Daphni emulates its basic design with some significant modifi-

cations. Measuring 14 × 27.5 meters in plan, the church is nearly as large as its illustrious predecessor. Using the same, so-called compound octagon domed scheme, it consists of a large square naos covered by a dome, 7.5 meters in diameter (fig. 422). Eight relatively slender piers that carry four arches and four corner squinches, whose collective function is to support the main dome, define the naos. The dome contains a magnificent mosaic depicting *Christ the Pantokrator* in a rainbow-framed medallion at its apex against a field of blazing gold mosaic, while sixteen standing figures of *Old Testament Prophets* are depicted between the sixteen windows of the drum. Below the dome base, within the four squinches, appear four Christological scenes – the *Annunciation* and *Nativity* to the east and the *Baptism* and *Transfiguration* to the west. Thus, the two natures of Christ are pictorially alluded to in a most effective way, while providing the summary statement of the heavenly vision as expressed in a Middle Byzantine mosaic program, of which this is one of the best-preserved examples. The relationship between architecture and mosaics at Daphni is a major reminder of the degree of coordinated sophistication that prevailed in Middle Byzantine architectural and artistic production. As at Hosios Loukas, the naos of Daphni was related on the east to a tripartite sanctuary, once separated by a marble iconostasis, of which only traces remain. Three tall arches open from the naos toward the west, north, and south, defining its main axes and relating to the original entrances into the church. All three arches were echoed on the exterior in three blind arches of identical dimensions, which also recall a similar arrangement at Hosios Loukas. As at Hosios Loukas, the katholikon at Daphni had four chapels integrated into the four corners of its cubical mass, enclosed on the west side by a long narthex. Unlike its great predecessor, however, the church did not have galleries above the lateral spaces. This accounts for the less bulky appearance of the exterior, its superstructure and its dome harmoniously organized in a pyramidal fashion (fig. 423). The sophistication of the katholikon of Daphni may be appreciated at yet another level – that of its superb construction, which displays the quality of the cloisonné technique at its best. Its main windows, framed by double brick arches and continuous dogtooth moldings, are all situated at precisely the same level, defined by a horizontal stone string-course

422 Daphni Monastery, katholikon; central space with dome

423 Daphni Monastery, katholikon; general view from E

that circumvents the entire building. This, in turn, accentuates the building base, constructed of large ashlar blocks characteristically placed horizontally and vertically in a manner recalling ancient construction methods. If the concept of an architectural "renaissance" could be thought of as being applicable in the Byzantine context at all, the katholikon of Daphni would stand out as one of its paradigmatic manifestations. Unfortunately, nothing is known about either the patrons or the builders of Daphni. Unlike the katholikon at Hosios Loukas, it shows no signs of Constantinopolitan input. Built after the active production of two generations of builders in central Greece, the katholikon of Daphni must be perceived as a masterpiece grown on the native soil. Its closest links, stylistically and technically, are the monuments related to the "Helladic Paradigm" discussed below (pp. 413–40).

HOSIOS MELETIOS

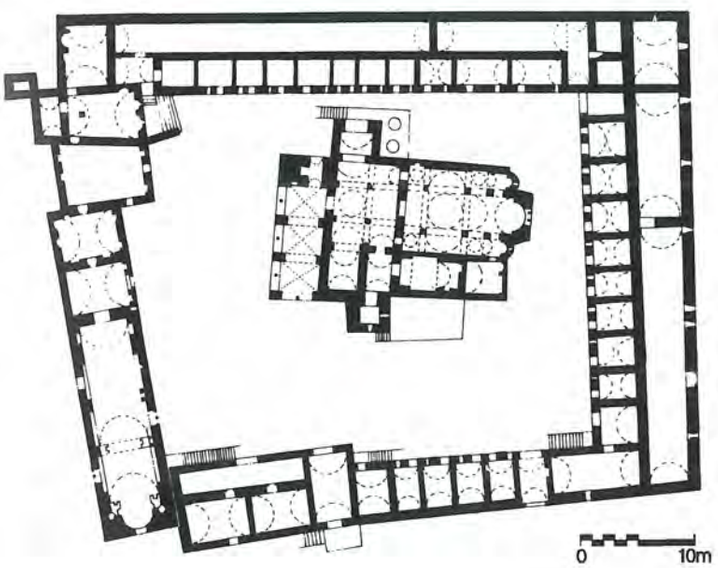
The monastery of Hosios Meletios is situated on the southern slopes of Mount Kitharion, in an area bordering the regions of Attica and Boeotia in Greece.[102] Founded by Meletios the Younger in 1081, the monastery reached the peak of its prosperity in the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth. In 1218 it passed under Latin control and subsequently declined. The monastic complex is relatively well preserved and offers a most useful insight into the organization and architectural character of a typical monastery during the period in question. Roughly rectangular in plan, measuring approximately 60 × 50 meters, the complex appears to have preserved its original form, unlike so many other monasteries that underwent subsequent alterations and expansions (fig. 424). The northwest corner was built into a rocky hillside, while the rest is freestanding. The complex is entered through one of the two gates on the south

side. Despite its fortified appearance, the monastery lacked such fortification features as towers, seen elsewhere. The katholikon was a freestanding building within a large central courtyard. Other monastic buildings, including cells, the refectory, kitchen, workshops, storage spaces, and stables, were all organized peripherally around the courtyard, onto which they opened freely. The enclosing wall had relatively few openings and thus did have a defensive function. The katholikon, measuring 18 × 22 meters in its maximum dimensions, is the result of at least three major Middle Byzantine building campaigns. Its oldest phase – a cross-in-square church with an oblong narthex and a domed parekklesion along its south side – seems to have been the product of the first building phase of *circa* 1100. In its articulation the main part of the church recalls Constantinopolitan architecture. Its sanctuary appears as an additional bay beyond the limits of the cross-in-square naos. The square corner compartments of the naos have small domical vaults, recalling the disposition of the corresponding compartments in the late tenth-century church of Monē Petrakē in Athens. As in the case of that church, the interior outer walls of the naos are marked with the rigorously structural disposition of pilasters in a manner recalling the architecture of the capital. The original narthex was evidently suppressed in part when it was fused with the much larger exonarthex added around 1150. The main function of this exonarthex was to accommodate the tomb of St. Meletios in an arcosolium within a room at the northern end of the oblong exonarthex. The function of a subsequently modified matching space on the south side is not clear. A large open portico consisting of three bays was apparently added around 1200. Featuring a room above it, this part of the building may have been a response to the pilgrimage traffic that must have grown in time, as was also the case at Hosios Loukas. Architectural details of the katholikon, as well as its exquisite architectural sculpture, reveal the work of artisans active in Attica and Boeotia at that time. In the general vicinity of Hosios Meletios are the remains of four small monastic establishments once affiliated with the main monastery. Their churches, as in the case of similar establishments in the vicinity of Hosios Loukas, reveal a close dependence on the architecture of the Hosios Meletios katholikon. This fact is of importance because it emphasizes that the emulation of certain building types was consciously practiced, and also that there were adequate means of transmitting details related to a particular building to another site. Some methods of recording a building, in other words, must have been available at this time.

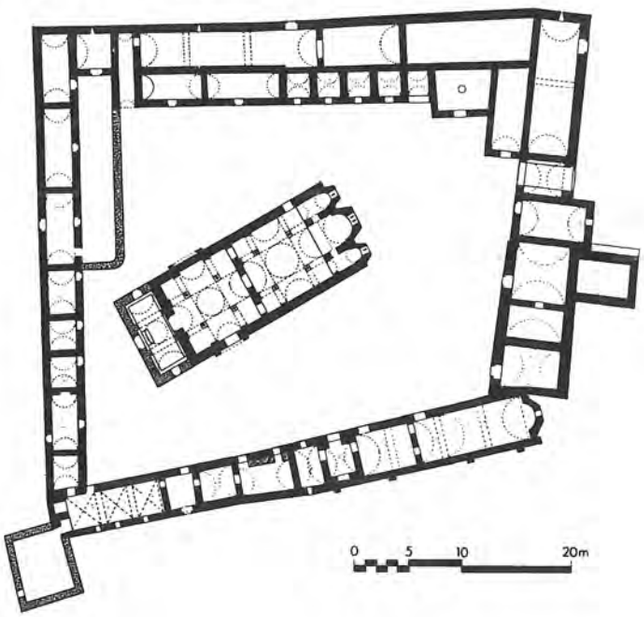
SAGMATA

Sagmata Monastery, situated on the slopes of Mount Sagmation in Boeotia, Greece, is in many respects linked to the monastery of Hosios Meletios. It was founded by St. Clement (d. 1111) in 1105–06, at the time when he left Hosios Meletios Monastery after an unsuccessful bid for the leadership. The very beginnings of its construction must fall in the years immediately following its foundation. The monastery, as in the case of Hosios Meletios, has preserved its medieval layout virtually intact (fig. 425). As in the former case, the enclosure is roughly rectangular in

424 Hosios Meletios Monastery; plan

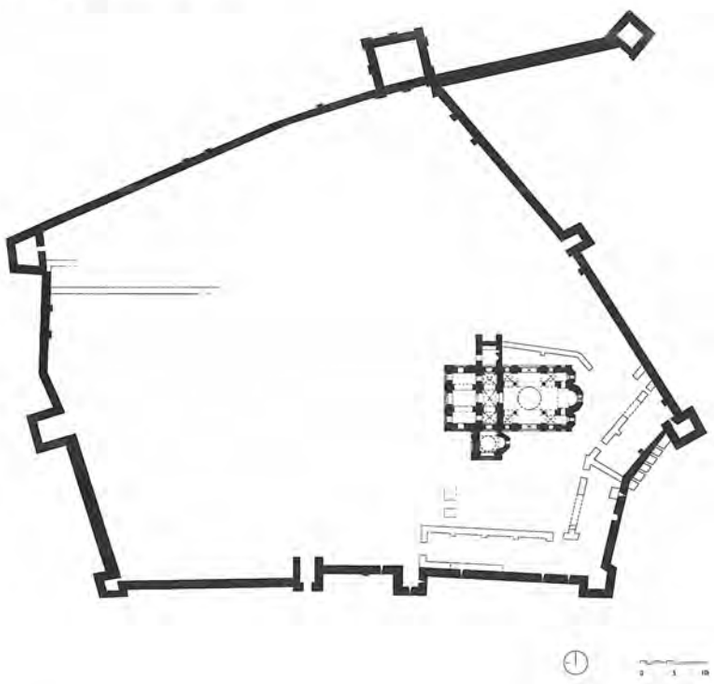


425 Sagmata Monastery; plan



form, measuring 45 × 50 meters. All the monastic buildings, with the exception of the katholikon, were built against the enclosing wall, leaving a large open court in the center of the compound. The monastery is entered through a single gate, here located on the east side of the enclosure. A stable is situated immediately adjacent to the gate, as in many other monasteries. Monastic cells, workshops, storage rooms, and other facilities are organized around the open court. The single-aisled refectory is situated along the south wall near the eastern corner, with the kitchen immediately to its west. At the southwest corner of the enclosure rises the monastery *pyrgos*, constructed at a later time. The katholikon is situated in the middle of the open court, positioned at a curious angle unrelated to any other structure in the monastery. The katholikon, measuring 9 × 20 meters (without the exonarthex), evidently belongs to this phase of construction. Its plan shows a close dependence on the katholikon of Hosios Meletios, from which it varies by the inclusion of a large narthex – *litē* – whose plan duplicates the naos scheme in every respect. The church was constructed by several different teams of builders, judging by the variations in building techniques. Whether these teams in certain cases were operating side by side or whether they succeeded each other is not a matter that can be addressed here.[103] Whatever the case, it is clear that the monastery could not acquire and retain the best artisans for the duration of the project. The same qualitative observations apply to the well-preserved original pavement in the church, in which standard *opus sectile* decorative schemes were executed in rough mosaic technique with crudely cut large cubes.

426 Zigos Monastery; plan

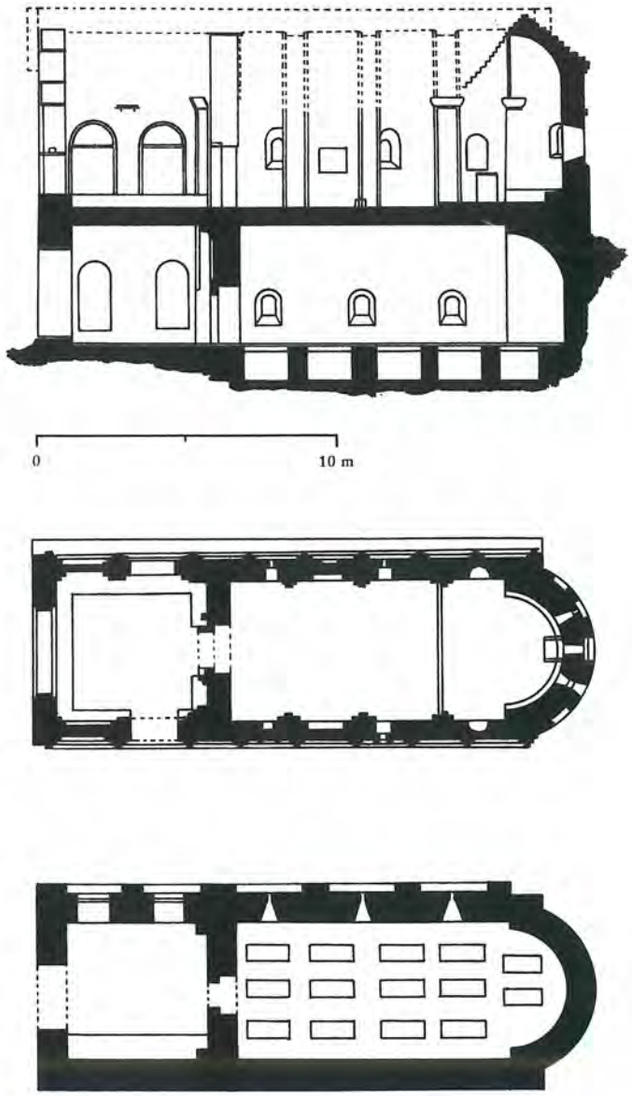


ZIGOS

Zigos Monastery on Mount Athos has long since been known, but only from written sources. It was only recently that its physical remains were detected at a location known as Phrankokastro and systematic excavations were started.[104] Tradition links the origins of the monastery with St. Athanasios the Athonite, who went there to practice *askesis* as early as 958. The physical presence of a monastic establishment is first mentioned in a source dated 996. The monastery flourished during the eleventh century, but its lifespan was cut short early by unknown causes. By 1199 it was fully abandoned and as such was donated by Emperor Alexios I to Hilandar Monastery as a *metochion* (dependency). The ongoing excavations have thus far traced the full extent of the pentagonal walled enclosure (fig. 426). Built in a valley, the northern part of the monastery enclosure rests on a relatively steep hillside. At the highest point is situated a large *pyrgos* – a hallmark of Athonite monasteries. This tower has a square plan, measuring roughly 10 × 10 meters. It is preserved to a height of several meters, but lacks its top stories. Its sides are marked by projecting spurs, three on each of its faces, with the exception of the eastern one, which has only two. Towers of this type are known in later medieval times. A recent discovery that the tower of St. George at Hilandar Monastery may date back to the tenth century, however, puts it in direct relationship with the tower at Zigos Monastery. From the main Zigos tower the lines of enclosure walls descended down the slopes of the hill to the southwest and southeast. With the exception of the wall running southwest from the main tower, all other stretches of the walled enclosure had additional square towers, giving the monastery a highly fortified, military-like appearance. A well-protected monastic gate was situated in the southern stretch of the walled enclosure that ran parallel to a stream near which the monastery was built. In addition to two building tracts of unknown function built against the southeastern corner of the enclosure walls, other monastic buildings are now undergoing systematic exploration. The principal building that has preoccupied the excavators thus far is the remarkable katholikon preserved in the condition of its original collapse. This sat on the highest point of the lower monastery terrace, its northern half literally cut into the hillside. Its discovery has added a significant new dimension to our understanding of the process of transmission of Constantinopolitan architecture into the central area of the Balkans. The church reveals all of the essential characteristics of the Constantinopolitan cross-in-square type, which will be discussed separately below.

BACHKOVO

In its present state the monastery of Bachkovo, Bulgaria, is one of the most impressive monasteries in the Balkans built during Ottoman times. Its origins, however, go back to the second half of the eleventh century. Known at the time as Petritzos Monastery, it was the foundation of a distinguished Byzantine general, Gregory Pakourianos, of Armeno-Georgian origin, as we learn from the preserved monastery typikon. No physical remains of this monastery survive. Archaeological excavations conducted in the 1950s did bring to light the evidence of the eleventh-century katholikon below the present early seventeenth-century building. The original church was of a triconch type most readily related to Athonite katholika.[105] Not far from the monastery survives the eleventh-century monastic ossuary (fig. 427).[106] By virtue of its location, physically separated from the monastery, as well as its architectural type, the ossuary belongs to the Middle Byzantine architectural tradition. The building is two-storied: the lower floor is a crypt used for the bones of deceased monks, while the upper story is a chapel. The lower story was built crudely, using fieldstone with large quantities of mortar. The upper story, on the other hand, is splendidly articulated by a system of external blind arcades (fig. 428). Although the interior of the chapel is vaulted and subdivided into a system of bays by transverse ribs resting on lateral wall pilasters, the exterior articulation bears no relationship to the internal structural disposition. Yet, the building technique, consisting of alternating bands made up of large ashlars and several courses of brick, along with semi-cylindrical colonnettes supporting each arcade, betray Constantinopolitan influence that, in this case, must have been indirect. The notion that the builders of the Bachkovo monastic buildings may have come from Mount Athos, where Constantinopolitan influence must have been strong, must be borne in mind as the likely answer to this important question.



427 Bachkovo Monastery, ossuary; plans and longitudinal section

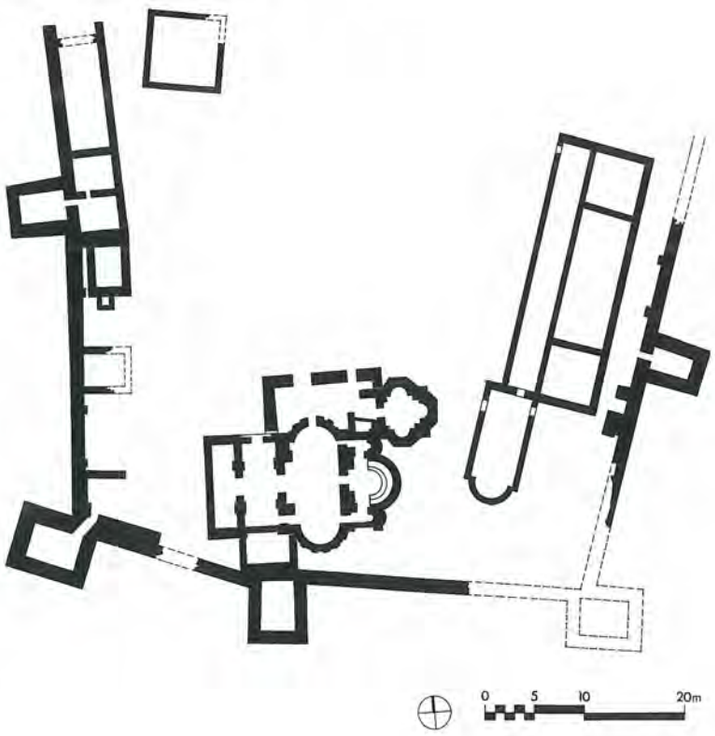
428 Bachkovo Monastery, ossuary; general view from SE

K'RDZHALI

In contrast to the absence of information about the monastic complex at Bachkovo, the excavated partial remains of a large monastery of St. John Prodromos at K'rdzhali, Bulgaria, present us with a very different picture (fig. 429).[107] The monastery was surrounded by an irregular enclosure wall and fortified by projecting rectangular towers, similar to those at Zigos Monastery. The southern stretch of the enclosure walls measured roughly 55 meters, while comparable stretches of the western and eastern walls were traced, but their full length could not be determined as it was not possible to explore the entire northern part of the enclosure. Various monastic buildings, some quite monumental,

were uncovered, as were various utilitarian monastic buildings characteristically attached to the enclosure wall. The most important discovery, however, was that of the katholikon, near the southern stretch of the enclosure, in the immediate vicinity of one of the fortification towers. The katholikon, further explored during the late 1990s, had a remarkable history with multiple building phases.[108] It is now clear that the site, much as in the case of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos or Hosios Loukas, appears to have been linked to a holy man who may have resided in a structure located on the site of the tower nearest to the katholikon. After his death he seems to have been buried in a small chapel adjacent to the tower. By all accounting this may have taken place in the ninth century, though exact dating does not appear to be possible. As the monastery grew, the small chapel was accompanied by a small three-aisled piered basilica built just to the north of it. This, probably the first monastic katholikon, may have been built during the tenth century. Both, the original chapel and the small katholikon, were superseded – possibly in the eleventh century – by the construction of the much larger katholikon. Measuring 14.3 × 21 meters in its overall dimensions, this was an inscribed-cross church with lateral apses on the north and south sides, as well as a tripartite sanctuary at the east end. Apparently related to the eleventh-century katholikon of Bachkovo, the katholikon of K'rdzhali Monastery must also be understood as a reflection of the strong impact of Athonite monasticism in the sensitive area of Thrace reclaimed by the Byzantines from the Bulgarians after 1018.

429 K'rdzhali Monastery; plan



Major Regional Developments

The Byzantine revival that gained momentum after the middle of the tenth century, and culminated after 1018, had an effect not only on urban centers, but on much of the countryside as well. Regained territories became beneficiaries of imperial support, generally aimed at providing initial stimulus for the recovery processes. Architecture, perhaps better than any other evidence, provides an unmistakable indication of the ambitions and extent to which the recovery had an impact on territories under imperial control. A large number of monuments built during this period still survive, while their presence was noted in scholarship long ago. The surviving buildings indicate, on the one hand, an external impact on regional architectural production, while on the other hand they reveal that aspects of production in certain regions displayed continuing patterns from the preceding period, even acquiring pronounced regional characteristics. In fact, it was predominantly the study of Byzantine architecture within this period that led the pioneer-scholar Gabriel Millet to divide the Byzantine architectural heritage into two distinctive groups, identified by him as "schools" – that of Constantinople and that of Greece.[109] Millet's conception subsequently met with wide approval and, together with some of his other ideas, led to a variety of problematic results in scholarship, whose effects will be examined later. For now, we should note that the division, as proposed by Millet in the present context, has been embraced by Greek scholars because it pertained to the eventual formulation of the so-called Helladic School. The phenomenon that he labeled "Constantinopolitan School," on the other hand, has not fared so well.[110] The reasons for the sad fate of the latter seem fairly obvious. The material is situated on a territory presently divided between five different states. Unlike the "Helladic School," whose entire territorial expanse is contained within the modern state of Greece, and whose material, therefore, conveniently falls under the umbrella of modern Greek scholarship, the material associated with the "Constantinopolitan School" has been further subdivided, reflecting current political divisions that are of no consequence for the understanding of cultural activities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Other regional developments have also been noted, but these were of lesser significance, acquiring prominence at a later time.[111] In a nutshell, what stands out here are the very problems that this book as a whole is attempting to redress. In our analysis of regional developments, we will turn

our attention first to the "central Balkans, examining the impact of Constantinople," to be followed by an examination of the "Helladic Paradigm."[112]

THE CENTRAL BALKANS AND THE IMPACT OF CONSTANTINOPLE

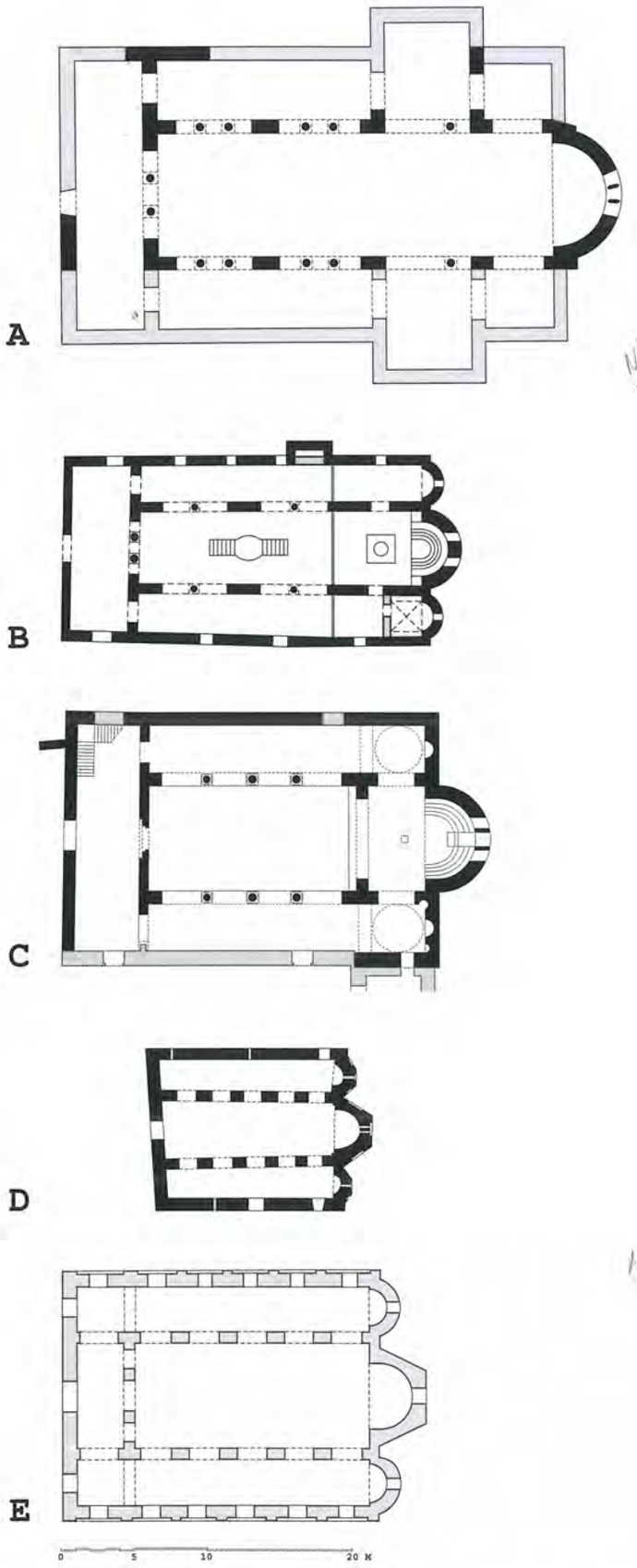
"The Central Balkans," as defined here, incorporates most of the northern Greek regions of Macedonia and Thrace, the present-day state of the FYROM, the southern parts of Serbia, and the southern parts of Bulgaria. Most of these territories were part of Samuel's state and were reintegrated into the Byzantine Empire after 1018. While architectural activity in these areas before 1018 cannot be denied, that tradition appears to have continued after the Byzantine reconquest only in certain limited ways. At the same time, Byzantine concepts directly associated with the capital were beginning to be exported more aggressively into the territory. Architectural activity in Constantinople between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1200 was at a relatively constant level of intensity. As we have seen, this affected all categories of buildings. Equally remarkable is that several of the building projects were of very impressive size, suggesting that the demand for high-quality builders in the capital was also relatively constant. In general, it was under such stable and enduring circumstances that architectural characteristics such as church types, the consistency of formal articulation of exterior façades, consistency of building technique, manner of detailing, etc., began to occur. This is precisely what took place in Constantinople.[113] Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Byzantine reconquest of Macedonia and parts of Thrace and the implementation of their re-Hellenization, Constantinopolitan architecture became a major export commodity in areas newly reclaimed by the empire. New churches began to appear in many cities, while very large monasteries arose in the countryside. All of them share at least some and at times all architectural characteristics with buildings in the capital. This new wave of Byzantine construction had a clear political objective, and it received partial, if not complete financial support from the imperial court. Leading members of the reestablished ecclesiastical administration, as well as the members of the newly rising aristocracy in the same area, eagerly followed the imperial initiative, investing in their own church building and in establishing private monasteries. Architectural types, design characteristics, methods of construction, workmanship – and at times even the materials – originated from the capital. Certain functional and symbolic considerations, likewise, illustrate the power of ideas and concepts generated in Constantinople.[114] Although we have no surviving archival material to support all of these claims, technical consistencies that can and have been examined on a number of buildings suggest beyond any doubt that Constantinopolitan master builders were commonly operating at locations far removed from the capital. The surviving Byzantine churches from this period fall roughly into five distinctive types, some reflecting close, at times direct, ties with architectural developments in Constantinople, while others betray a more conservative survival of trends that had begun in the area well before 1018. Inasmuch as the architecture in major urban centers has already been considered, we will concentrate only on the buildings not already discussed above.

Timber-Roofed Basilicas

The appearance of timber-roofed basilicas during this period must be viewed as a preeminent form of conservative survival of a building type popular in the area during the ninth and tenth centuries. Different scholars have proposed various reasons for its implementation, invoking ideological, liturgical, and other motives. No single formula for the preference of the basilican type, however, applies to all known cases. Nor was the choice uniformly and universally employed. Therefore, we must conclude that factors ranging from practicalities of construction to utmost intrinsic functional flexibility must have been among the preeminent reasons for the frequent selection of this building type. Despite the frequency with which it was employed, the actual plans and the manner of construction display major inconsistencies and variations. Some basilicas belong among the largest churches constructed, while others are among the smallest. Some of the basilicas feature only one apse; others may have three. Apses themselves vary in terms of their exterior appearance: some are semicircular, some three-sided, yet others are polygonal. Nor was there any apparent consistency in the employment of galleries over the side aisles. Needless to say, some of the choices could have been affected by conditions inherited from older surviving structures on a given site. The surviving walls of an earlier basilica could determine the general form of the building, and often did, in defiance of what may be perceived as current design norms.

The number of basilicas built during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries is substantial and appears to continue the general pattern of building perceived already in the previous chapter. Preeminent among all of the basilicas of this period were cathedral churches, both on account of their functional visibility and their size.[115]

One of the largest churches belonging to this period is the Old Metropolis at Veroia, Greece. Built during the last decades of the eleventh century, later partially destroyed and refashioned into a two-aisled building, it survived into the twentieth century as an Ottoman mosque. In recent years its plan has become known through archaeological excavations.[116] A three-aisled



430 Basilicas: (A)Verroia, Old Metropolis; (B) Kalambaka, Metropolis; (C) Serres, H. Theodoroi; (D) Manastir, St. Nicholas; (E)Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, earlier church; plans

basilica, it measured approximately 20 × 39 meters (fig. 430A). Closer to its eastern end the building features two square lateral chambers projecting slightly from the flanks of the church. Resembling a transept in plan, it is not clear whether such an arrangement existed in the original building. Instead, as separate chambers, these may have accommodated special shrines or other extra-liturgical functions. The nave was separated from the aisles by means of piers alternating with pairs of columns, employing a system familiar from the basilica of Hagios Dēmētrios in Thessaloniki. The narthex was separated from the nave by a tribelon, another feature recalling several large fifth-century basilicas.

The Metropolis of Kalambaka, Greece, is another sizeable basilica in which several early Christian features stand out, though in its present form the church appears to be of the late twelfth-century date.[117] Measuring 13.5 × 27 meters, it belongs to the class of larger Middle Byzantine churches, most of them probably built as cathedrals (fig. 430B). A possible construction over the remains of an early Christian basilica has been postulated, but firm proofs of such a relationship are lacking. Particularly remarkable and quite anachronistic are the four-column altar canopy and the large freestanding ambo in the center of the nave. These features do point to possible links to a preexisting building. As opposed to the elongated proportions of the Metropolis of Kalambaka, the metropolitan church of Hagioi Theodoroi at Serres, Greece, has relatively squat proportions, measuring 18 × 30 meters in plan (fig. 430C).[118] A three-aisled basilica, the church also has full galleries above the side aisles and the narthex, which contribute to its considerable height. This is best perceived in the nave, 7 meters wide but 13.5 meters high, and nearly twice as wide as the aisles. The nave arcades are supported on three columns on either side, while a pair of massive piers separates the sanctuary from the nave. The presence of galleries in churches of this period is relatively rare and their function here cannot be readily explained. A pair of large domed chapels flanking the sanctuary as the extension of the side aisles constitutes another idiosyncratic feature, recalling the arrangement of the great basilica of Hagios Achilleios at Mikrē Prespa (fig. 431). In all likelihood they were envisioned as funerary chapels for members of the higher clergy. Burned twice during the Balkan Wars, the church was crudely reconstructed, its roof and some of its damaged columns replaced by reinforced concrete replicas.

Several other basilicas in various states of preservation demonstrate the extent of new construction during this period in general and the popularity of the building type in particular. The standing remains of the basilica at Servia, Greece, dominate the hillside upon which the medieval town grew for obvious strategic reasons. The three-aisled basilica, measuring 14 × 26 meters,

survives as an impressive ruin. Here the nave is separated from the aisles by walls perforated by simple arcades. The individual arch openings are narrower than the wall sections that separate them. Furthermore, the spacing of these arches is uneven and varied on the two sides of the nave, further underscoring the sense that the basilica, in this case, is made up of three functionally separate spaces separated by longitudinal walls pierced by arched openings (fig. 432). The small arched windows in the walls recall late antique clerestory window arrangements only vaguely. Constructed in a crude manner using a random mixture of fieldstone and brick, the exterior was undoubtedly plastered and painted. The evidence for such handling of building exteriors comes from St. Nicholas at Manastir (near Bitola), FYROM.[119] The church is dated precisely to 1095, and was commissioned by the uncle of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. A relatively small three-aisled pier basilica, the church measures 11 × 15.5 meters in plan (fig. 430D). It is marked by the absence of a narthex. Internally, the nave is separated from the aisles by orderly arcades supported by massive piers. The building is unusual insofar that its nave, merely 4 meters wide, is barrel-vaulted, while the side aisles have timber roofs. Opinions differ as to whether this vault is original, or whether it was constructed during an extensive remodeling of the church carried out in 1271. Modern restoration work on some of the lateral additions to the original building has brought to light exterior plaster painted with the emulation of a building *opus*, thus providing strong indication that such handling of church exteriors was probably routine. The church of St. Procopius at Prokuplje, Serbia, is yet another example of a three-aisled pier basilica belonging to the period.[120] The building, disfigured by subsequent changes and additions, has been the subject of archaeological investigations, which have revealed the sequence of building phases and the church's probable original appearance. Measuring 10 × 15.5 meters, it has comparable dimensions to the basilica of St. Nicholas at Manastir, though it differs from it in the articulation of its structural elements. The main arcades here are supported by massive piers of varying sizes. Among the basilicas referred to here, only those at Kalambaka and Serres reveal the use of columns. In both cases, the present basilicas may have been built over the remains of early Christian churches, thus possibly inheriting some of the architectural members from their predecessors as well. The church of St. Procopius in its present form incorporates substantial remains of an eleventh-century pier basilica, itself built on the foundations of an older three-aisled basilica, perhaps dating from the tenth century.

In numerous locations in the central area of the Balkans the remains of churches, dating mostly from the eleventh century, have been detected under later medieval buildings. The case of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, province of Kosovo, is particularly instructive.[121] Here, substantial remains of a three-aisled pier basilica have been detected within the fabric of a fourteenth-century church built under the auspices of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin. The basilica was part of the Byzantine restoration program carried out under Basil II, following his defeat of the Bulgarians. As a seat of the Prizren (Byzantine Prisdriana) eparchy, the church is mentioned in a chrysobull of 1019, issued by Basil II to the newly constituted archbishopric of Ohrid. The basilica was three-aisled, with overall dimensions of 17 × 25 meters (fig. 430E). With a nave significantly wider (7 m) than the side aisles (3 m), the church appears to have inherited the proportions of an even older early Christian basilica, upon whose foundations it was built. The piers of the

431 Serres, H. Theodoroi; general view from SE

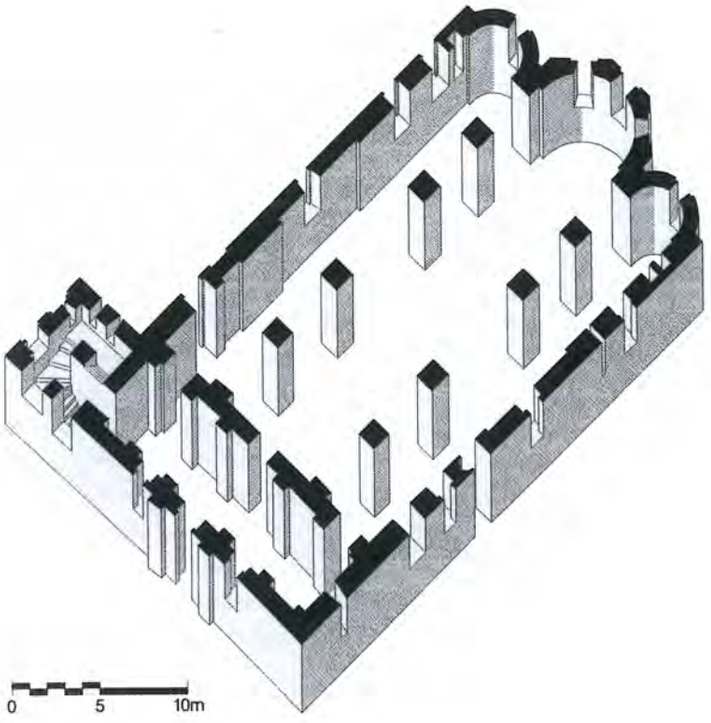
432 Servia, Cathedral; interior view of ruins looking E

eleventh-century church were spaced evenly, providing the interior with a pair of symmetrically disposed arcades. The relatively frequent use of piers reflects the increasingly prevalent dependence on all-masonry construction, as the availability of ancient columns continued to shrink.

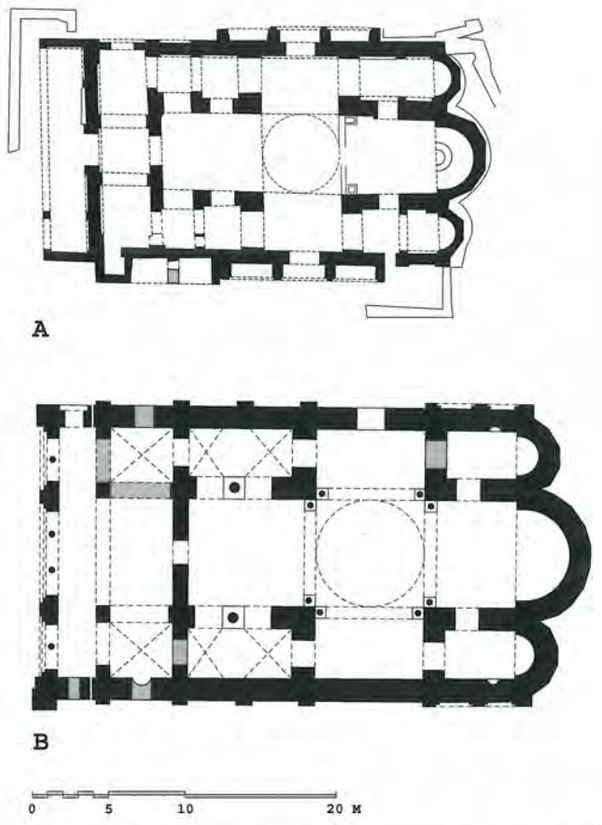
Domed Basilicas

This distinctive group consists of three monuments related not only by their typological characteristics but also by their physical dimensions, as well as their function – they were all evidently cathedral churches. The oldest and undoubtedly the most famous of these is the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, FYROM (fig. 433). The dating of this important monument is still debated, in large measure on account of the many reconstructions and additions throughout its history that have completely altered its appearance.[122] There is no doubt that the building has a much longer history, but in its present form it most likely belongs to the Byzantine reconstruction after the reconquest of 1018. Ohrid, it must be remembered, was the nerve center of Samuel's state. Hence, its transformation into a Byzantine city would have had more than merely practical significance. As a cathedral church, Hagia Sophia would have been the seat of the Bulgarian patriarch, whose function was replaced by a new Byzantine archbishop, appointed directly by the emperor. The Ohrid archbishopric was thus explicitly made into a political institution directly linked to the court in Constantinople. The cathedral's rebuilding, most commonly attributed to Archbishop Leo (1037–56), must have involved much more than just the reconstruction of the church. As a seat of an archbishopric, there must have been a palace somewhere in the proximity. In addition, we know that the church was affiliated with a major urban monastery, of which also no traces have survived. The plan,

433 Ohrid, St. Sophia; general view from E



434 Ohrid, St. Sophia, 11th-century phase; axonometric



435 Domed Basilicas: (A) Sisani, Cathedral; (B) Enez, Fatih Camii (Cathedral ?); plans

better than any other aspect of the surviving building, illustrates what its original form would have looked like (fig. 434). Measuring 17 × 33 meters, this was a sizeable building, displaying an essentially basilican layout, its nave separated from the side aisles by piers. The two pairs of easternmost piers retain their original positions, but the western two pairs were apparently rebuilt after the collapse of the nave vaulting, the transept, and the dome over the crossing. The dome and the transept were not rebuilt after this calamity, which must have occurred much later, when the building was functioning as a mosque. The collapse also involved the disappearance of galleries over the side aisles, which, in turn, rendered the pair of eastern upper-level chapels inaccessible. Since these contain original eleventh-century frescoes, there is no doubt that the building's general appearance has been significantly altered. The galleries, connected by the upper story above the original narthex, were accessed by a monumental stair accommodated within a projecting tower at the northwestern corner of the building. The church is known to have had yet another feature that no longer survives. During its restoration in the 1950s, the remains of a construction above the vaulting of the central bay of the upper story of the narthex indicate that a tower, most likely a belfry, arose at that point. The presence of belfries in Byzantine church architecture prior to 1204 has been archaeologically ascertained in a number of cases, this being one of the more significant examples.[123]

Excavations conducted near the small village of Sisani, Greece, in a remote area approximately halfway as the crow flies between Kozani and Kastoria, have brought to light a major church of unknown dedication. Destroyed, probably by an earthquake, the church buried in rubble has preserved innumerable original features, many of them *in situ*. These include part of its fresco decoration, brick and marble floors with an *opus sectile* guilloche panel, marble elements of the original iconostasis, the remains of the original synthronon, an ambo, a throne, etc.[124] The church was clearly a cathedral. In addition to the base of the bishop's throne, an important fresco depicting a bishop-donor kneeling before the Virgin has been preserved. Links with the tenuously identified eleventh-century bishopric of Sisanon (Sisianoupolis?) have been proposed. The church – measuring 14.5 × 31 meters – is slightly smaller than the cathedral of Ohrid, with which it shares several architectural characteristics (fig. 435A). Not the least of these is the general basilican layout, in which a system

of massive piers supported the main arcades. A transept, as wide as the nave, was situated at the midpoint of the building defining a crossing bay, above which a dome undoubtedly arose. This notion is also supported by the fact that the four piers at the crossing are much more massive than the rest. A closer examination of the building suggests that in its layout it may have featured a cross-in-square scheme juxtaposed with that of a basilica. Such a juxtaposition is not unknown in Byzantine architecture and merely emphasizes possible links with Constantinople. This postulated link is strengthened also by the structural articulation of the interior walls, where a system of shallow pilasters closely echoes, in position and dimensions, the piers in the central part of the building.

In addition to the features that point to the identification of the church as a cathedral, one should also add the fact that the building, like its counterpart in Ohrid, had galleries over its narthex and the side aisles. At the south end of the narthex is a projecting staircase that clearly led to an upper story. The church does have a curious arrangement that requires a word of explanation. Along its north and south walls four massive evenly spaced spur walls suggest a buttressing arrangement. Although built integrally with the walls, their primary function could not have been buttressing, for their positions do not match the positions of any of the crucial structural members inside the building. It appears that instead these spur walls may have carried large arcades consisting of three arches on the north and the south sides, supporting narrow balconies. The function of these balconies would seem to have been mandated by the fact that the interior galleries could not have spanned the transept arms. If the church had chapels above the so-called pastophories, as was the case at Ohrid, access to these would have been possible only by such an arrangement. This system would have resembled the solution that was employed under similar circumstances but on a much smaller scale in the North Church of the Constantine Lips Monastery in Constantinople.[125] The presence of galleries, whether continuous or not, both at Ohrid and Sisani points to a feature that may have held some meaning in cathedral churches of this period, though not all cathedrals had them. One final point is that at its west end the church at Sisani was preceded by a four-column portico. The portico, as wide as the church, must have been envisioned as some sort of "public" space fronting the building. We do not know whether Hagia Sophia had such a portico in the eleventh century; what we do know is that it acquired a far more monumental version of it in the early fourteenth.

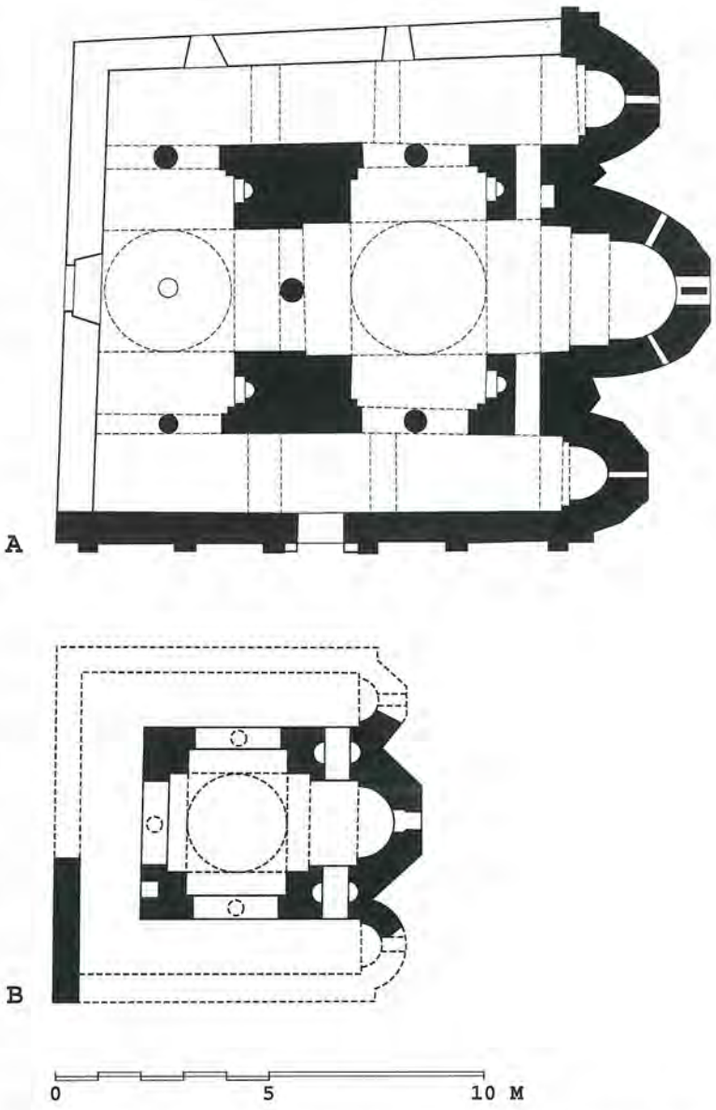
The third building that we will consider in this context is a large church of unknown dedication at Enez (Byzantine Ainos), Turkey. Converted into a mosque and known as Fatih Camii, it suffered structural damage in the 1960s and now survives as an imposing ruin.[126] Measuring 21 × 38 meters in plan, it is the largest member of this group (fig. 435B). Although it closely resembles what is generally defined as a "domed basilica," the church defies strict categorization. Elongated and featuring a transept, with a large dome once rising over the crossing, it had strongly enclosed corner compartments that display a marked resemblance to the "cross-domed" scheme of the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Constantinople (fig. 281). Once more, we are confronted with what appears to have been the exportation of ideas from the capital. In this case, it has also been demonstrated that various technical details and methods of construction, as well as sculptural decoration, were, in all likelihood, the work of Constantinopolitan masters. The church at Enez has attracted the attention of scholars for another reason – its light, open portico at the west end of the building. Previously thought of as a later addition, this has now been demonstrated to be an integral part of the original design.[127] As such it relates closely to the portico fronting the church at Sisani. At this point the question of the building's original function may meaningfully be raised. A church of such dimensions in a small but important port town at the mouth of the River Hebros was probably its cathedral. The building's size and design, relating it to the cathedrals of Ohrid and Sisani, reinforce this hypothesis.

Cross-Domed Churches with Ambulatories

Cross-domed churches have a long history in the central Balkans, reaching back to *circa* 600 and the beginning of the construction of the present church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. The type never achieved top popularity, but it endured, reaching a high point in the tenth century. Two known eleventh- and twelfth-century examples should probably be viewed as final reverberations of the tenth-century phenomenon. Of the two, the larger but also more problematic is the church of the Mother of God at Drenovo, FYROM. It underwent an extensive renovation during the reign of the Serbian king, and later emperor, Stefan Dušan (1331–55), but the substantial remains of an earlier building, including fragments of its sculptural decoration, suggest a late eleventh-century date (fig. 436A).[128] The church measures 13 × 16 meters in plan, thus closely matching related tenth-century churches at Drama and Labova. The core of the Drenovo church is made up of four massive piers, disproportionately large for the size of the building. The naos has a cruciform plan, the arms of the cross being relatively long, on account of the pier thickness. A single column, supporting a pair of arches, is situated between the piers on all but the east side. All four piers are articulated by small niches, whose precise function is not known. A passageway cut through the eastern pair of piers provides access to the sanctuary from the ambulatory. The

ambulatory, of more-or-less even width, surrounds the core on three sides. Its central western part functions as a conventional narthex. Screened by a double arch supported by a column on both the north and south sides, it probably had a dome, as was the case with the naos, though neither survives. The two remaining aisle-like spaces along the north and south sides of the core each terminate in an apse flanking the main one. The church once had galleries above the spaces enveloping the narthex. These have not been preserved, but a massive two-storied blind arcade on the lateral façades, of which only the southern one remains in the original form, gives a sense of the building's original monumentality.

Considerably farther north, in the valley of the River Ibar, are the remains of a curious unknown church. Referred to as "Stara Pavlica" (Old Pavlica), on account of the nearby late medieval monastery of Nova Pavlica, Serbia, the church is tenuously dated to the twelfth century. The real name, the function, and the builder remain unknown. Its plan, however, reveals sufficient similarities to the church at Drenovo to prompt a comparison between the two and their presumed prototype, Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.[129] Its association with the period of Byzantine revival during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, therefore, remains a likely hypothesis. The plan of the main part of the church, albeit on smaller scale (8.5 × 9 m), features a cross-domed central core surrounded by a continuous ambulatory (fig. 436B). The core, defined by four massive piers, has single-column arcades between the piers, much as at Drenovo. The eastern piers are perforated by a passageway, also following the Drenovo model. In this case the walls of the piers within the passageways contain two small niches in a mirror-like arrangement. Their presumably liturgical function remains unclear. Unlike other churches of this type, Stara Pavlica was preceded by a large narthex, unusual if not unknown in churches of this period. Measuring 6.5 × 8.5 meters, this narthex nearly doubles the size of the church itself. Its disposition, and its internal accommodation of tombs, recalls later monastic narthexes, the so-called *litaia*. Nor is the building technique, consisting almost exclusively of local fieldstone laid with generous quantities of mortar, helpful in solving the problem of this building's origins. If anything, it would seem to add weight to the general argument that some sort of drawings must have existed that would have served as the basis for laying out church plans in accordance with established formulas. This "design" may have been produced and brought to the site by a "master builder," who might also have been in charge of its execution. The actual construction was probably entrusted to another individual, accustomed to working with different building materials, who would have been expected to adhere to a "design" provided from elsewhere. These, of course, are only hypotheses. Their accuracy needs to be tested before any general conclusions may be reached. It is buildings such as Stara Pavlica that provide particularly important clues in this regard.



436 Cross-Domed churches with ambulatories: (A) Drenovo, Mother of God (B) Stara Pavlica; plans

Single-Aisled Domed Churches

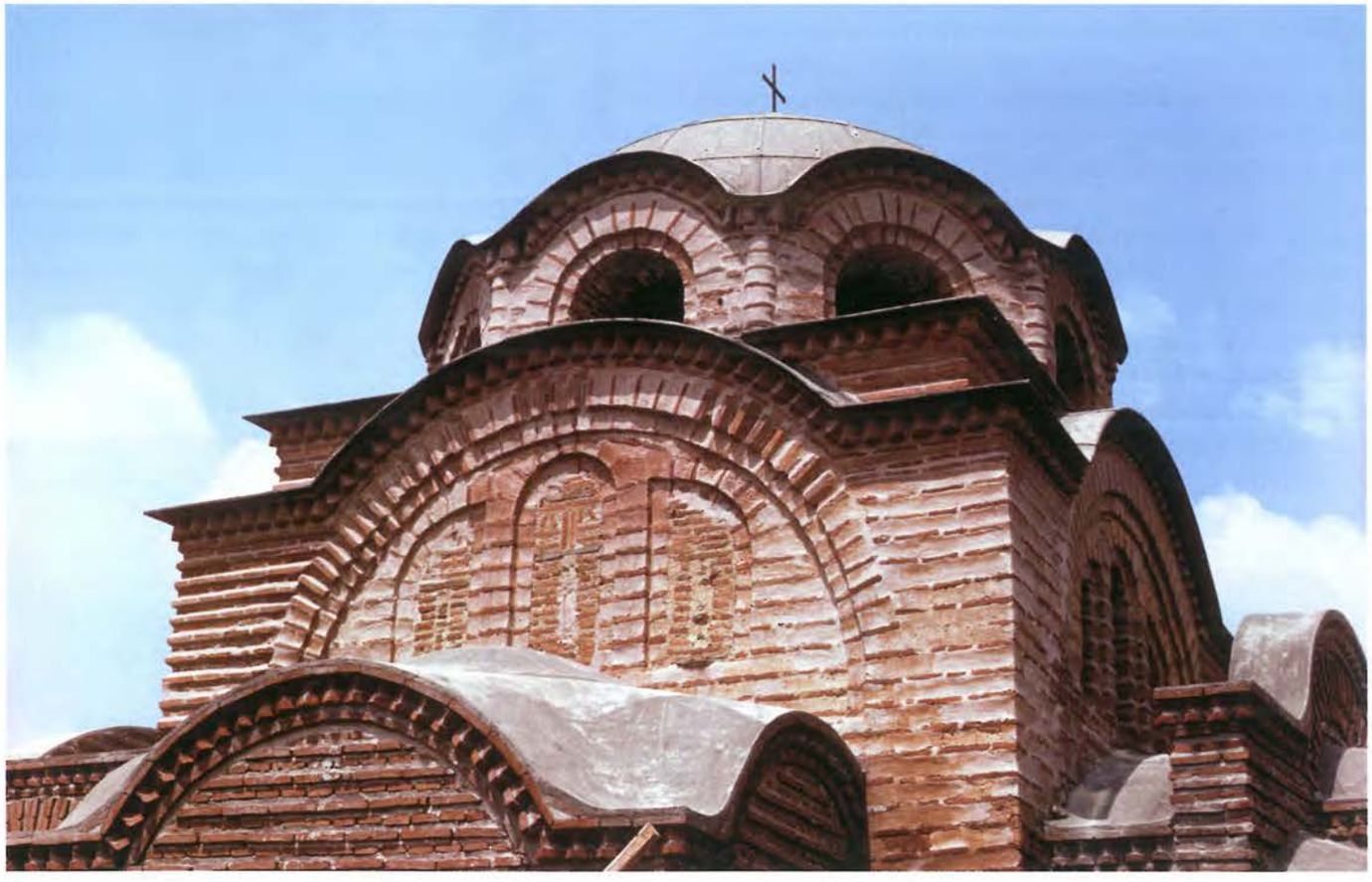
Despite their conceptual relationship to other church types, single-aisled domed churches are generally rare throughout the history of Byzantine architecture. This is no less true of the period under consideration here.[130] In most cases, the type appears as a subsidiary component of a larger church. Only rarely does it figure as a freestanding independent structure. In many respects churches belonging to this group find parallels in architecture along the coast of Dalmatia.

437 Gornji Matejevci, church; general view from SE

A curious small church in the village of Gornji Matejevci, on the outskirts of Niš, Serbia, is one of the examples that shed light on a number of relevant issues (fig. 437). Its type, its formal characteristics, and its construction set it apart from most other Byzantine buildings of the period. Though there is no firm proof of its origins, a date in the first half of the eleventh century, recently proposed, is convincing.[131] Measuring 4.8 × 9.2 meters in plan, this is comparable to a number of typologically related buildings in Dalmatia. Four spur walls that subdivide the space into three spatial units mark the church interior. The largest of these units is the central square domed bay, while the other two oblong bays are of comparable dimensions – one to the west, the other to the east, constituting the church sanctuary. The exterior blind arcades that appear at an upper level resemble a sequence of shallow niches, whose external placement has little to do with the interior structural organization. The walls of the church display a highly improvised building technique, one that is only distantly related to the established Byzantine standards. The technique is marked by an extensive use of spoils, mostly Roman funerary monuments that were clearly available in the vicinity. By virtue of its building technique, the church has much in common with Stara Pavlica, with which it also shares other stylistic characteristics. Not the least of these is the emphasis on height, a characteristic deviation from current Byzantine standards.

Far more sophisticated, in every respect, is the church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija, Serbia, whose architecture is linked

438 Kuršumlija, St. Nicholas; view of domed bay from SE with later additions



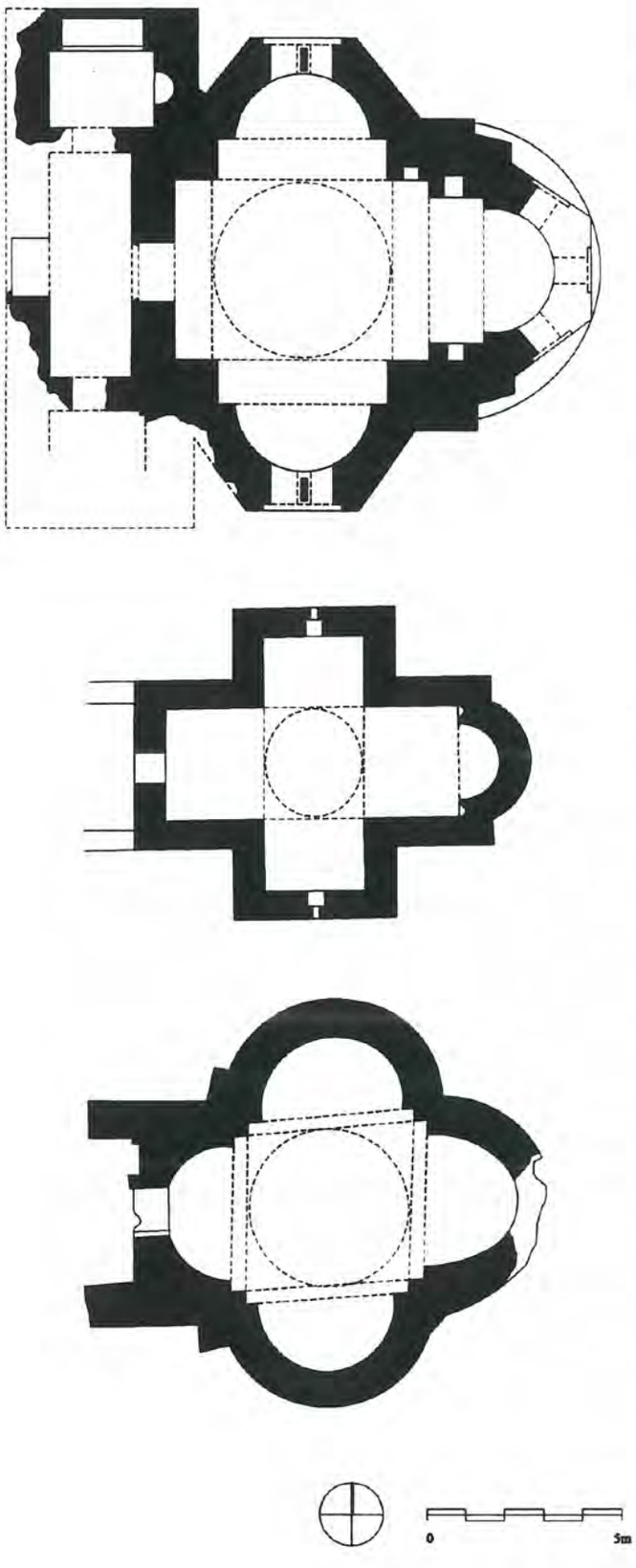
to Constantinople (fig. 438).[132] Of relatively modest size, the church measures 8 × 14 meters in plan. Lacking any documentation, it has been mistakenly attributed to the patronage of the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja. We will discuss the entire problem of this building and its two distinctive and important building phases in a later section of this chapter. For now, suffice it to say that its original single-aisled domed form, as well as its distinctive recessed-brick technique, must have had Constantinopolitan roots. This is further strengthened by the character and proportions of the drum and by the ribbed articulation of the dome interior, each rib filling the space between two adjacent windows (fig. 337B). Ribbed domes, whose ultimate model must have been the dome of Hagia Sophia, were common in twelfth-century Constantinople, as exemplified by the dome of the south church in the Pantokrator Monastery. The appearance of Constantinopolitan technical details, along with the general design and the characteristic all-brick building technique, suggest that, in this case, a master builder from Constantinople must have been directly engaged in the construction.

The church of St. Nicholas at Sapareva Banîa, Bulgaria, provides interesting additional information regarding reliance on this Byzantine type of church in the central Balkans (fig. 439).[133]

439 Sapareva Banîa, St. Nicholas, general view from SE

St. Nicholas is a very small building, measuring merely 5.5 × 7.2 meters in plan. It features a compact version of the domed cross element without a narthex. Though less sophisticated than St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija, it shares with it several characteristics, among them squat proportions, a very low (here twelve-sided)

440 Prodromos Monastery, katholikon; view from N



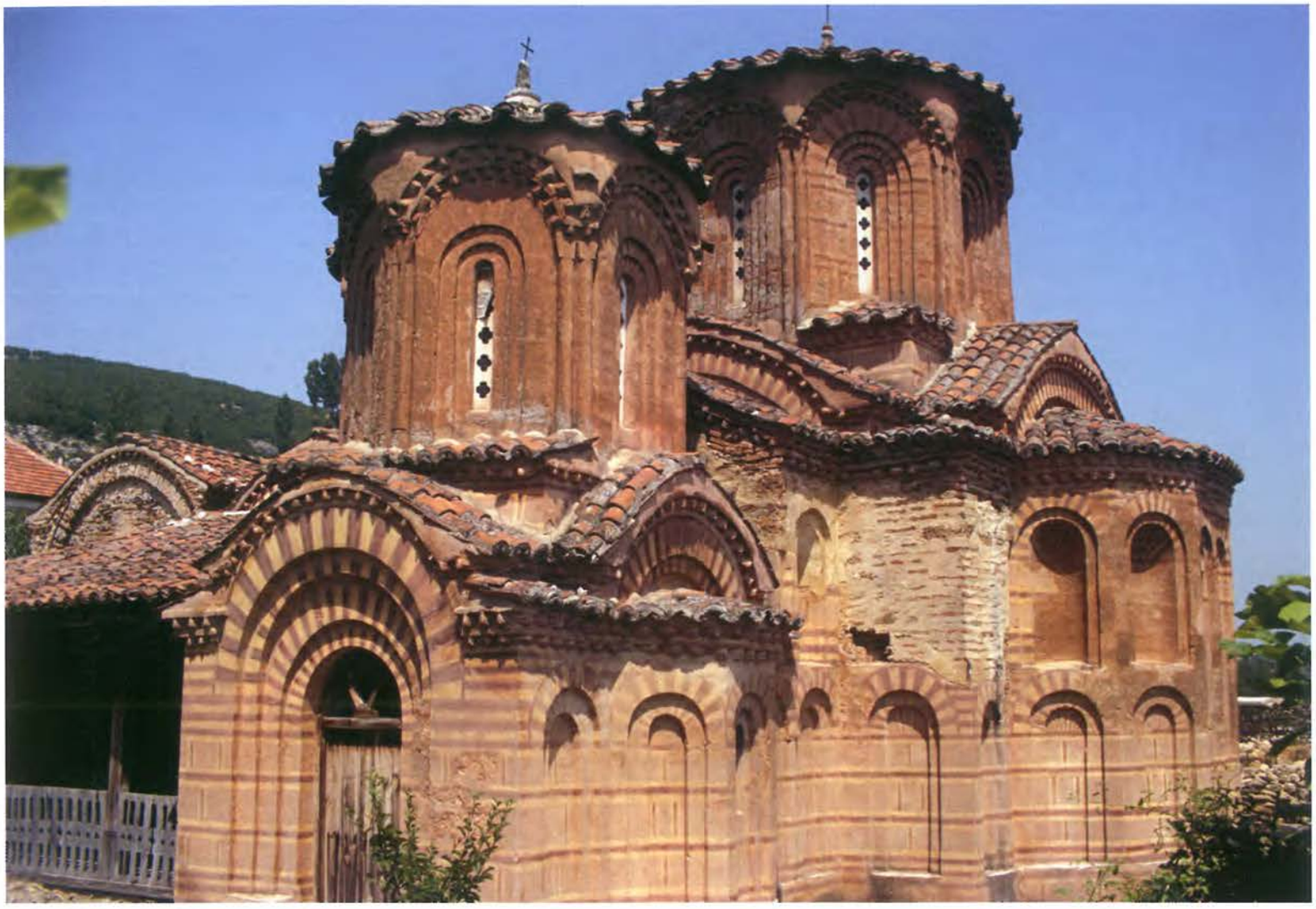
441 Triconch, free-cross, and tetraconch churches: (A) Ouranoupolis, H.Nikolaos; (B) Djunis; (C) Zanjevac; plans

drum, and the recessed-brick building technique. The fact that some of the distinctive Constantinopolitan features are conspicuously missing leads to the conclusion that the building was built by local workmen who must have been trained by a master builder from the capital. The church, whose exact function and donor are unknown, is associated with the no longer extant town of Germania.

Yet another monument belonging to this group is the katholikon of the monastery of Hagios Ioannis ho Prodromos (St. John the Baptist), near Serres, Greece (fig. 440).[134] Here, the original plan, measuring 8 × 17 meters, features a dominant domed naos separated by a pair of massive spur walls from the sanctuary, marked by three small apses. The naos is preceded by an oblong narthex to which it is linked by a single door. The original katholikon was enveloped by several later additions, including an exonarthex with a chapel above it and a belfry at the northwest corner, but these do not concern us here. The building technique of the original construction phase cannot be examined because all of the exterior surfaces are presently covered by a coat of pinkish plaster. Other architectural features, such as the characteristically low drum and large tympana flanking the domed bay with their triple skewbacks, point unmistakably to Komnenian architecture. The church is thought to have been built around 1230, though an even earlier date should not be dismissed outright. Should present dating prove correct, Hagios Ioannis would constitute a late example of this group of buildings, constructed at a time when the area was hotly contested between the Byzantine rulers of Thessaloniki and the Bulgarians.

Triconch Churches

For reasons that are not at all clear, freestanding triconch churches in this part of the Balkans became quite rare during this period, and were apparently used primarily in monastic contexts. Found on occasion as subsidiary chapels of larger monastic churches, they were especially rare as freestanding churches, with the exception perhaps of the main monastic churches of K'rdzhali and Bachkovo in Bulgarian Thrace. Remains of the relatively small church of Hagios Nikolaos, the katholikon of the monastery of Hagios Nikolaos Melissourgeiou at Ouranoupolis, Mount Athos peninsula, Greece, dated *circa* 1030, serve as a reminder that this type had not completely died out during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though its popularity was far greater in times preceding the year 1000 and again following 1250.[135] Measuring 15 × 16 meters, this was a building whose naos was essentially a compact domed cross, with the dome, 5 meters in diameter (fig. 441A). The naos was flanked by two symmetrical apses on the north and south sides, while the third, eastern apse was preceded by an additional bay that was originally



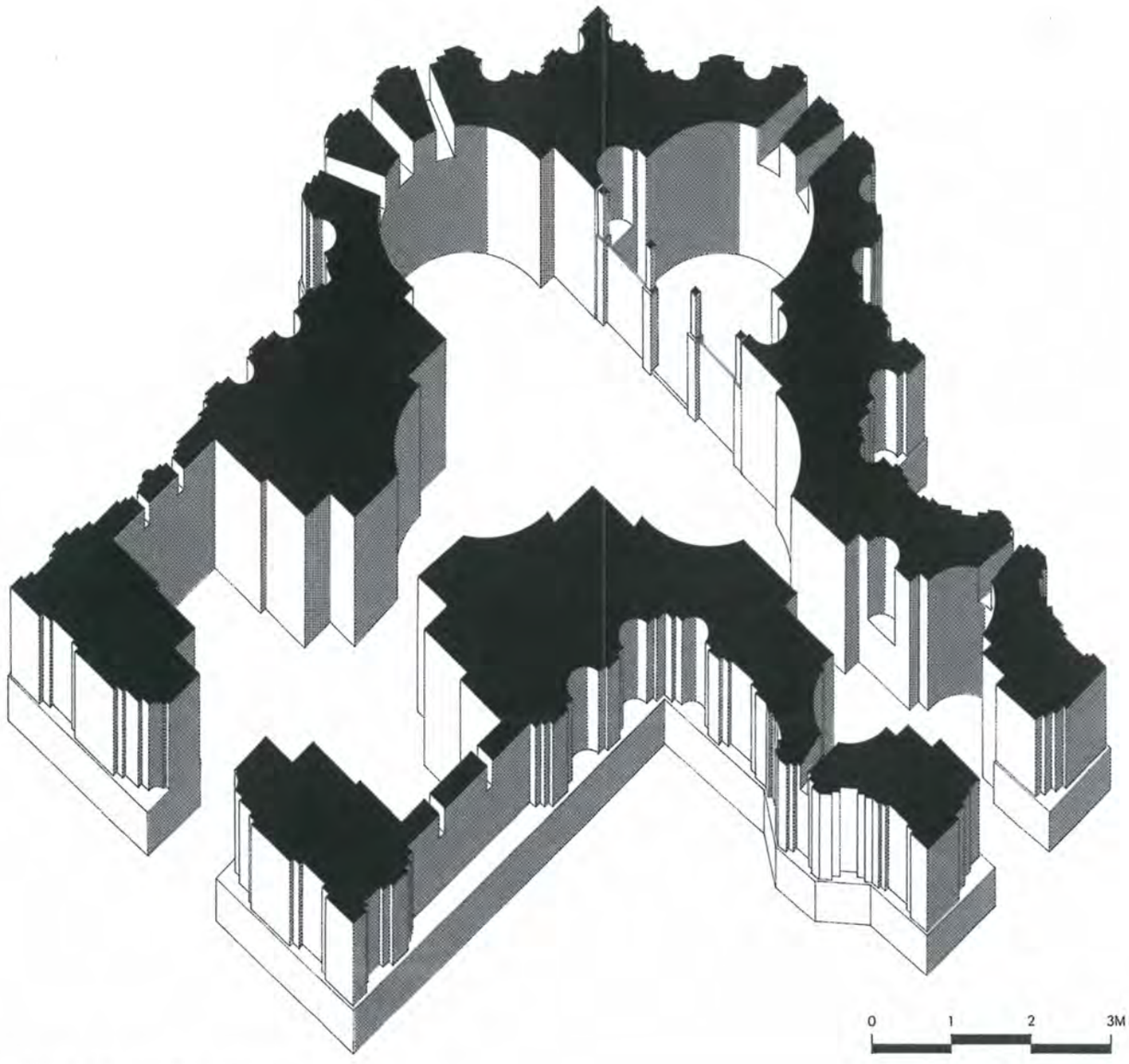
442 Veljusa, Theotokos Eleousa; general view from SE

accommodated behind the iconostasis. The three apses were semicircular internally and three-sided externally, revealing an adherence to Constantinopolitan standards. Preceding the church on the west side was an oblong narthex, flanked by two small chapels on the north and south sides. The northern chapel contained a tomb in its northern wall, corresponding to the practice seen in larger Athonite monastic churches during the previous two centuries.

Free Cross and Tetraconch Churches

This group constitutes completely centralized churches whose forms have been linked to late antique prototypes, though such links must remain hypothetical since they lack any concrete documentary evidence. All churches in this group are marked by their relatively small scale and all are characterized by a dome rising over the central, square bay. Appearing at a time of increased private patronage of architecture and other arts, they were built commonly for the purposes of private worship or as monastic chapels intended as burial places for their donors.

The cruciform church at Djunis, near Vranje in southern Serbia, has a free cross plan. Measuring 8.5 × 10 meters, it survives only in foundations. Its cross arms are of identical dimensions, only the eastern one being different, since it extends into the altar apse, semicircular both internally and externally (fig. 441B). In all likelihood, the church had a dome over the central crossing. An equally interesting building is the small tetraconch church whose remains have been excavated at Zanjevac, in eastern Serbia (fig. 441C).[136] Probably built in the eleventh century, it displays a certain sophistication in design, notwithstanding its small size and relatively crude construction. Measuring 10.5 × 11.5 meters, the church appears to have been intended to accommodate burials. While neither the date nor the donor is known, we see here a building belonging to the general type under discussion. Once more, we witness the sep-

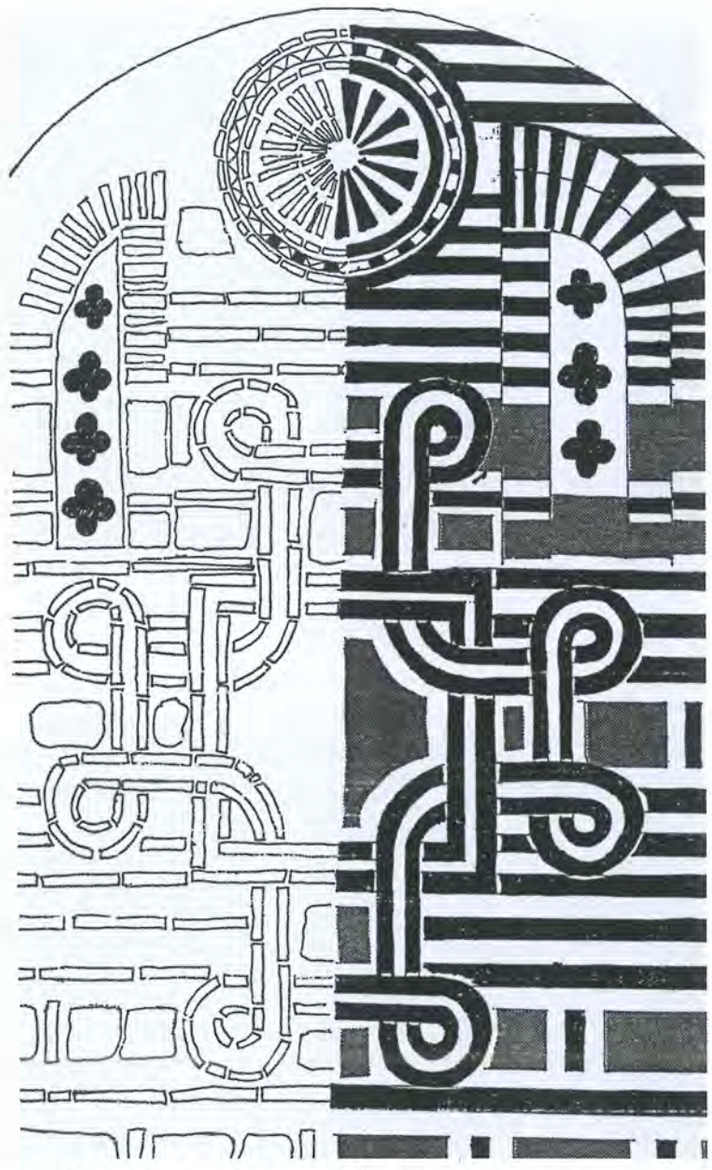


443 Veljusa, Theotokos Eleousa; axonometric

aration of the design scheme from its actual implementation. The builder clearly had a very different background and experience from the master who must have been responsible for the design of the building, and who must have had some first-hand knowledge of architecture in the capital.

The churches at Djunis and Zanjevac illustrate the northward expansion of Byzantine patronage into areas predominantly inhabited by the Slavs – Serbs and Bulgarians – but claimed by the Byzantines as their own. The methods of achieving the goal of the re-Hellenization of these areas, though related, were markedly different from those employed farther south, particularly in the region of Macedonia. As we have seen, the input of the Byzantine capital in that area was much more direct. This is confirmed also in this category of buildings, where a particularly remarkable church has been fully preserved. The monastic church of Theotokos Eleousa (Mother of God of Pity) in the Village of Veljusa, near Strumica, FYROM, is one of the finest eleventh-century monuments to survive in the Balkans (fig. 442).[137] Built in 1080, it was the foundation of one Manuel, the Byzantine bishop of Tiveriopolis (Strumica), and was intended as his funerary chapel. Details of the dedication of the church, the name of its patron, and the date of the foundation appear in two lengthy inscriptions on two stone lintels, originally above the two main western portals and now in the Archeological

Museum in Sofia. A complex building for its size, measuring 13 × 13 meters in overall dimensions, it consists of a tetraconch domed naos, a domed narthex, and a miniscule domed chapel on the south side (fig. 443). The naos itself is a perfect tetraconch, measuring 7 × 7 meters internally. This building core has preserved some of its original furniture and decorative embellishments intact. Parts of the original templon screen have been preserved, permitting a complete reconstruction. The same holds true of the original floor pavement, which features a characteristic nine-field guilloche interlace pattern under the main dome executed in *opus vermiculatum*. Such floor patterns, as we have seen, became very common in the finer Athonite churches of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as well as in a number of other churches built under the direct involvement of Constantinople. Constantinopolitan characteristics in this case may be detected in all aspects of the design and execution of the building. The two subsidiary domes – over the narthex and over the subsidiary chapel – are elevated on tall drums, whose interiors are marked by ribbing. The church was built almost exclusively of brick, in the recessed-brick technique, another hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction. The exterior is richly articulated by blind arcades with multiple skewbacks, as well as by the blind niches that animate all wall surfaces. The degree of surface articulation is such that very few flat areas of wall were allowed to remain. The exterior surfaces, finally, were all plastered and painted in direct emulation of the building *opus*. An important aspect of this exterior decoration was the discovery of a large interlace cross and a roundel with a sun-burst motif directly above it on the exterior of the south narthex wall. Functionally, this cross is related in its position to the location of the erstwhile arcosolium tomb of the church founder, which was located inside the narthex. Especially revealing is the fact that the preserved painted decoration was actually on a coat of plaster that covered identical motifs executed in brick as part of the wall construction (fig. 444).

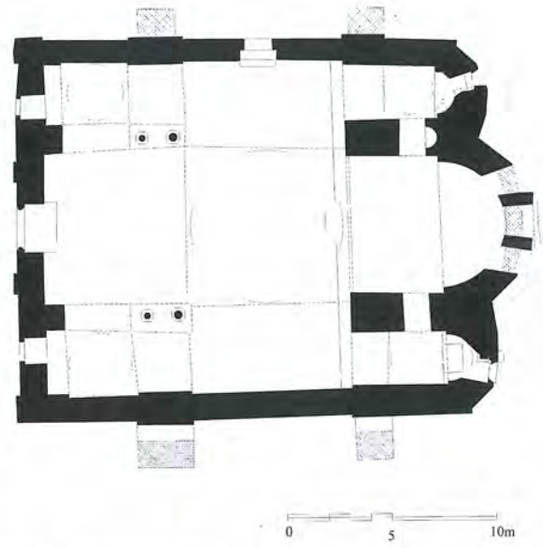


444 Veljusa, Theotokos Eleousa, south façade; detail, drawing

Inscribed-Cross Churches and Variants

The "inscribed-cross" scheme, as we saw in the preceding chapter, emerged as a particularly significant type already during the ninth and tenth centuries. Originating in Byzantium, the type appears to have spread over a wide area, including the lands under Bulgarian control. Of particular importance was the area of direct Byzantine–Bulgarian contacts within the region of Macedonia. It was here that one of the most instructive buildings for the understanding of these developments is located. The complex architectural history of the church of St. Leontios in Vodoča, near Strumica, FYROM, and its significance was discussed at some length in Chapter 6 (see pp. 331–32). Here we will highlight the history of this complex building in the aftermath of the Byzantine reconquest in 1018. The eastern church, dedicated to St. Leontios and probably built under the Bulgarian emperor Samuel, was evidently destroyed during the Byzantine incursion into the area under Basil II. A new church, dedicated to the Presentation in the Temple, was built immediately after the reconquest, sometime between 1018 and 1037. Constructed to the west of its predecessor, this adopted essentially the same plan, albeit on a smaller scale (9.5 × 12.5 m). Especially relevant for our discussion is the fact that the new church was the subject of another major reconstruction *circa* 1100, when its entire eastern end was demolished and the church incorporated into an expanded building that now included a rebuilt

445 Pherrai, Kosmosoteira; general view from SE



446 Pherrai, Kosmosoteira; plan

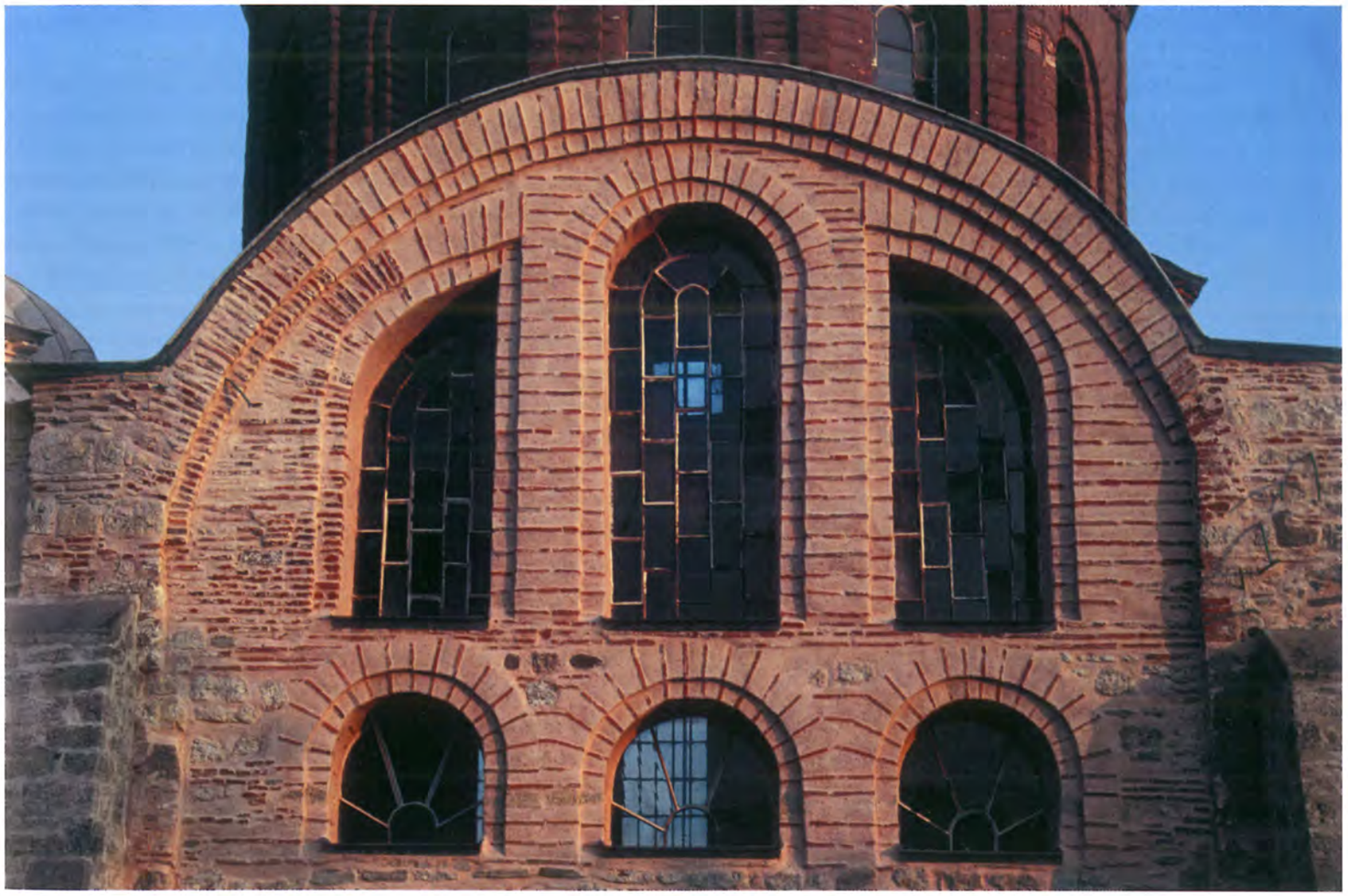
version of the original tenth-century church. In the new scheme of things the church of the Presentation became an elaborate domed narthex of a much larger two-domed church. This makeshift additive process is of considerable importance for a number of reasons. In the first place, it illustrates the Byzantine method of design "by accretion."[138] The significant aspect of this curious creation is that the end product, into which two older buildings were incorporated, was actually in keeping with current design trends in Byzantine church architecture. The twin-domed design, with the main dome over the naos echoed by a lesser dome over the narthex, the two axially aligned, was employed already in 1080 at the church in nearby Veljusa, albeit on a smaller scale. Both churches – at Veljusa and Vodoča – were evidently linked to Constantinople, where the same two-dome design scheme was employed in the south church of the Pantokrator Monastery, albeit at a slightly later date. The appearance of relatively large domed narthexes reflects a close symbolic, functional, and formal relationship between narthex structures and related church architecture. This particular link, apparent also in some of the aspects of decorative programs within such spaces, has not yet been explored. The literal transformation of the church of the Presentation at Vodoča into a narthex surely represents one of the clearest arguments supporting such a notion, and warrants further investigation.

The complex of excavated churches at Morodviz, FYROM, constitutes another important contribution to the understanding of the continuity of a cult on a given site.[139] The latest in the sequence of three superimposed churches, in this case, was a relatively small inscribed-cross church. Measuring 9 × 12.5 meters in its original plan, this small church at first sight resembles the cross-in-square scheme. The form and the placement of its piers, however, make it quite clear that it must have had longitudinal barrel vaults over the lateral spaces, intersected by a transverse barrel vault. The intersection of the transverse barrel vault and that over the central vessel resulted in a square central bay that must have been covered by a dome. The church later acquired a narthex. The excavators date this church to the tenth century, thus associating it with Bulgarian patronage under Emperor Samuel. While this is not impossible, the church may well belong to the period of Byzantine restoration after 1018. Several of its architectural characteristics match those of the western church at Vodoča, including the fact that it was originally without a narthex.

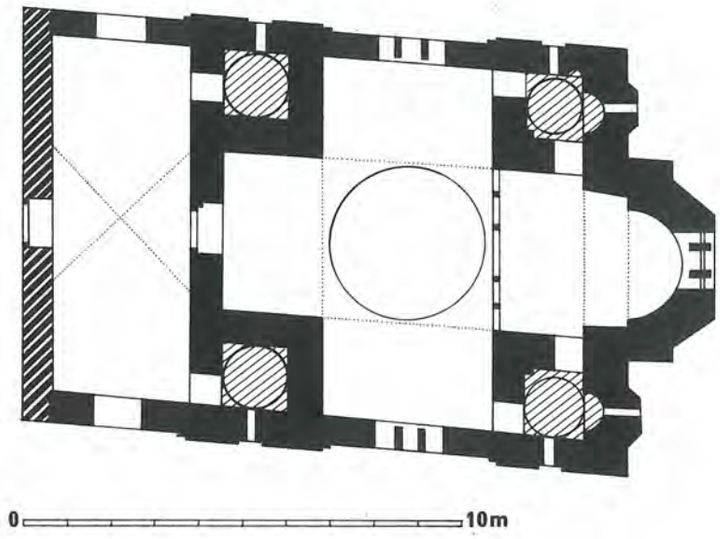
Any doubts that may remain regarding Byzantine patronage of the church at Morodviz do not apply in the case of the church of Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, Greece (fig. 445).[140] The origins of this extraordinary building are extremely well documented. Not only do we know its patron, Isaak Komnenos, brother of the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos, but we also have its typikon, which provides an abundance of details concerning the circumstances of its foundation. Built in 1152, the church was constructed as the katholikon of a monastery, of which only traces of the enclosing wall remain. It was intended as the funerary church of its patron, who was subsequently buried in it. Measuring 18.5 × 23.5 meters in plan, the church is an unusual variant of the inscribed-cross scheme (fig. 446). Originally built without a narthex, it acquired one shortly after the original construction, much as the church at Morodviz. The naos is dominated by a large, internally scalloped dome elevated on a drum that rises over the intersection of large barrel vaults defining the

inscribed cross. In this case the corner compartments have four small scalloped domes elevated on drums. Thus, the church may also be perceived as belonging to the so-called five-domed type that became popular at this time.[141] The system of the main dome supports in this case is unique. While the eastern pair consists of conventional rectangular piers, the western pair is made of strangely flimsy-looking pairs of slender columns with grossly oversized capitals. What may have prompted this curious asymmetry in the structural solution of this church is not apparent, but it is certain that the choice was not governed by structural concerns. If anything, the structural stability of the building may have been compromised by the solution. The idea may be related to a scheme known as the "two-column variant" of the cross-in-square church type, which appears with some frequency in the central and southern parts of Greece during this period. More will be said about this type below. It is not likely, however, that the church at Pherrai would have had any meaningful direct links with that group of churches. In size, in architectural character and in its use of the concealed-brick technique, the Kosmosoteira was unmistakably a product of Constantinopolitan masters, brought from there by its distinguished patron. Recent conservation work on the church has brought to light many relevant details. Its architectural elements reveal many characteristics that are unmistakably tied to Constantinopolitan practice. Most notable among these is the size and character of its large dome. With an interior diameter of 7.5 meters, the dome of Kosmosoteira is related to the category of large domes built in the capital during the twelfth century. Its interior scalloping and exterior articulation are also standard characteristics of those domes. Equally telling are the large high-shoulder triple windows situated within the large tympana that enclose the north and south arms of the cross. The all-brick execution and especially the forms of the windows with their unmistakable Roman echoes show the hand of a metropolitan builder (fig. 447). A comparison with the same features on the church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija discussed above is also instructive.

447 Pherrai, Kosmosoteira; south façade tympanum window, detail



448 Nerezi, St. Panteleimon; general view from SE



449 Nerezi, St. Panteleimon; plan

A related, albeit somewhat different story is that of the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, FYROM.[142] Considerably smaller than the Kosmosoteira, measuring 9.5 × 16 meters, this is a five-domed church as well, also commissioned by a member of the Byzantine imperial family (fig. 448). Although here, too, builders must have come from Constantinople or a related center, they were not among the very best available at the time. Constructed in 1164, as recorded on a dedicatory inscription, the church was built for a monastery endowed by the wealthy patron. Notable for its remarkable frescoes, undoubtedly the work of some of the finest painters of the period, it is surprisingly conservative in several respects. This is especially true of its plan, which reveals one of the oldest formulations of the inscribed-cross scheme (fig. 449). In this case, as in some of the ninth-century churches in Constantinople, the cruciform domed naos is accompanied by four domed chapels segregated from it by solid walls. The four chapels occupy the spaces between the arms of the cross, with which they produce the overall rectangular building form. In contrast to such conservative features, preserved elements of the original furnishings of the church reflect current trends in sculptural decoration, though not without provincial reverberations.

Cross-in-Square Churches

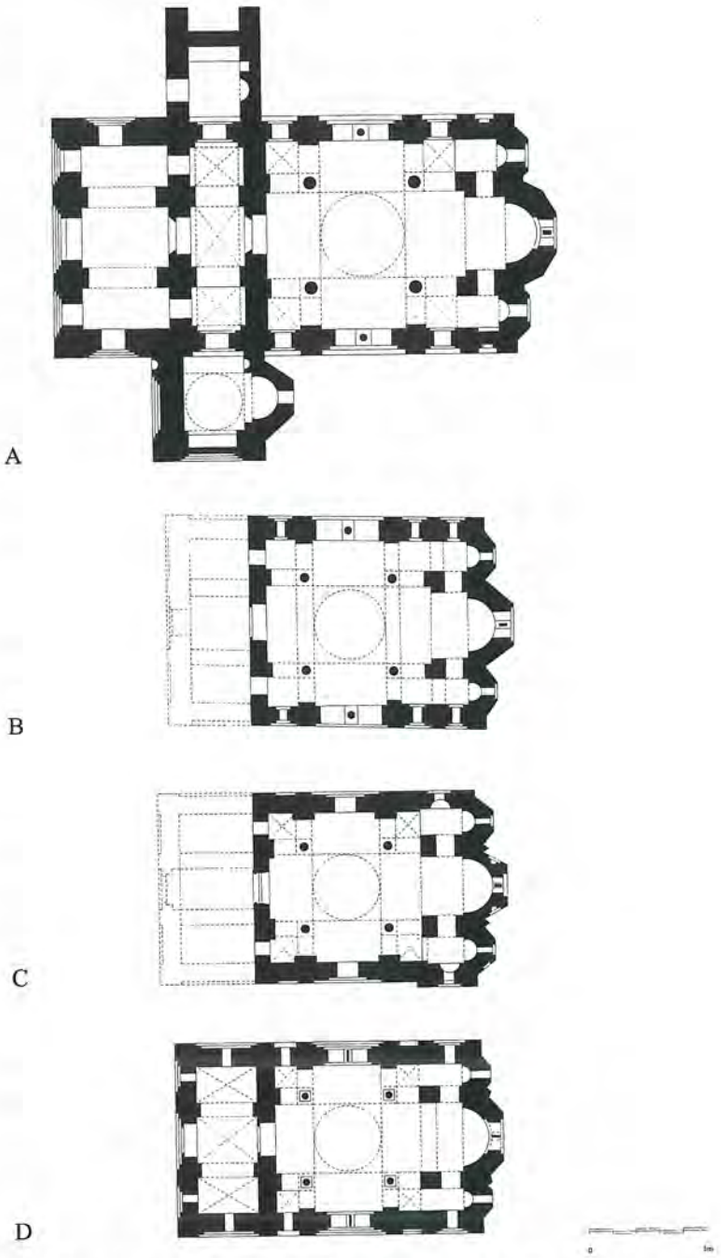
The appearance of this church type in Constantinople and its impact in other areas of the Balkans were discussed in the preceding chapter, as well as in the section devoted to the Byzantine capital in this chapter. The distinctive characteristics of the type, as we have seen, were the square naos with the main dome carried on four freestanding columns. Preceding the naos on the west side was an oblong narthex, while a deep, tripartite sanctuary abutted it on the east. The narthex and the sanctuary, generally speaking, were of similar dimensions, ensuring that the dome appeared roughly at the midpoint of the building as a whole. An equally important characteristic of the type, as it was formulated in the capital, is that all of its spatial volumes were clearly articulated internally and externally by means of pilaster strips. On the exterior these were joined by blind arches, providing the façades of these churches with a distinctive form of articulation, usually topped by characteristically undulating eaves. It would be difficult to prove, but it seems very likely, that the type radiated into the Balkans from the capital through monastic auspices. In fact, given the state of current research, it appears that it was Mount Athos that may have served as the main "clearing house" for the dissemination of this type of architecture into other parts of the Balkans. The ways in which such a process may have functioned have begun to be investigated only recently. Among the broader issues being pursued in this context is the question of design methods and whether Byzantine builders knew and used architectural drawings at all, and, if so, why none has been preserved.[143]

The discovery, still in progress, of the katholikon of Zigos Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece, as mentioned above, is one of the most important archaeological finds on Mount Athos (fig. 450A).[144] Measuring 10 × 17 meters in plan, the church differs slightly in dimensions from the original Kilise Camii (11 × 19 m), whose spatial characteristics it duplicates closely. Built probably *circa* 1000, chronologically it is also closely related to its Con-

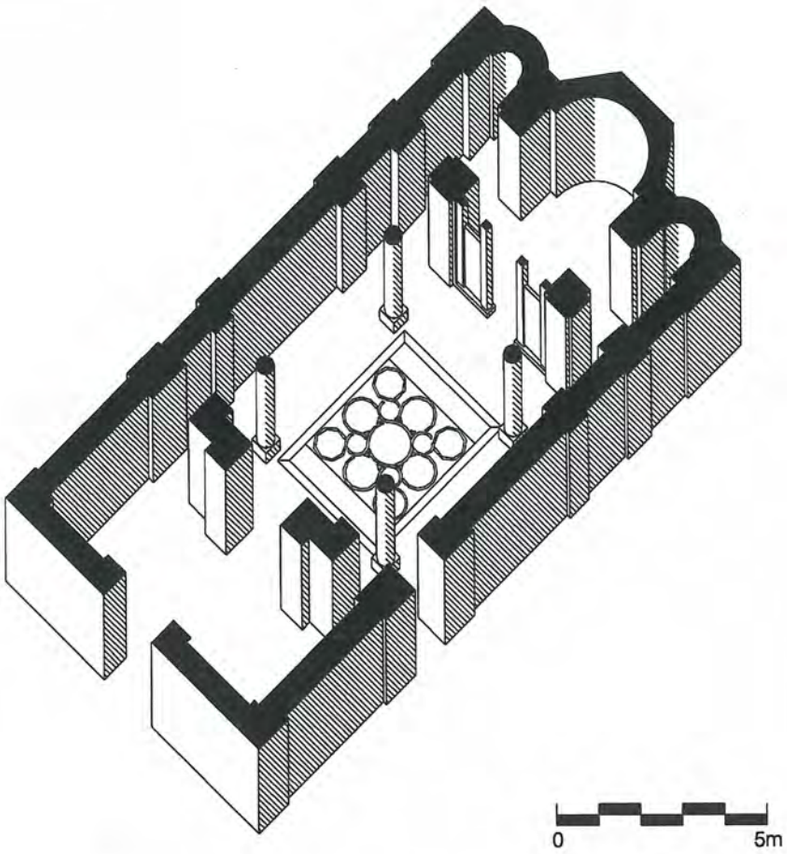
stantinopolitan counterpart. Despite its early demise, the excavated lower portions of its walls are substantially preserved, revealing a building technique of alternating bands of brick and stone. Recessed-brick technique, another hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction, is also in evidence, as is a remarkable marble floor with a distinctive *opus alexandrinum* guilloche panel in a chapel abutting the narthex on the north side. This chapel contained an arcosolium tomb, possibly that of the katholikon's founder. Its relative position, and its external and internal accessibility, recall the chapel containing the remains of St. Athanasios, next to the katholikon of the Great Lavra (pp. 303–04). Much like other katholika of Athonite monasteries, the Zigos katholikon continued to be enlarged by various lateral additions, all probably built during the eleventh century. After the addition of the north chapel, the katholikon acquired an exonarthex, doubling the area of its original narthex, to be followed by another funerary chapel abutting the inner narthex on its south side.

The katholikon of Zigos Monastery may have been preceded by a few years by another Athonite katholikon, the so-called Old Katholikon of Xenophontos Monastery (fig. 450B).[145] Only slightly smaller – measuring 9 × 15 meters – the church has essentially all the same elements in plan and practically identical proportional relationships. To this two more Athonite churches should be added – the Parekklesion of Hagios Ioannis Prodromos at Iviron Monastery, apparently built during the last quarter of the tenth century, and the church of the Kelli of Hagios Prokopios, affiliated with Vatopedi Monastery and dating from the last quarter of the eleventh century.[146] The two churches have plans of nearly identical dimensions (8.2 × 14.75 m and 8.5 × 14 m, respectively), with almost identical layouts (figs. 450C and D). Clearly, between the late tenth century and the late eleventh, the cross-in-square type had acquired enormous popularity on Mount Athos, and from there it must have spread to areas nearby, as well as much farther into the reconquered Byzantine territories.

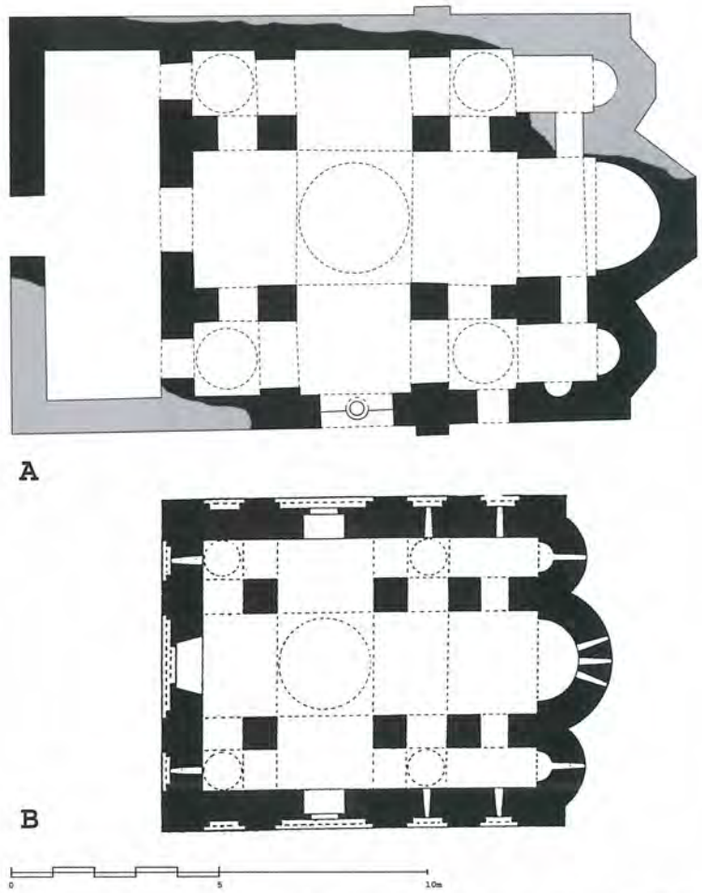
In the plain below the plateau upon which sat the ancient city of Olynthos, Greece, a settlement, possibly a monastery, came into being during the Middle Byzantine period. Foundations of a cross-in-square church of essentially identical type as those just discussed were discovered during the extensive excavations carried out at Olynthos itself.[147] Olynthos is situated just north of the Bay of Kassandra, on the Chalkidiki peninsula, some 40 kilometers to the west of Mount Athos. At the time of its discovery the church may have been perceived as most unusual in this location. Now that Middle Byzantine Athonite churches have been studied more carefully, it is clear that the one at Olynthos is simply a member of the same large family. Measuring 8.5 × 17.5 meters, it is closest to the katholikon of Zigos Monastery, with which it shares multiple architectural features, including an elaborate marble floor with panels executed in *opus alexandrinum* (fig. 451). The appearance of these churches – all sharing Constantinopolitan characteristics – needs to be linked also to the church of the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, which has already been discussed. It shares the same plan, if not all of its architectural characteristics, with the group in question (see pp. 370–72). Precisely dated to 1028, the Panagia Chalkeon unmistakably belongs to the larger phenomenon of Byzantine revival under discussion here.



450 Cross-in-square churches: (A) Zigos Monastery, katholikon; (B) Xenophontos Monastery, "Old Katholikon"; (C) Iviron Monastery, H. Ioannis; (D) Kelli of H. Prokopios; plans



451 Olynthos, church; axonometric



452 Cross-in-square churches with piers: (A) Strumica, Fifteen Martyrs of Tiveriopolis; (B) Kolusha, St. George; plans

453 Kolusha, St. George; general view from SW in 1898

Farther afield, the same planning scheme was used in the church identified as that of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiveriopolis at Strumica, FYROM.[148] Its plan, measuring 10 × 16.5 meters, has essentially identical dimensions to the katholikon of Zigos Monastery, with which it has several architectural characteristics in common (fig. 452A). Unlike the previous churches, it employed a system of four piers instead of four columns for the support of its dome. Such substitution, as we have seen elsewhere, was fairly common in areas where column spoils were not readily available. The use of columns during the Middle Byzantine period presumed the availability of column shafts as spoils, because they were no longer being produced at the time.

The final member of this group is the church of St. George in the village of Kolusha, Bulgaria.[149] Preserved in partial ruin at the turn of the twentieth century, the building was subsequently crudely reconstructed and enlarged. In plan it follows the standard scheme, employed, as we have seen, with considerable frequency. Slightly smaller in overall dimensions – 7 × 11 meters – the church also lacks the narthex commonly employed in the

other examples discussed (fig. 452B). An old photograph made before its reconstruction is invaluable in several respects. Above all, it shows the exterior articulation of the walls by large blind arcades, themselves articulated by regular skewbacks (fig. 453). This, along with the recessed-brick technique, also clearly visible in the photograph, supports a twelfth-century date for this essentially undated monument, as well as the probable Constantinopolitan origins of its builders. St. George at Kolusha, along with St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija, demonstrates the spread of Constantinopolitan influence into the heartland of the Balkans.

"THE HELLADIC PARADIGM"

As was stated in the introduction to this section, the central and southern parts of the Greek mainland, as well as some of the islands, experienced a distinctive building boom in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This may have been initiated already with the Byzantine defeat of the Arabs and the reconquest of Crete in 961, but it acquired full momentum only after the victory over the Bulgarians in 1018. The return of political stability and economic prosperity, under the umbrella of an aggressive imperial policy of reclaiming the reconquered territories in earnest, resulted in conditions favoring an unprecedented amount of construction. We should also not ignore the fact that the bulk of this development took place after the year 1000, and that as such the phenomenon paralleled – without any clear connection – a similar building boom in western Europe at the same time. While the pacesetting in this era of optimism and prosperity without a doubt came from Constantinople and the emperor himself, the role of the military aristocracy and the higher clergy, as well as of a new wealthy class of producers and merchants, must not be ignored. Another contributing factor that played a significant role was the increasing importance and spread of monasticism. Apparently spurred by the growth of Athens, but also by the revival of other ancient centers – Thebes and Corinth among them – the architectural boom had its natural base in the Byzantine theme of Hellas (roughly the present regions of Attica and Boeotia). From there its effects apparently spread to a much larger, though relatively precisely defined, area. A significant increase in building activity is detectable also in the Peloponnēsos to the south and the regions of Aitolia, Acharnania, and parts of Ēpiros to the west, as well as on the islands, most notably Andros and Euboia in the Aegean and Kerkyra (Corfu) in the Ionian Sea. We have already considered developments in Athens and Corinth, as well as those of the main monastic centers – Hosios Loukas, Daphni, Hosios Meletios, and Sagmata. We will now turn to other architecture in these areas by focusing on the surviving ecclesiastical buildings. Before turning to the individual categories of churches, it is important to consider the chief general architectural characteristics of this development that we identify as the "Helladic paradigm." The term "school" is being deliberately avoided, for its use in modern scholarship reveals an insufficiently critical attitude toward the meaning of the term. The term implies the systematic training of students in different aspects of architecture, including design, structural theory, and construction practice. Apprenticeship, that is, acquiring technical skills from a master while working on various building projects, cannot be equated with "schooling" in a conventional sense. The term "paradigm" as employed here should be understood as implying development of standardized, mostly technical, methods and their resulting aesthetic expression acquired through apprenticeship procedures that evolved over a period spanning some two centuries, but within a strictly confined region under very specific, favorable circumstances.

Buildings belonging to the "Helladic paradigm" are numerous and have been relatively well preserved. Generally speaking, they are small in size and have distinctive stylistic qualities in common.[150] Despite their numbers, the churches associated with this group display pronounced conservatism in terms of design. The most popular planning schemes – cross-in-square and domed octagon – are thought to be imported from Constantinople. Yet despite these perceived links with the capital in the realm of ideas, there is nothing in the actual execution that could be associated with architectural practice there. "Helladic" churches are marked by the simple geometry of their overall forms, by planar treatment of their façades, and by an emphasis on horizontality. These qualities are practically antithetical to those of Constantinopolitan architecture of this period. The general aesthetic characteristics of the "Helladic" churches have been associated with classical architecture, but any evidence of a conscious "renaissance" in Middle Byzantine architecture in general is lacking.[151] Links with classical architecture were, of course, not only possible but also very likely, considering the abundance of ancient buildings still standing in major centers such as Athens and Corinth. The preference for certain formal and structural building elements such as triangular gables, high crepidoma, the integral use of large stone blocks arranged in cruciform patterns within wall construction, along with fine workmanship, suggest that builders of this epoch were keenly aware of the classical heritage that surrounded them. The extensive use of architectural sculpture, mostly executed in marble with considerable skill, likewise bespeaks an aesthetic attitude strongly affected by the classical past, as does the preference for the use of ancient spoils as a means of embellishing exterior wall surfaces. This particular attitude, also known in other parts of the former world of antiquity, had another distinctive local corollary – admiration for sculptural spoils of a more recent

making. In many Middle Byzantine "Helladic" churches one encounters reused elements of Middle Byzantine sculpture, often not more than half a century older than the church within which they were employed. The reasons for their reuse are usually unknown, but they point to an attitude of admiration for such older work. All of these, however, were isolated lesser phenomena that clearly lacked the larger intellectual framework characteristic of a genuine "renaissance." These "micro phenomena" made their mark on certain physical aspects of architecture, particularly exteriors, but they changed little of the essence of Byzantine architecture as it had been evolving over the preceding two centuries. An especially striking new characteristic of the "Helladic paradigm" was widespread standardization, particularly notable in the visible aspects of construction. The so-called cloisonné technique – featuring the use of stone ashlars carefully framed by single or double bricks on all sides – became prevalent. Extensive stretches of beautifully executed wall surfaces employing this technique became the veritable standard of this architecture. Recessed dogtooth courses, pseudo-Kufic or other decorative elements executed in brick, meander, and checkerboard bands, as well as glazed bowls set into walls, all became integral parts of a decorative vocabulary spread by the builders of this group, but apparently never beyond the geographic limits outlined above. In this sense, too, the "Helladic paradigm" was a truly regional phenomenon. Another general point is that, notwithstanding the large number of well-preserved "Helladic" churches, relatively few of them have contemporary interior mural paintings. Furthermore, the frescoes that have survived are seldom of a quality that equals that of architecture. Mosaics, on the other hand, are preserved only in exceptional cases, not uncommonly are imperial commissions, and invariably reflect the work of imported artisans. A related question also looms over "Helladic" churches – were they ever plastered and painted externally, as was the case with church architecture in other parts of the Balkans? Their exquisite construction and the extensive use of sculptural decoration, as well as a lack of any surviving evidence for external painting, leave us with this lingering dilemma. Nor have other peculiarities of their achievements been detected elsewhere. Were the "Helladic" master builders champions of a strictly local aesthetic that, for whatever reason, remained an isolated phenomenon? Unlike their Constantinopolitan counterparts, these builders apparently never received commissions for projects far away from their home turf. While the evidence of their impact on architectural activity in the territories under Constantinopolitan influence is lacking, the opposite does not hold true. Time and again, as we shall see, concepts and various features – formal and structural – associated with the architecture of the capital found their way into the work of "Helladic" builders. Why and how this may have happened are questions that must be asked, though definitive answers at this point continue to elude us.

Basilicas

Timber-roofed basilicas, as we saw in our discussion of the central Balkans, were relatively common during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By contrast, they were extremely rare within the framework of "Helladic" architecture. It is possible to propose a plausible reason why this may be so, though precise reasons may never be known. Basilicas, as we saw earlier, were large churches whose construction was often inspired by the imperial goal of reclaiming territories that had been lost to the Bulgarians. Such specific needs did not exist in the southern Greek lands, where extensive church building was generally an expression of regained political stability and economic prosperity. Hence large-scale churches – and this, in addition to basilicas, includes domed basilicas and cross-domed churches with ambulatories – were practically unknown in the south.

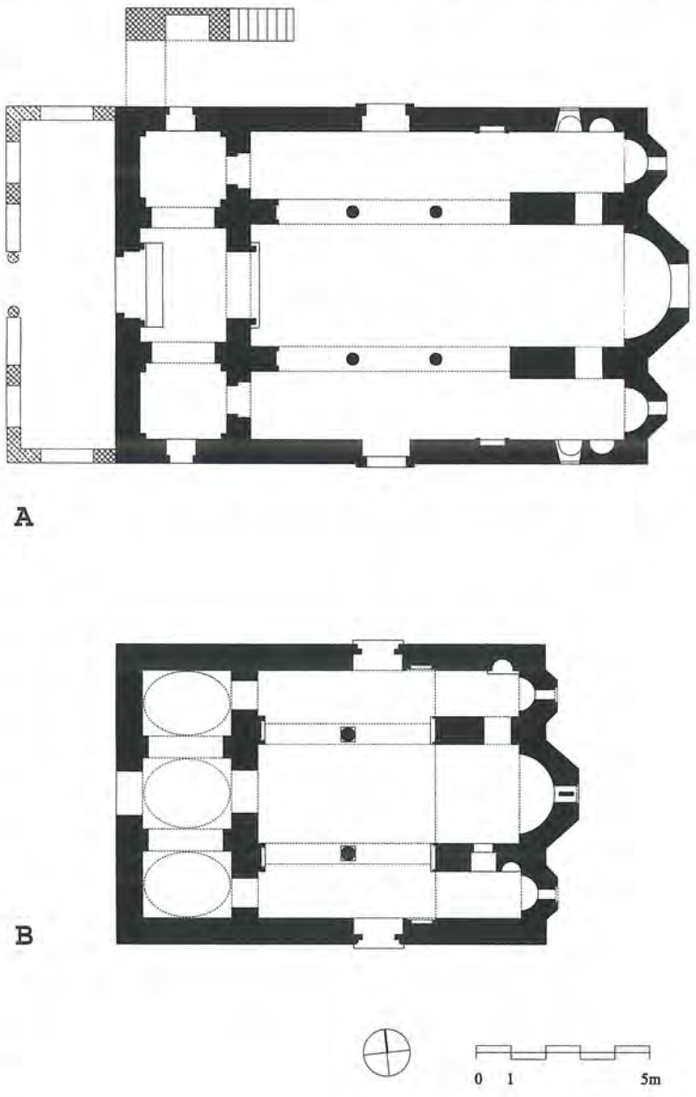
The church of Evangelistria Poliportou at Erateinē Dōridos, Greece, is one of the rare examples of the type found south of Thessaly. The church survives in ruins, but its general characteristics are recognizable. It was a three-aisled, timber-roofed basilica, with overall measurements of 15.5 × 23 meters. In size and some of the characteristics of its interior disposition it recalls the basilica at Servia, though in execution the architecture reveals the paradigmatic differences between the two regions that have been outlined. The church had a large nave, 7 meters wide, which terminated at the east end in a semicircular apse, three-sided externally. The nave was separated from the side aisles by rectangular piers carrying arches. Their disposition – much as at Servia – displayed a total lack of symmetrical planning, for reasons that have no ready explanation. The side aisles, evidently also terminating in apses of similar design to the main one, may have functioned as lateral chapels. They and the nave were accessible from an oblong narthex as wide as the nave on the west side of the building. The construction of the church reveals the use of large stone ashlars, probably spoils from an older building. Carefully assembled, these had small voids between them filled in by small horizontally laid bricks. This technique, though aesthetically not as refined as cloisonné work, was employed in the region. The approximate date of the church has ranged in accordance to different opinions from *circa* 1000 to the twelfth century.[152]

The katholikon of Vlacherna Monastery in Ēleia, Greece, is a basilica of very different character. Somewhat smaller than the preceding example, it measures 11.5 × 19.5 meters. However, it displays major differences in its interior arrangement that seems more closely related in many respects to the architecture of cross-in-square churches than to regular basilicas (fig. 455A). Featuring

a standard three-part sanctuary with three projecting three-sided apses, its basilican character is discernible in plan only from the even spacing of its four columns. It is the superstructure that tells the full story. The nave rises much higher than the roofs over the side aisles, its upper walls perforated by two small clerestory windows on either side. The church is preceded by an oblong narthex. Divided into three bays by means of projecting pilasters, the narthex is fully vaulted, its lateral compartments featuring rib vaults. In such a form the church was built during the twelfth century. A major expansion occurred during the Frankish control of Morea, in the thirteenth century. At that time, the church acquired an open exonarthex with an enclosed upper floor, and a transverse room covered by a wooden pitched roof, resembling a transept, was added above the original narthex, giving the church its distinctive appearance. The original basilica displayed all the characteristics of "Helladic" architecture, notably exquisite cloisonné technique, dogtooth string-courses and round-headed windows framed by brick arches. It was the second phase of construction that gave the building the idiosyncratic appearance for which it is noted (fig. 454). Built entirely of stone, this part features many Romanesque and Gothic details that reveal the Frankish input, while maintaining essential design ties with the Middle Byzantine original.[153]

Similar general characteristics are notable on a smaller scale in the tiny basilica of the Theotokos at Anhelion (Glatsa), in Ēleia, Greece (fig. 455B).[154] Measuring 8.6 × 12.5 meters in plan, the church has many characteristics in common with the so-called two-columned cross-in-square churches, about which more will be said below. It is dated on the basis of its various features to the early thirteenth century. Its naos takes the form of a miniscule nave covered with a wooden roof and featuring a system of small clerestory windows. The nave is separated from each of the "side aisles" by a single freestanding column and a pier in the conventional position relative to the tripartite sanctuary. The church appears to have had an iconostasis, and therefore must have served as an Orthodox church. Its proskynetaria, door frames, and some of the string-courses reveal Gothic details, but the building is unmistakably Byzantine in all other respects. The manner of its construction, involving fine cloisonné building technique, as well as recessed dogtooth friezes at strategic levels on the walls and around door and window openings, indicates unmistakably that this building is a product of the "Helladic paradigm."

454 Vlacherna Monastery, church; general view from SW



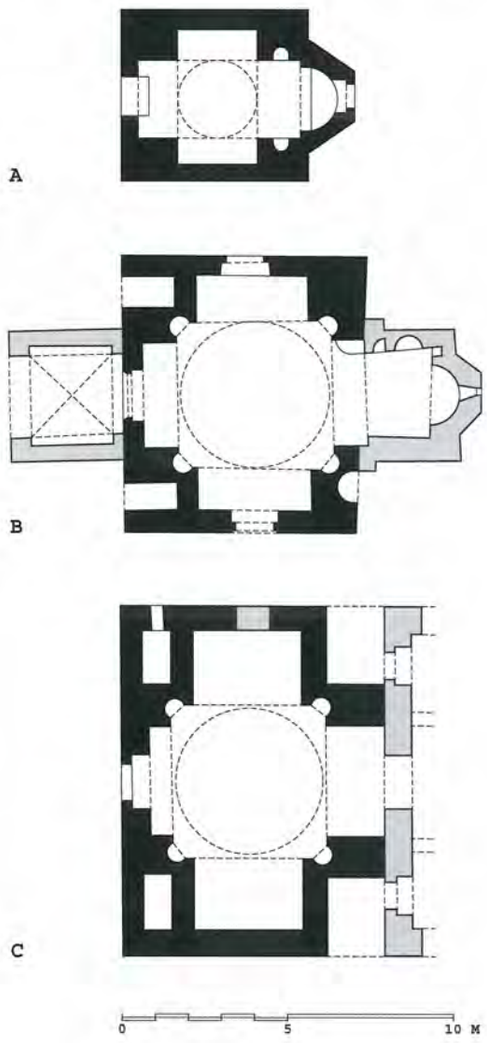
455 Basilicas: (A) Vlacherna Monastery, church; (B) Anhelion, church; plans

Single-Aisled Domed Churches

Much like timber-roofed basilicas, single-aisled domed churches were also rare in the areas where "Helladic" architecture flourished. This is particularly surprising, for this type was among the most popular in the adjacent areas. Islands, such as Naxos,

456 Kalivia Kouvara, Mesosporiotissa; general view from SE

457 Cross-domed churches: (A) Plataniti, Metamorphōsē; (B) Pylē, Zōodochos Pēgē, church narthex; (C) Trikala Porta Panagia, church narthex; plans



Samos, Paros, and even distant Cyprus, for example, reveal a pronounced preference for this type of church. It is also interesting that it flourished during the same period along the Adriatic littoral. In southern Greek lands the type is almost exclusively encountered in the form of parekklesia subsequently attached to older churches, as in the case of the Kapnikarea in Athens, discussed above. A rare example of a planned single-aisled domed church on the mainland is the Mesosporiotissa at Kalivia Kouvara (southeast of Athens), Greece (fig. 456). This small church, measuring 4.3 × 8.7 meters, was probably built *circa* 1000. Sometime later, possibly in the thirteenth century, it acquired an elongated barrel-vaulted chapel along its northern flank with a continuous barrel-vaulted oblong narthex that linked the two parts across the west front. At the midpoint of the elongated nave rises a dome supported by two barrel vaults and two arches built integrally with the side walls and framing slight recesses within their thickness. The church displays relatively crude construction in the exterior walls, suggesting that it was probably plastered. Only its dome and the triple window of the apse illustrate unmistakable links with the eleventh-century "Helladic" building tradition.[155]

Cross-Domed Churches

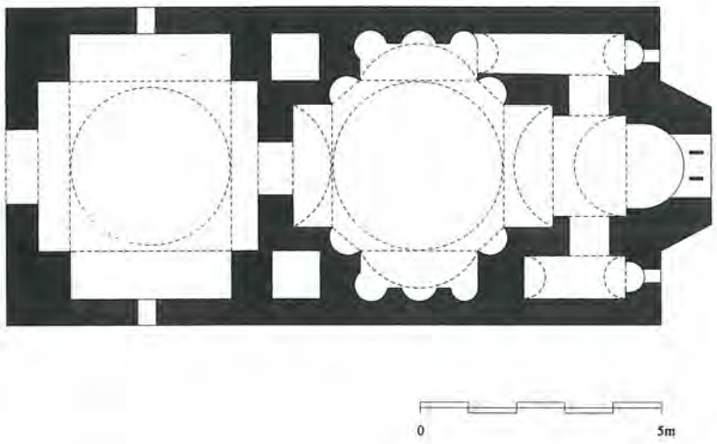
Closely related to the single-aisled church, this type is also rare in "Helladic" architecture. Distinguished from the former by the bisymmetrical articulation of the barrel-vaulted elements below the dome, and by a greater emphasis on the centralized qualities of the naos, this type is also rare in the southern Greek lands. It is best illustrated by the tiny church of Metamorphōsē tou Sotēros (Transfiguration) at Plataniti in Argolid, Greece (fig. 457A).[156] Measuring merely 5.35 × 7.3 meters in plan, the church has a simple prismatic form with a protruding three-sided apse at its east end. The cruciform shape of the naos is inscribed within the overall prismatic form, the arms of the cross ranging from 0.8 to 1.35 meters in depth. The lateral walls of the sanctuary are marked by two small niches symmetrically disposed before the altar apse. Such an arrangement appears in several other churches within this regional development. The cruciform shape is accentuated externally by low pitched roofs that terminate in triangular gables on the three façades. The corresponding position at the east end is occupied by a pyramidal roof covering the apse vault. On account of its clearly articulated structural elements, its plainly treated exterior, and its relatively squat proportions, this church may be viewed as a paradigmatic example of "Helladic" architecture in general (fig. 458). The consistent use of cloisonné technique on the exterior and the articulation of the dome and the tripartite stone-framed window in the main apse place this building into the first quarter of the twelfth century.

A special case of the use of the cross-domed scheme may be seen in the surviving portion of the church of the Zōodochos Pēgē (perhaps originally dedicated to the Theotokos) at Pylē (once Dervenosalesi), Greece, near the border of Attica and Boeotia.[157] The surviving part is the domed narthex added in the course of the twelfth century to an eleventh-century monastic katholikon. Following the destruction of the katholikon, the narthex was transformed into an independent church during a drastic reconstruction carried out in 1890. Enough of the late twelfth-century narthex survives to give a glimpse of what once must have been a building of major significance, but whose original dedication and founders remain unknown. Measuring 8.5 meters in width and 7 meters in length, the narthex has a basic prismatic form within whose parameter a cross-domed unit is inscribed (fig. 457B). The dome is supported on four piers whose faces are cut diagonally and articulated with a steep niche in each of the faces. The structural system thus articulated is a variant of that encountered in octagon domed churches, and accordingly has been dubbed "pseudo-octagon."[158] The original large pier masses contained within the simple prismatic building form were adapted to their new roles with minimal changes to their original design. A large semicircular niche in the southeast pier once faced the interior of the original naos, while two steep and deep rectangular arched niches cut into the northwest and southwest piers are still visible externally as part of the original building façade. These two niches once each contained marble tombs, possibly those of the original founders. Such a prominent display of tombs points to a new spirit of ostentation prevalent among the class of wealthy land-owners whose patronage dominated the architectural and artistic scene in the central and southern Greek lands during the period. A distinctive, deep porch framed the west portal. Crowned by a groin vault, rare in architecture of the "Helladic" group, this porch may have been the base of a lost belfry. All of these characteristics suggest a church of extraordinary character, from the point of view of both design and execution.

A closely related design solution may be seen in the unusual exonarthex of the church of the Porta Panagia, near Trikala in Thessaly, Greece, though the sequence of its construction in relation to the main church appears to be the reverse of that at Pylē (fig. 459).[159] In this case the exonarthex was apparently built as a freestanding church, only to be transformed into an exonarthex by the addition of the main church building in the late thirteenth century. Such a sequence of constructional phases was not impossible, as the case of the church at Vodoča demonstrates. The exonarthex of the Porta Panagia displays many idiosyncratic aspects, despite its remarkable planning similarities to the narthex of Pylē. Measuring 11 × 8 meters, the Porta Panagia narthex is slightly larger than its counterpart at Pylē, though

458 Plataniti, Metamorphōsē; general view from S

459 Porta Panagia, church narthex; general view from SW



460 Agios, H. Dēmētrios; plan

their domes have identical interior diameters of 4.5 meters (fig. 457c). The Porta Panagia exonarthex is marked by all-stone construction featuring large, carefully cut ashlars and a curious assortment of door and window openings, including some of distinctly Gothic character. The most striking feature, in the final analysis, is the large dome, elevated on a tall twelve-sided drum, that dominates the narthex. Plastered in its entirety, the manner of its construction is not readily apparent, yet its details suggest that, at least in part, it is made of brick. Each of the drum faces is perforated by a tall, slender window framed by triple skewback arches. A recessed dogtooth frieze outlines the topmost arcade, while other similar bands decorate the flat extension of the drum that rises above the arched window frames. Pairs of extremely slender colonnettes separate the facets of the drum, adding to the extremely delicate, linear quality of its exterior. Because of its unusual appearance in this context, the entire dome was thought to belong to some post-Byzantine rebuilding, but such a notion has rightly been questioned. The dome has distinctive stylistic qualities that place it in a twelfth-century context. The paired colonnettes have their parallels in the contemporary, or slightly later, architecture of Chios (Panagia Krina and Hagioi Apostoloi at Pyrgi), for example. Taken as a whole, the architecture of the exonarthex of the Porta Panagia reveals a building without parallels in this region of Greece. On account of its plan and its general formal characteristics, its design may have been generated in the "Helladic" orbit, from which it is significantly detached, geographically speaking. The execution of the building, however, poses another set of problems. The builders of its lower part may have been Western artisans who could have been active in Greece at the time. The dome, however, required by the design, appears to have been entrusted to a Byzantine builder versed with building large domes and familiar with Constantinopolitan building methods. The exonarthex is clearly a complex building whose exact origins and even dating have consistently perplexed historians of Byzantine architecture. Yet, this substantially ignored structure may hold very important clues as to how building in the Balkans in areas removed from major centers was conducted *circa* 1200.

Related, albeit significantly different in many respects, is the twelfth-century church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Agios in Euboia, Greece (fig. 460).[160] Measuring 6.3 × 14 meters in plan, the church displays elongated overall proportions that recall those of single-aisled churches. The interior spatial articulation, however, reveals that it is made of two cross-domed units – a naos and a narthex – of comparable dimensions. The naos expands eastward into a tripartite sanctuary with very narrow lateral spaces terminating in two tiny absidioles set within the thickness of the eastern wall. The main apse is semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. The main cross-domed unit has essentially the same characteristics as that of the narthex of Zōodochos Pēgē at Pylē. The system, though employed in several churches of the "Helladic" group, is essentially Constantinopolitan in origin, as attested to by the eleventh-century church of Panagia Kamariotissa on the island of Chalke (fig. 390). The church has several other characteristics that are worth noting. The presence of a domed narthex on the same axis as the naos is an idea that we have observed elsewhere (e.g., Veljusa, Sagmata), and may also have its roots in the Constantinopolitan architectural tradition. The same may be said of the lateral cross arms. Articulated as very shallow apses, their lower walls are further dissolved by means of three tall niches cut into the masonry. These rise from the floor up to the springing point of the vaulting of the lateral apses. While some of the design characteristics of the church of Hagios Dēmētrios may suggest Constantinopolitan links, the construction of the building and its general external appearance are unmistakably "Helladic." Despite its elaborate internal disposition, outside the building gives the impression of a simple rectilinear form. Its rising walls feature fine cloisonné technique consisting of beautifully cut ashlars outlined with thin bricks. A recessed dogtooth frieze separated the walls from a tall crepidoma built in a much cruder manner and probably originally plastered externally. Since the church survives only in ruins, we know nothing about the character of its domes, but they were probably closely related to other churches associated with the "Helladic" group. In the church of Hagios Dēmētrios we may have yet another example where ideas regarding its internal layout may have been imported via a drawing, while the actual execution may have been entrusted to a local group of builders.

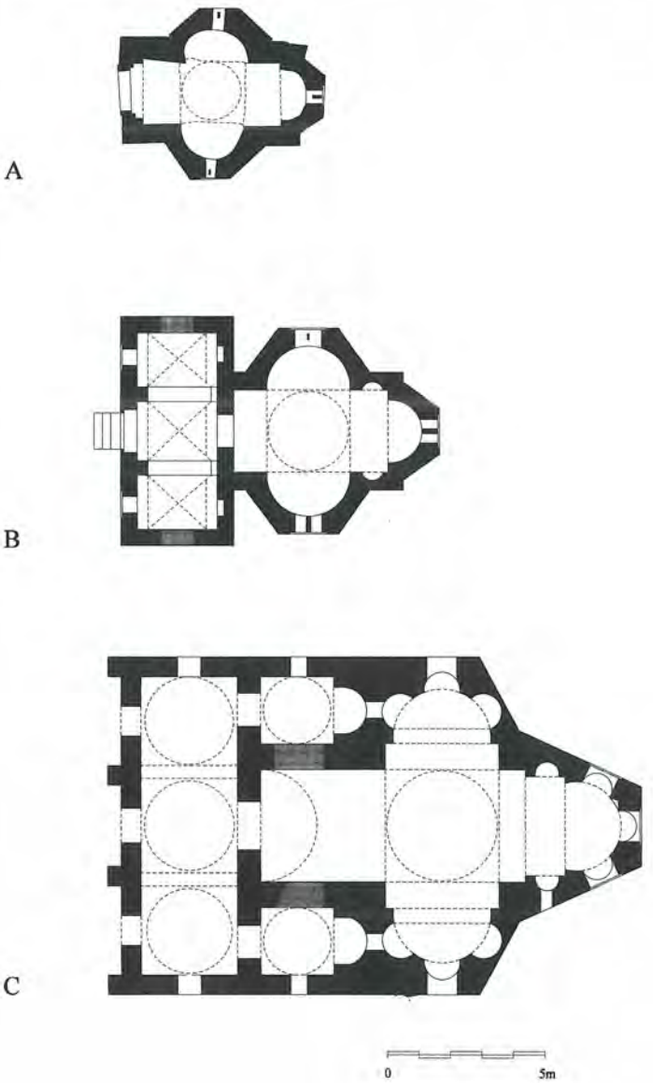
Triconch Churches

Churches featuring lateral apses under their domes, particularly with lateral apses projecting beyond the side walls, appeared in a number of instances in the southern Greek lands. What is interesting is that each of the surviving churches of this type featured a different solution. In other words, it is difficult to discuss them as a genuine "type," despite their intrinsic similarities. The smallest member of this group – the twelfth-century church of Hagios Sozon at Skripou, Boeotia, Greece – is revealing in a number of different ways (figs. 461 and 462A).[161] Measuring 6.3 × 7.4 meters in plan, it is a small building that could also well be described as a single-aisled domed church without a narthex, but with lateral apses flanking the bay under the dome. Despite its small size the church has disproportionally massive walls, 0.7–0.8 meters thick. All three apses are three-sided externally and semicircular within. Uncommonly large stone blocks of differing dimensions were used in the construction of the building. Considering the proximity of ancient Orchomenos, most of these blocks were most likely ancient spoils. The spaces between the blocks were filled with small stones and occasional bricks in a technique that could not be described as particularly accomplished. Only the dome, elevated on a tall eight-sided drum and featuring a narrow window in each of the faces aligned with the main building axes, reveals a more regular building technique. Considering these qualities of its construction, it stands to reason that the building may have been originally externally plastered and painted. The most unusual aspect of Hagios Sozon, however, is the scalloped interior articulation of the dome and drum. This distinctly Constantinopolitan method of the internal articulation of domes is not found anywhere else among the preserved churches of the "Helladic" group. Its occasional appearance elsewhere in the Aegean – as in the small domes of the katholikon of Nea Moni on Chios – suggests that the idea and possibly the builder as well may have been directly linked with the capital. If the latter notion could be proven, the church at Skripou could be added to the very short list of monuments in the southern Greek lands where the builder may have had direct links with Constantinople.

The early twelfth-century church of Hagios Nikolaos at Platani in Achaia, Greece, is in some ways closely related to the church at Skripou, but also displays some significant differences (fig. 462B).[162] The overall dimensions of the church, including its oblong narthex, are 8.5 × 11.5 meters. Without the narthex, the triconch naos measures 7.5 × 8 meters, recalling in disposition the church at Skripou. The narthex is internally divided into three cross-vaulted bays. The church is distinguished externally by a rigorous use of the cloisonné technique divided horizontally into four zones separated from each other by recessed dogtooth string-courses. The drum in this case was originally

461 Skripou, H. Sozon; general view from SW

462 Triconch churches: (A) Skripou, H. Sozon; (B) Platani, H. Nikolaos; (C) Varasova, H. Dēmētrios; plans



semi-cylindrical, as may be seen from its preserved bottom section. The rest of the drum in its present form is the result of a later reconstruction after the collapse of the original dome. It is clear that the original drum must have been considerably higher than the present one, and that it had four windows; the present dome has none. There is no evidence that the dome was ever scalloped internally, nor are there in this case any other indicators of possible links with Constantinople.

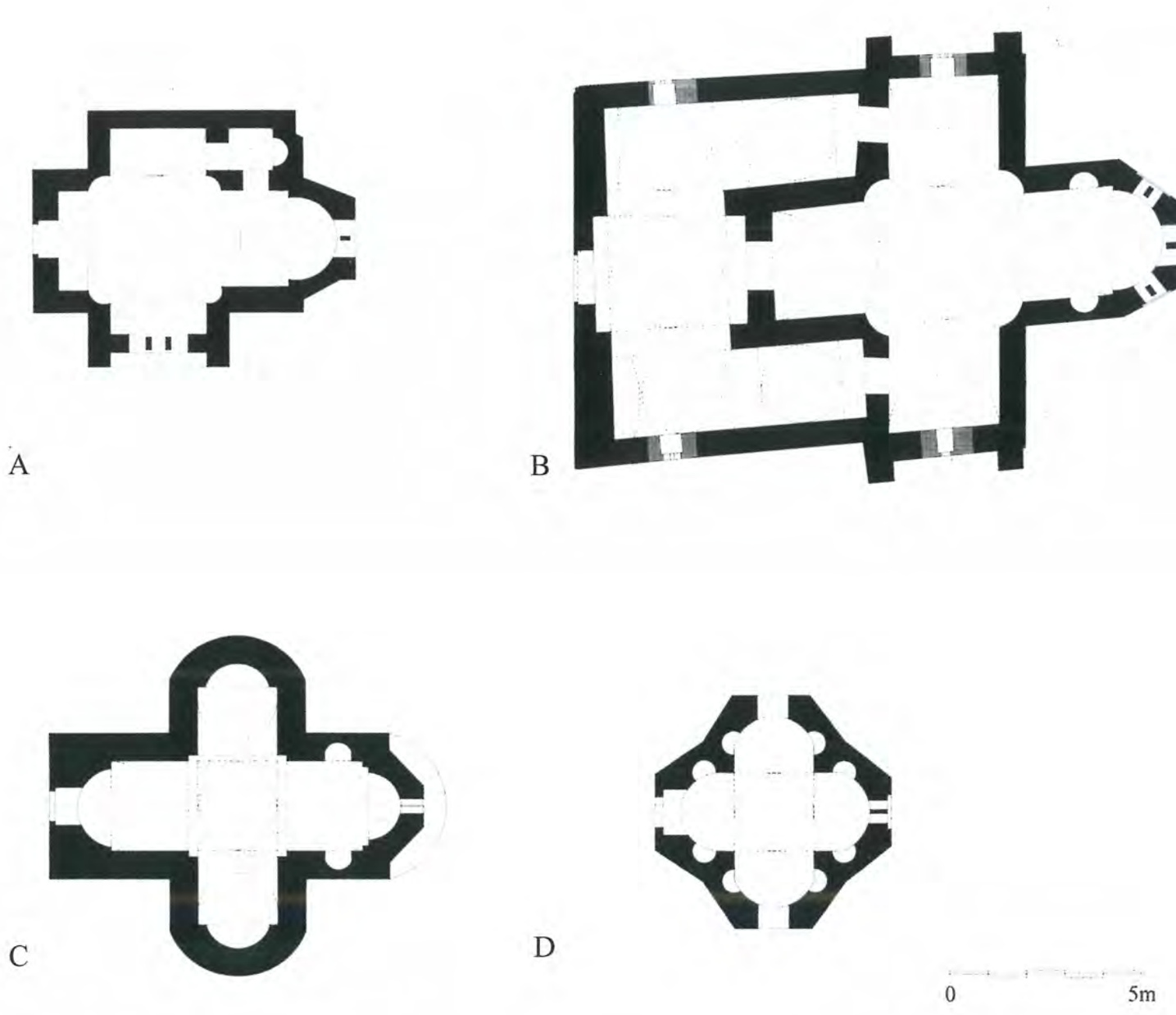
The partially ruined eleventh-century church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Varasova, Greece, though of triconch disposition, is significantly different from the two churches just discussed (fig. 462c).[163] By virtue of its size alone, the Varasova church belongs to a different category of buildings. Measuring 11 × 17 meters, it features a more elaborate form of triconch plan preceded by a three-bay narthex with a pair of small domed chapels accessible from its lateral bays. The western part of the church, including the narthex, the pair of lateral chapels, and two-thirds of the lateral apses, is enclosed within an externally unified prismatic mass. This mass is broken externally only on the west façade, where three spurs jut out, once probably forming large blind arcades across the front. It is only at the east end of the building that the triconch arrangement of the church interior was externally expressed. This was achieved with a simplification of the overall forms in mind. The main apse and the preceding bay are both enclosed within a three-sided form, usually reserved for the articulation of apse exteriors alone. A similar approach is evident on the northeast and southeast sides, where the lateral apses are similarly contained. The most striking features of the church at Varasova are the small interior niches cut into the walls of each of the three apses. In their number, character, and size these recall the similarly displayed niches in the somewhat later church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Agios in Euboia discussed above. As in the latter case this system of interior articulation shows affinities with the architecture associated with Constantinople. Another feature of the church at Varasova is that its main apse had three windows, one on each face of its three-sided exterior. Internally, these windows opened within the narrow niches set within the apse wall. Such an arrangement was rare among the monuments of the "Helladic" group. Standard in larger churches of the sixth century, particularly those associated with the capital, it appeared again in those Middle Byzantine monuments where ties with Constantinople were also pronounced, such as Hagia Sophia in Ohrid. In central Greece, the arrangement is noted in the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, itself possibly a product of imperial patronage.

Free Cross and Tetraconch Churches

This category of churches, much like the preceding group, cannot be thought of as typologically "pure." Yet, a number of buildings with similar characteristics fall within this framework and will be discussed here on that basis. The free cross is one of the oldest standard church-plan types. It appeared again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though not very frequently. As such, it is matched with the typologically related tetraconch type.

The small twelfth-century church of Hagia Photinē in Thebes, Greece, is a good example of the former category (fig. 463a).[164] Measuring 7 × 8.5 meters, it displays a virtually pure form of free cross. The only deviation from the scheme is a tiny apsed chapel, square in plan and fitted between the arms of the cross in the northwest corner, its outer wall being the extension of the north arm of the cross. The interior is dominated by a proportionally large dome, 3.5 meters in diameter. The dome rests on four deep arches and four pendentives that spring from the four corners formed by the walls of the cross arms. The corners themselves are cut back so as to form concave surfaces in the manner of the church of Hagios Georgios of Mangana in Constantinople (fig. 389). The exterior is marked by planar surfaces underscored by alternating single courses of brick and relatively small stone blocks. The latter are individually separated by an irregular pattern of seemingly randomly set bricks. A large, deeply set arch marks the south façade of the building in a manner seen relatively commonly in churches of the "Helladic" group. Unlike in most cases, however, the monumental arch here was apparently not intended to frame an entrance.

Closely related to the church of Hagia Photinē is the twelfth-century church of the Palaiopanagia (Dormition of the Virgin) at Manolada, in the county of Ēleia in Peloponnēsos, Greece, the largest and most impressive church of this subgroup (fig. 463b).[165] Measuring 11.7 × 16 meters, it features a large free cross naos dominated by a substantial dome rising above its crossing. The western arm of the cross is enveloped on three sides by a spacious U-shaped narthex, nearly as wide as the church. Covered by a system of five sizeable blind domes, the eastern domed bays of this narthex communicate through doors with the north and south arms of the cross. The eastern cross arm accommodates the bema, which terminates in a large apse, semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. Two semicircular niches in the lateral walls of the bema may have been intended as substitutes for the customary pastophories. The dome, as in the case of Hagia Photinē in Thebes, rests on four corners formed by the walls of the cross arms and also cut back by means of segmental concave surfaces. The two churches, in fact, share many other characteristics, including the dimensions of their domes, the manner of accentuating the lateral cross-arm façades (on the south side at Thebes, on the south and north sides at Manolada), and externally octagonal dome drums with flat cornices. This suggests that their designs, if not their execution, may have originated from the same workshop. The exterior of the church at Manolada is



463 Free-cross and tetraconch churches: (A) Thebes, H. Fotinê; (B) Manolada, Palaiopanagia; (C) Dragano, H. Dēmētrios; (D) Loukisia, H. Georgios; plans

marked by a more rigorous application of the cloisonné technique, the use of brick meander bands, and recessed-brick dogtooth bands. An unusual decorative feature is seen on the exterior of the apse, where the relatively small flat wall surfaces between the large window openings are faced entirely in brick set vertically into a system of five to six superimposed meander bands. The most striking aspect of the church at Manolada, however, is its west façade. Built entirely of stone, save for the meander frieze below its eaves and two decorative crosses, this façade puzzled early students, who thought of it as a later modification of the original one. This notion, however, has proven wrong. Despite its idiosyncratic features, such as the slender stone colonnettes at its north and south corners, the façade appears to be the work of Byzantine masons. The reason for such a departure from the otherwise rigorously employed cloisonné technique of the rest of the building is not clear, but surely the choice must have been governed by some sort of intended statement related to the most visible part of the building.

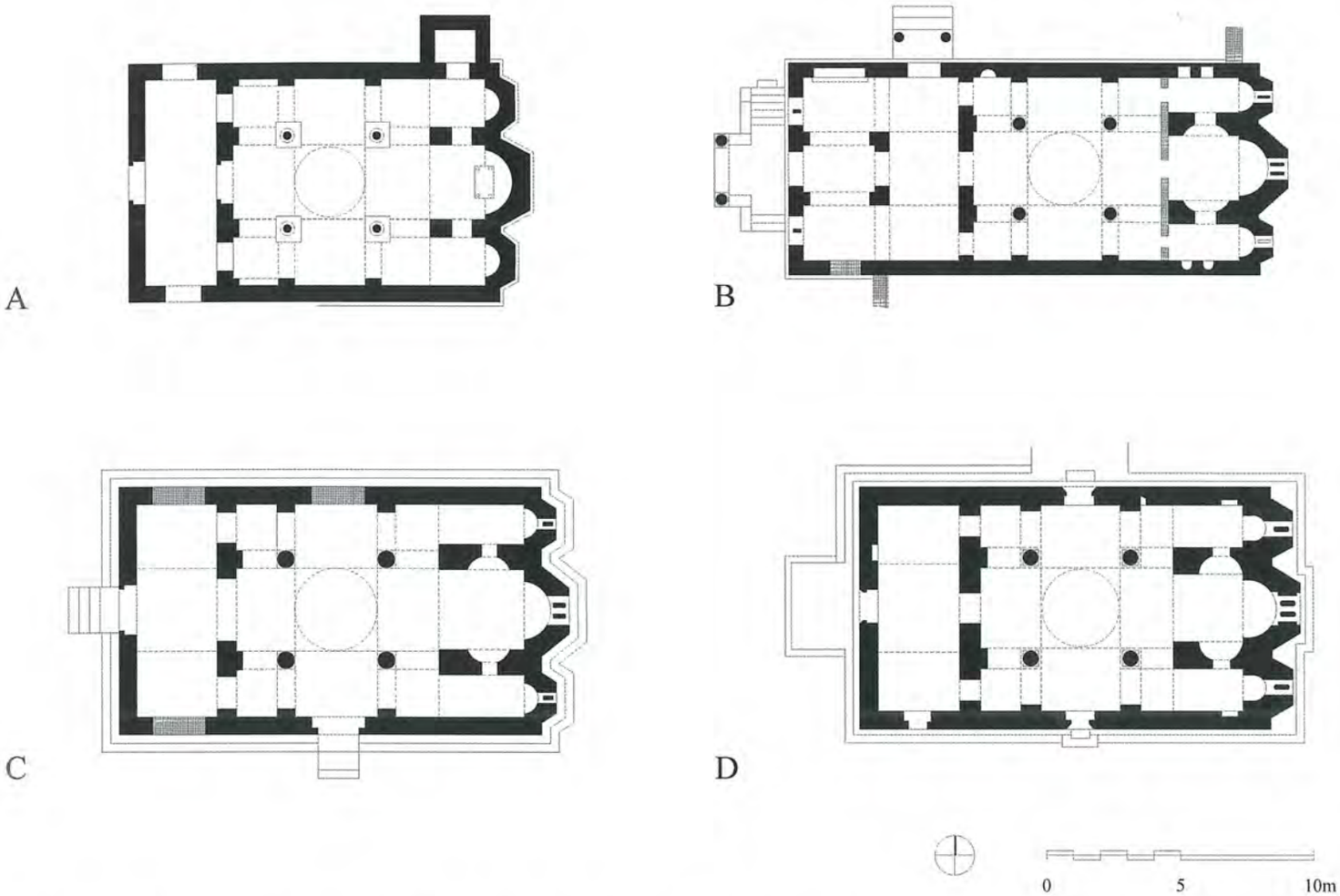
Tetraconch churches share the basic static cruciform disposition with the free cross churches, but they differ in scale and general complexity. Unlike the tetraconch churches in the central Balkans discussed above, the "Helladic" tetraconch churches display distinctly conservative characteristics. The late twelfth-century church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Dragano in Achaia, Greece, survives in a highly modified form.[166] Its basic original plan can be reconstructed, and reveals the clear conceptual link between the free cross and tetraconch schemes. Measuring 9 × 9.7 meters, this is a relatively small building, its small dome occupying its geometric center (fig. 463D). The four projecting arms of the cross are treated differently on the exterior. The eastern apse, as is customary in most of the churches of this group, is three-sided externally. The lateral apses are cylindrical, whereas the western apse is contained within a rectilinear mass that results in a flat entrance façade. Thus, as in the case of Manolada, the west façade is given a degree of prominence greater than other parts of the building. Two symmetrical semicircular niches in the lateral walls of the bema likewise recall the arrangement at Manolada, underscoring the potential link between the two buildings. The church of Hagios Georgios at Loukisia in Boeotia, Greece, may be considered the paradigm of the tetraconch type. The perfectly symmetrical miniscule building measures only 6 × 6 meters in plan (fig. 463E). Its small dome elevated on an eight-sided drum occupies the exact geometric center of the building, its apex rising to a height of just over 6 meters. The four identical conches tightly grouped around the square central bay emphasize the centralized nature of the scheme. Each of the conches has a pair of small symmetrically disposed niches in its lateral walls. Thus, the interior is enlivened in a manner distantly reminiscent of Constantinopolitan architecture. The exteriors of all apses are three-sided, their forms directly abutting each other, thus giving the building its distinctive geometric shape, without emphasis given to any of its four faces. The walls of the church display a rigorous if somewhat somber cloisonné building technique. The churches at Dragano and Loukisia are devoid of subsidiary spaces. They lack narthexes, as well as the rooms commonly flanking the bemas of larger churches. Too small to have functioned as monastic katholika, these tiny buildings were probably private churches, possibly once belonging to private estates. We should note their dedications to the two military saints (George and Demetrius), suggesting that these may have been foundations of members of the powerful military aristocracy that gained prominence in the Byzantine society during this period.

Our discussion of the various building types associated with the "Helladic" group of churches thus far may have produced the impression of considerable creative fervor. Such an impression has to be put into a broader perspective, without which our analysis would be grossly skewed. The types analyzed thus far, as was demonstrated time and again, were generally based on design ideas imported from outside, albeit executed by local craftsmen. As such they tended to be unique creations, seldom acquiring any significant following. In contrast to this, we will turn our attention next to church types that overwhelmingly dominated the building production in central and southern Greek lands. These types – the cross-in-square, the two-column variant of the cross-in-square, and the octagon domed church – constituted the main repertoire of "Helladic" builders. Each of these categories, and especially the first two, is represented by a very large number of examples, revealing an almost slavish adherence to the basic design formula. It is within these three categories of churches that the clear parameters of the main objectives on the part of the regional builders and patrons emerge. The quality of execution and the perfection of detail appear to have been the exclusive goals of the technically highly competent builders. To say that design experimentation was not their forte would be an understatement. Extremely conservative in their planning ideas, they clung to the old formulas, while demonstrating their real abilities in the realm of craftsmanship alone.

Cross-in-Square Churches

The cross-in-square church type had established a firm footing on the Greek mainland by *circa* 1000. As we saw in the previous chapter, churches such as the Theotokos at the monastery of Hosios Loukas, built in the years 946–55, was probably the first example of the type, undoubtedly imported from Constantinople. By the end of the tenth century it recurred in Athens, in the katholikon of Petraki Monastery. Clearly championed in monastic circles, the type reached its apogee in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both in the central Balkans and in the Helladic lands, the latter being the subject of our current interest. Very few of the churches belonging to this type are securely dated and, with few exceptions outside the Athenian examples, most appear to belong to the twelfth century.

The little-known church of Hagia Triada at Kriezotē, in Euboia, though now in ruins, may be invoked to characterize the type.[167] Approximately 8.6 × 15 meters in plan, the church consists of a four-columned square naos, a distinctive tripartite sanctuary, and an oblong narthex (fig. 464A). Its small dome, 2.7 meters in diameter, was carried by four freestanding columns. The interior surfaces of the parameter walls of the naos were marked by shallow pilasters at salient points, reflecting the sense of classical articulation generally associated with architecture in Constantinople. Consistent with the architecture of the "Helladic paradigm," the church at Kriezotē has no such pilasters on the exterior. Its walls were smooth and marked by cloisonné



464 Cross-in-square churches: (A) Kriezotē, Hagia Triada; (B) Areia, Hagia Monē, katholikon; (C) Chonikas, Koimēsis tēs Theotokou; (D) Merbaka, Panagia; plans

technique of the finest quality.[168] The date of the church is unknown, but on the basis of other criteria, above all the quality of its masonry technique, it is conjecturally dated to the end of the twelfth century.

The most representative examples of the cross-in-square type without a doubt are the churches in the district of Argolid, in northeast Peloponnēsos. This group includes the churches of Hagia Monē at Areia Naupliou, the Koimēsis tēs Theotokou at Chonikas, and the Panagia at Hagia Triada (Merbaka). The katholikon of Hagia Monē at Areia Naupliou, precisely dated to 1149, is one of the rare cases where such invaluable information is available.[169] Measuring 8.2 × 19.3 meters, the church features a highly sophisticated plan consisting of a four-column square naos extended eastward into a tripartite sanctuary and preceded by a spacious narthex (fig. 464B). The naos is subdivided into a system of nine bays, following the formula familiar from Constantinopolitan architecture. The same may be said of the bema, consisting of a square bay preceding the apse, its flanking walls cut into by a pair of shallow segmental niches. The narthex consists of two parts subdivided by a pair of L-shaped piers in the center, possibly intended to support a fully fledged belfry. A lean-to roof typical of "Helladic" churches covers the western part of the narthex, despite internal barrel-vaulting. The main design characteristics of the exterior of Hagia Monē reveal the hallmarks of the "Helladic" group as an apparent negation of the Constantinopolitan principles displayed on the interior. Thus, the exterior walls along the north and south flanks of the building display a seamless continuous surface, without any indication of internal spatial divisions or the position of any of the chief structural elements. It should be noted that shallow pilasters, consistent with the Constantinopolitan practice, act as responds to the freestanding columns in the naos, while externally the same

465 Merbaka, Panagia; general view from S

points are marked by huge crosses made of vertically and horizontally placed large blocks of stone set within the wall fabric. The role of these crosses, while structurally relevant, cannot be compared to that of the rigorously planned external responds common in Constantinopolitan architecture. The church was faced externally in cloisonné technique of the highest quality. Carefully cut ashlars, clearly made for this purpose, are set in single horizontal rows, separated by single rows of thin dark bricks. The same type of bricks was used to separate individual ashlars vertically. Mortar joints are very thin, emphasizing the precision of the construction technique. Flat wall surfaces on the north and south sides are decorated with a wide brick meander frieze and a thin recessed dogtooth frieze below it. Similar friezes appear on the exterior faces of the apses and on the octagonal drum. Individual window and door frames are also outlined with recessed dogtooth bands.

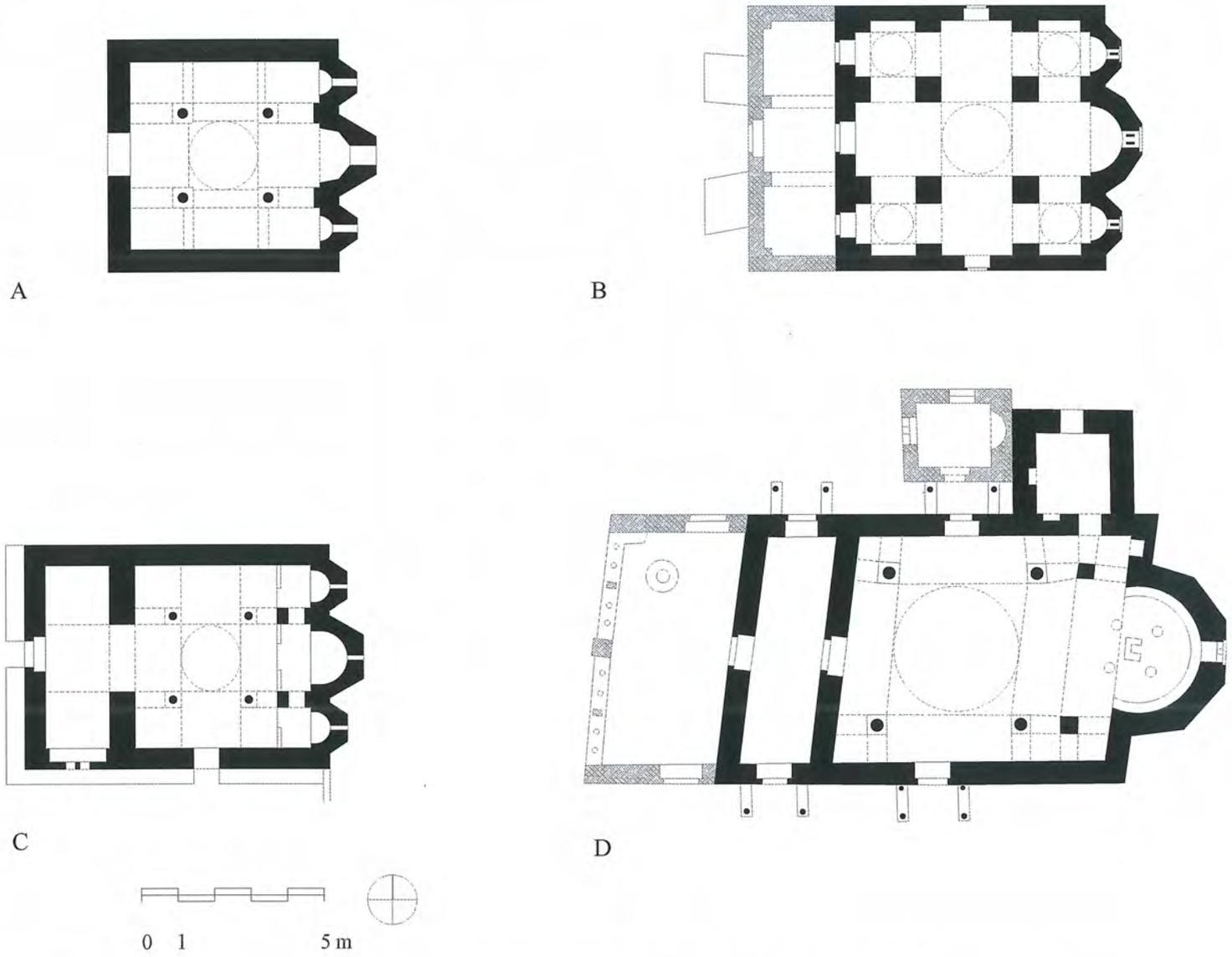
The standards employed at Hagia Monē recur in the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God (Koimēsis tēs Theotokou) at the nearby village of Chonikas, built probably during the second half of the twelfth century (fig. 464C).[170] It shares practically all of the characteristics of the Hagia Monē. Measuring 9 × 16.5 meters in plan, it is distinguished from the previous example mainly by its smaller, oblong narthex. The church rests on a crepidoma-like platform, carefully articulated and visible on all four sides of the building. Finely built, using the standard cloisonné technique, it appears to have undergone a major reconstruction of its dome and a large part of its vaulting. Its smooth exterior walls are distinguished by the incorporation of large stone crosses – as at Hagia Monē – outlined in brick, and here also accentuated by bands of recessed dogtooth friezes.

The finest, but also the most controversial of the monuments in the Argolid group is the church of the Panagia at Hagia Triada (Merbaka) (fig. 465).[171] Measuring 9 × 16.5 meters in plan, the church is a virtual carbon copy of the one at Chonika (fig. 464D). We can postulate that the builders of these two churches must have had access to the same plan, most likely some sort of a drawing. This must remain a hypothesis, insofar that no architectural drawings from this period survive. However, it is difficult to imagine that a builder could retain in his memory not

466 Merbaka, Panagia; south façade, main tympanum

only all of the details of the layout, but also all of the measurements, and reproduce them exactly elsewhere. That said, there is no doubt that the two buildings differ in execution and in many details. The most significant difference between this church and those at Hagia Monē and Chonikas is that its crepidoma is more developed. In addition to the continuous step forming a platform upon which the building stands, the marble base is here extended into the wall, reaching a height of almost 2 meters. At that point a continuous horizontal string-course runs around the entire building, visually defining a tall base. Other unusual characteristics of the church at Merbaka include the incorporation of large ancient Greek stelae into its façades, the use of classical motifs in the carving of various molding details, and the extensive use of specially cut decorative tile elements. In addition, details include elements borrowed from Gothic architecture.[172] These, along with some of the decorative ceramic bowls set into the façades (especially the east façade), suggest a thirteenth-century date for the building. Some scholars even argue for a date in the second half of the thirteenth century.[173] Such a late date is very difficult to accept given the remarkable similarity in building technique and many details to Hagia Monē, a building dated precisely to 1149. For building standards to survive locally over a span of 100–125 years requires some sort of explanation. Among the features that stand out as being particularly close on the two churches, one should single out the lateral tympana enclosing the vaulted arms of the cross (fig. 466). The central feature of each is a triple window with a pair of slender marble mullions. The window frame, executed entirely in brick, consists of double skewbacks and a projecting dogtooth frieze. Flanking the window are two symmetrical panels in the form of half-arched niches, their central area filled with a subtle brick pattern. Double skewbacks and projecting dogtooth friezes also frame these niches. The central window together with the framing pair of niches essentially repeats the form of high-shouldered triple windows associated with Constantinopolitan architecture (see figs. 394 and 447), although this similarity is strictly formal, substantially removed from the structural-formal logic seen in the architecture of the capital.

These four examples of cross-in-square churches illustrate aspects of indirect contacts with the Constantinopolitan sphere.



466 Cross-in-square churches: (A) Kitta, H. Georgios; (B) Geroumana, Pantanassa; (C) Charouda, Taxiarchēs; (D) Apollonia, Dormition; plans

468 Kitta, H. Georgios; from SE

Alongside these developments we may note that within the "Helladic" sphere more conservative phenomena also took place, whose presence betrays the persistence of older regional characteristics, very distant in spirit from the developments in the main centers of Byzantine architecture at this time. The small church of Hagios Georgios at Kitta, Manē, measures 9.5 × 11 meters in plan (fig. 467A).[174] Its basically square form is elongated only by the projecting main apse at the east end. The church has no narthex and no extra bay at the east end for the accommodation of the sanctuary. Its cross-in-square scheme, then, is apparent only in plan. In terms of the articulation of interior space, the eastern arm of the "cross" accommodated the bema, making for an asymmetrical interior arrangement. Although the church uses four columns to carry the dome, they are relatively small. The

469 Geroumana, Pantanassa; general view from SW

corner compartments, unlike the "standard" examples of cross-in-square churches, are covered by small longitudinal barrel vaults, adding to the conservative flavor of this small building. On the exterior, its tall mass is marked by a disproportionally high "base" (fig. 468). Though, obviously, this in some sense emulates solutions comparable to those of the Argolid group of churches, its execution is crude. This is especially apparent in the manner in which the large "crosses" were executed. On its lateral façades the church features the high-shouldered window design also related to the Argolid group. What distinguishes Hagios Georgios is the use of diaper patterns in bands on its façades and as patterns within tympana niches. The use of a diaper pattern is a flashback to the architecture of an earlier period that betrays the work of highly conservative local builders, in all likelihood executed during the third quarter of the twelfth century.

Different in design and in its structural make-up, but comparable in its conservative character, is the twelfth-century Pantanassa (now Hagios Athanasios) at Geroumana in Peloponnēsos, in an area not too distant from the Manē peninsula (fig. 469).[175] The original plan of the Pantanassa measured 10.6 × 12 meters, resembling the scheme of Hagios Georgios at Kitta (fig. 467B). The narthex, in this case, was a later addition. Four massive piers measuring 1 × 1 meters in plan define the central bay of the cross-in-square unit. The four corner compartments in this case are covered by small domes, elevated on tall drums and visible externally. As a group they give this building its distinctive five-domed exterior form, in many ways reminiscent of the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Though not dated precisely, it is quite clear that the church was a twelfth-century construction. Similarities with Nerezi extend to the number of windows and the proportions of the two types of domes – eight windows for the main dome and four for the small ones. Beyond this, the two churches differ considerably. The dome drums of the Pantanassa are basically round with engaged semi-cylindrical colonnettes between the windows, as opposed to the polygonal ones used at Nerezi. Cylindrical drums are a conservative design characteristic, seen, for example, in the tenth-century church of Nikli (Tegea) (fig. 368). Another distinctive characteristic of the Pantanassa at Geroumana is the building tech-

470 Apollonia, Dormition; general view from NE

nique. Although the cloisonné technique is in evidence in the upper part of the building, its execution reveals mediocre workmanship. The building was plastered externally at some point in its history, though this may also indicate the original intention. Lack of columns, or access to higher-quality stone, mark the Pantanassa as the work of a local building team adapting to an imported design scheme.

The twelfth-century church of Taxiarchēs at Charouda, Manē, illustrates the idiosyncratic nature of the "Helladic paradigm" in areas removed from the principal centers of architectural activity.[176] At first sight its plan seems to resemble closely those of the Argolid group (fig. 467C), but this is deceptive. In this case the cross-in-square unit is *not* extended eastward in the usual manner by the length of an extra bay; instead, the extra bay seems conflated with the eastern arm of the cross. The main part of the church at Charouda, in fact, has the same proportions as the churches at Kitta and Geroumana. What looks like a cross-in-square unit in reality is considerably compressed in the longitudinal direction. As a result, the domed bay is a rectangle and the dome itself is oval in plan, while the eastern arm of the cross is much shorter than the western. The barrel vault of the western arm, in fact, in a curious manner extends through the narthex, creating an almost basilican interior effect. The corner compartments of the cross-in-square unit are also barrel-vaulted. Clearly, the builder of this church either did not understand how the cross-in-square unit was supposed to work, or he simply reinterpreted the scheme in a manner that, for whatever reason, appears to have suited him better. Externally, the church of the Taxiarchēs gives the initial impression of a building strongly influenced by the architecture of Athens. Observations have been made about its drum and its relationship to the "Athenian domes." Indeed, its octagonal form pierced by eight double windows and the corners of the octagon marked by slender marble colonnettes do recall Athenian churches, such as Hagioi Theodoroi. Beyond that the comparison pales. Neither the proportions nor the execution of the Taxiarchēs are the equals of the Athenian churches, not to mention the exquisite Argolid group. What we see here is another provincial variation on a certain sophisticated architectural theme. In this case, both the plan and its execution were in the hands of a competent, but not great builder.

A very different story is that of the final example of the cross-in-square group that we will examine, the church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Apollonia, Albania.[177] This curious building has no parallels anywhere. While there can be no doubt about the Byzantine origins of its scheme, the actual execution of the building is more problematic. Measuring 11 × 20 meters (excluding the narthex and the subsidiary chambers on the north side), the church is somewhat larger than others in this group. Its plan is drastically eschewed, while the layout of the cross-in-square unit is unusual (fig. 467D). The basic measurements of the unit are basically correct (9 × 9 m internally). Owing to the fact that a large dome was desired, the columns were placed considerably closer to the exterior walls. The four columns have individually carved capitals that show some affinities with south Italian Romanesque architectural sculpture. The cross-in-square unit is expanded eastwards by an extra bay, for the accommodation of the sanctuary. The vaulting of this extra bay is supported by two square piers. The building is characterized by the absence of engaged pilasters both on the outside and the inside, but the church is remarkably well built and preserved. In its horseshoe-shaped apse is preserved a seating bench, the altar table, and the column bases of the original ciborium. The church is constructed of massive, finely cut ashlars (fig. 470); brick is used only in the top part of the building, the dome, and, presumably, in the vaulting. The building has finely cut door and window frames. Most of these are Romanesque in character, although at least one of the doors has a slightly pointed arch. The large open portico-exonarthex, nearly twice as large as the inner narthex, shows Western craftsmanship in all its details and was probably added toward the end of the thirteenth century. The general impression that this building gives is that its competent local builders must have had a cross-in-square plan in their hands, but, unfamiliar with this type of architecture, they produced an idiosyncratic local variation on the theme, one that is easily distinguished from other local variations, such as the churches on the Mane peninsula and the church at Geroumana. It should be noted that the character of its construction shows remarkable similarities with the narthex of the Porta Panagia near Trikala (see fig. 459). A more detailed comparison of these

two unusual buildings may lead to some explanations about possible links between them.

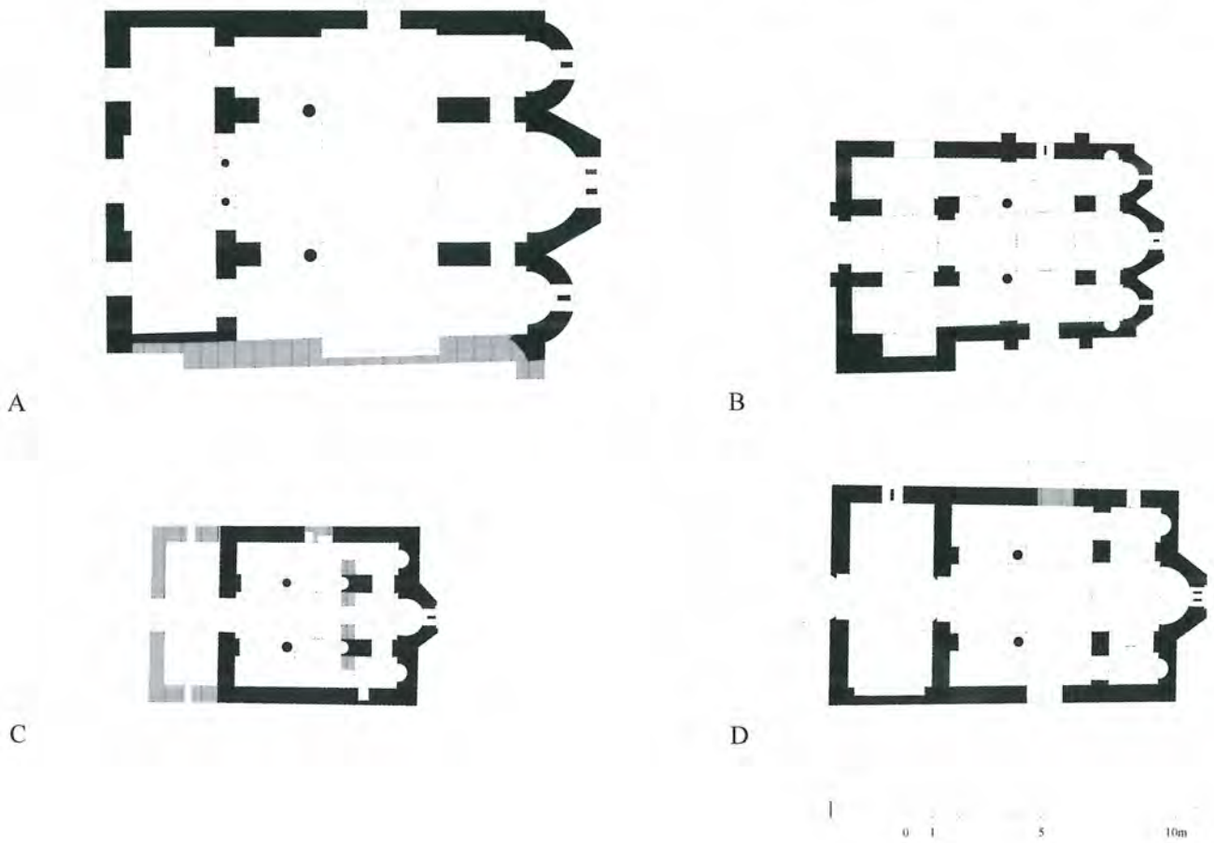
Two-Column Cross-in-Square Churches

The two-column cross-in-square type seems to be a basic reduction of the regular four-column cross-in-square type that we have just discussed. Not only does it appear virtually exclusively in the "Helladic" context, but it is also marked by a record survival rate and the widest geographic spread of all church types – from Kerkyra (Corfu) in the Ionian Sea to Andros in the Aegean. One could argue, in fact, that *this* is the quintessential "Helladic paradigm" type. It has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Various aspects relating to its origins, the reasons for its popularity, its adaptability, etc., have been debated.[178]

Paradoxically, one of the oldest and largest examples of the type is situated on the farthest fringe of the group. The church of Hagioi Ioasonos and Sosipatros in Kerkyra has long since been known and generally dated to the twelfth century (fig. 471). This dating has been strongly challenged on the basis of this church's close relationship to a number of early monuments of the "Helladic school" – the church of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas, and the Holy Apostles and the Panagia Lykodimou in Athens – and a new date of *circa* 1000 has been proposed.[179] Measuring 13 × 18.5 meters in plan, it is larger than any of the four-column churches we have discussed (fig. 472A). This anomalous characteristic is accompanied by other anachronistic

471 Kerkyra, H. Iosonos and Sosipatros; general view from E

472 Two-columned cross-in-square churches: (A) Kerkyra, H. Iosonos and Sosipatros; (B) Amphissa, Metamorphōsē; (C) Ligourio, H. Ioannis; (D) Messaria, Taxiarchēs; plans



aspects, such as the tribelon between the narthex and the naos, and a number of details on the exterior that find their closest parallels among the early monuments of the "Helladic" group. The bold use of cloisonné technique, combined with "Kufic" friezes and recessed dogtooth bands, stand out as the most telling of such features, supporting an early dating for the monument.

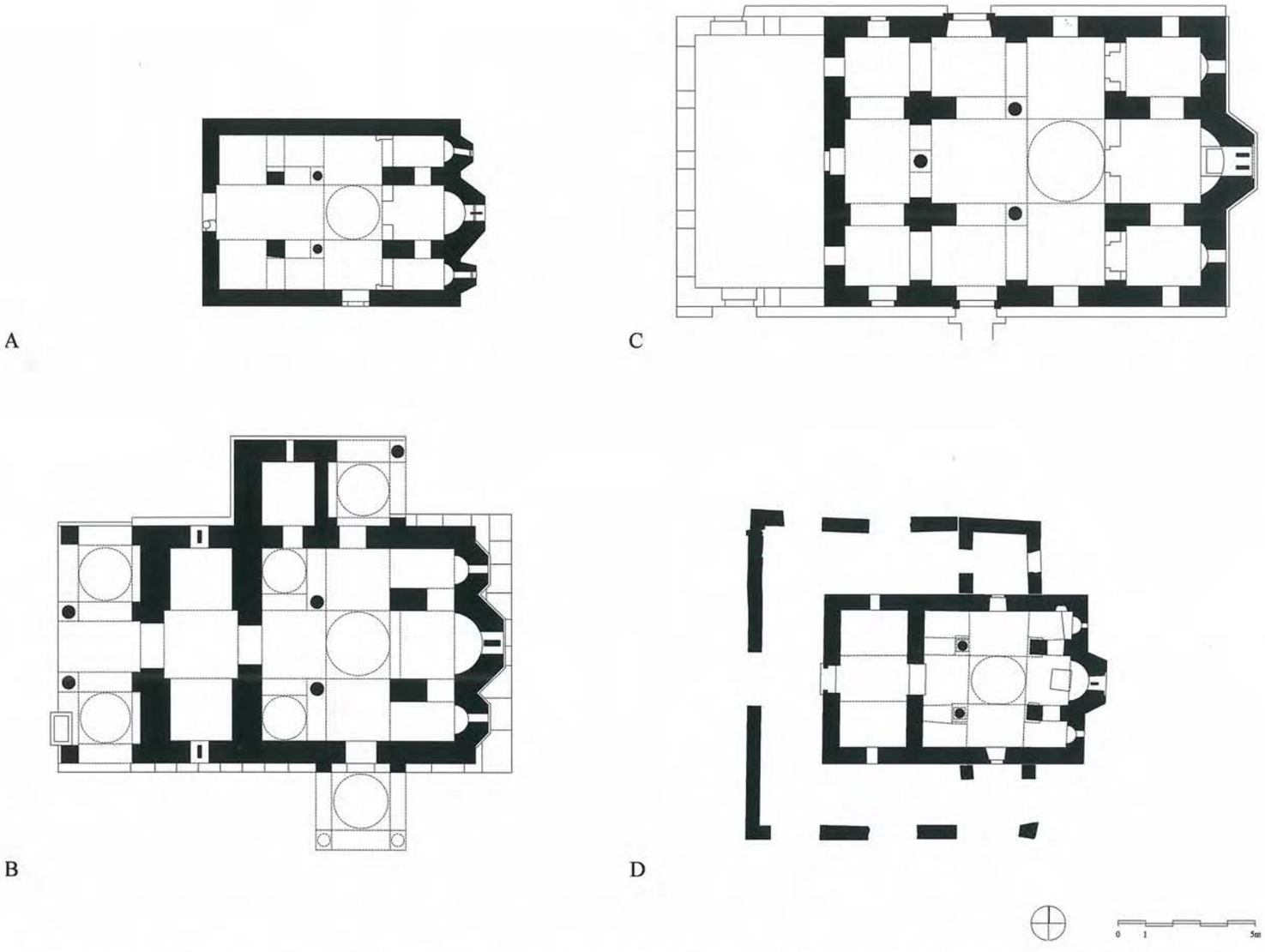
The church of the Metamorphōsēs (Transfiguration) at Amphissa, dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century, is one of the finest monuments of this group.[180] Measuring 8.5 (at the widest point of the west façade) by 12.3 meters in plan, this is a medium-sized church (fig. 472B). Its naos, 7 × 7 meters, has the standard disposition associated with the group. The narthex, though apparently built in the same campaign, is slightly wider on the south side and built more massively than the rest of the church. Its main features are the three arcosolia – two flanking the main exterior portal and the third within a specially constructed recess on its south side. The church displays the highest level of craftsmanship: its façades are marked by an exquisite cloisonné technique, stone string-courses (east façade), and recessed dogtooth friezes. The naos is entered also from a portal on the south side. Placed axially within the central bay, it is framed by a pair of massive spurs supporting a blind arch, corresponding in size to the interior vaulting. The arch is topped by a gable matching a similar feature, also framing a side door, on the north façade of the katholikon of Kaisariani (fig. 406).

The church of Hagios Ioannis (St. John) at Ligourio, near Epidavros, in contrast to the church of Hagioi Ioasonos and Sosipatros at Kerkyra, is a small version of the type, measuring only 6.4 × 10.4 meters in plan (fig. 472C).[181] Dated to the late eleventh century on the basis of external evidence, it features a sophisticated plan but relatively crude execution. Again, this could imply that a local building team had at its disposal a plan of the church. The building technique, though emulating the "Helladic paradigm," is marked by the crude use of ancient spoils and decorative features typical of the style. The building is important for the signature of its builder, one Theophylaktos from the island of Keos, who inscribed his name on a large reused stone block on the north façade. Such inscriptions, mentioning the name of a builder, are exceptional in Byzantine architecture.

A group of five churches on the island of Andros belong to the same type. Remarkably similar in scale, they are distinguished by subtle variations in plan, methods of vaulting, and in the articulation of their exteriors, though all unmistakably adhere to the "Helladic paradigm." Three of the five churches are dedicated to the Taxiarchēs (military saints) (at Melida, Mesaria, and Ypsēlou), suggesting the possibility of patronage among the military aristocracy, whose rise to power in this period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) is well known. The church of the Taxiarchēs at Mesaria is dated 1158 on the basis of an eighteenth-century inscription carved on one of the columns supporting its dome.[182] Measuring 8 × 14 meters in plan, it consists of a slightly elongated core and a narthex (fig. 472D). Despite the extensive reconstruction that took place in 1775, the church has preserved many of its original "Helladic" characteristics, including two small projecting porticoes consisting of a pair of columns supporting a small barrel vault with a gable roof above. Another area where a concentration of two-column cross-in-square churches has been preserved is the peninsula of Manē. The church of Hagia Varvara at Erēmos, one of the finest and best-preserved examples of that group, is also dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century (fig. 473).[183] Measuring 7 × 10.5 meters in plan, it belongs to the category of small churches, but its fine proportions and clearly articulated forms bespeak the work of highly skilled builders (fig. 474A). In plan it consists of a two-column cross-in-square naos. Its square form is slightly elongated to the east by a pair of pastophories marked by three-sided protruding miniature apses. To the west of the naos is a narthex separated from it merely by a pair of square piers. The sense of spatial presence of the narthex is more apparent in the vaulting and on the exterior of the building, where slanted gable roofs formally demarcate the presence of a different interior space. The barrel vault over the central bay of the narthex constitutes the extension of the western barrel vault of the naos, which gives the building an elongated form. This, along with the character of the dome drum, recalls some of the Athenian churches, such as the Panagia Gorgoepikos (see fig. 405). The exterior is also marked by the use of large, reused building blocks employed in a cloisonné technique and of recessed dogtooth bands. Other features, such as the band of reticulated tiles below the eaves and ceramic bowls set into the masonry around windows, are related to local practice. Related, though larger and stylistically more mannered, is the church of the Theotokos at Gastounē, in the northwestern part of the Peloponnēsos. Though conceptually related to Hagia Varvara at Erēmos, this church is considerably larger, its plan measuring 10.5 × 15.7 meters (fig. 474C).[184] Its two-column cross-in-square naos is nearly square in plan, measuring 9 × 9 meters internally, its corner compartments proportionally much wider than in Hagia Varvara. As at Hagia Varvara, the western pair of corner compartments opens directly into the narthex through two large arches. The central western bay of the naos is here separated from the narthex by a double-arched opening supported on a central column. This recalls, on a smaller scale, the arrangement in the church of Hagioi Iasonos and Sosipatros in Kerkyra, where two columns support a triple-arched opening between the naos and the narthex. The schemes appear to be proportionally related to the differences in the physical dimensions of the two buildings.

473 Erēmos, H. Varvara; general view from S

The Theotokos at Gastounē is marked by rigorous execution of the cloisonné technique, recessed bands of dogtooth friezes that arch around window openings, and the use of glazed ceramic bowls set into masonry around the main windows. The church has been dated on stylistic grounds to the third or fourth quarter of the twelfth century, though a recent reading of two inscriptions inside has called for the surprising revision of this dating to the second half of the thirteenth century.



474 Two-columned cross-in-square churches: (A) Eremos, H. Varvara; (B) Samari, Zōodochos Pēgē; (C) Gastounē, Theotokos; (D) Arta, H. Nikolaos tēs Rodias; plans

475 Samari, Zōodochos Pēgē; general view from S

476 Arta, H. Nikolaos tēs Rodias; general view from SE

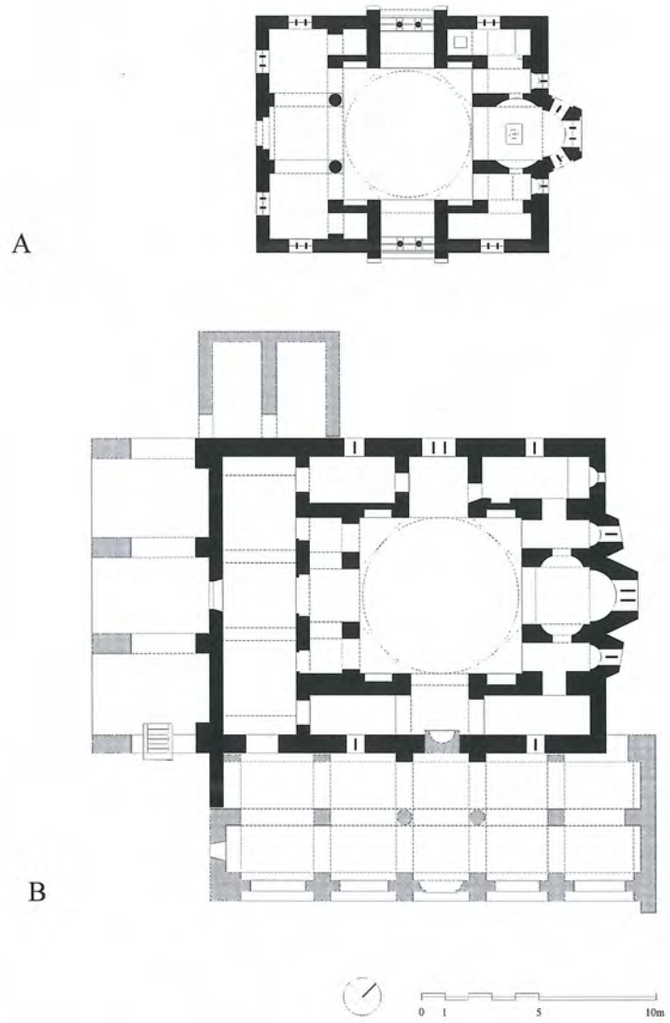
The churches of Zōodochos Pēgē at Samari, near Mesēnē, and of Hagios Nikolaos tēs Rodias near Arta belong to a subcategory of this group. Here, the narthex is fully segregated from the naos by a wall with a single door in the middle, while externally the churches appear to have been envisioned as having additional subsidiary spaces on three sides. The Zōodochos Pēgē at Samari is a medium-sized church measuring 8.5 meters (14.5 m if the lateral projecting elements are taken into account) by 16.5 meters (fig. 474B).[185] The building rests on a carefully constructed stone platform and is marked by the fine proportions of its plan and exquisite construction. Especially notable is the tall "base" of its outer walls, executed of large, apparently reused ashlars capped by a string-course made of smaller longer blocks of the same stone (fig. 475). The upper part of the church features cloisonné technique of smaller stones of uneven sizes. The dome is elevated on a tall octagonal drum of the "Athenian" variety. Generally speaking, the building is almost devoid of the decorative elements and features associated with these churches, with the exception of short dogtooth bands that wrap around most windows. The church had two lateral domed porticoes supported on two columns and on wall responds; only the northern survives. A single square chamber, accessible only from the naos, also projects from the north side of the building to the west of the northern portico. Its function is not known. An open portico whose façade is made up of two piers and two intervening columns supporting three arches, of which the central one is taller than the flanking pair, fronts the west façade of the church. The two corner piers reveal the same kind of high-quality workmanship as the tall base on the church itself. Obviously, they were part of a common master plan. A squat belfry that rises above the portico is made in a cruder building technique and is clearly an afterthought. Certain aspects of the church at Samari match those of the church of the Panagia at Merbaka. Those include the actual overall dimensions of the two buildings, which are nearly identical in size; the clearly articulated tall base that circumvents the building; and porticoes on the three façades, featuring domical vaults and supported on freestanding columns. Although in other ways the buildings are very different, these similarities are striking and not without significance. They may play a role in future efforts to determine the movements of builders in the twelfth-century Byzantine province of Hellas more accurately than has been the case thus far.

The church of Hagios Nikolaos tēs Rodias in Arta displays similarities to the church at Samari, but also some significant differences.[186] Here, as at Samari, the plan consists of an almost square two-column cross-in-square naos and an oblong narthex, fully segregated from the naos, except for the central door. The church of Hagios Nikolaos, however, is considerably smaller, measuring 6 × 10 meters in plan (fig. 474D). Recent excavations have revealed that the building was surrounded by a *peristôon*, a type of outer narthex, on the north, west, and south sides. This was a continuous space with the exception of two rooms, possibly chapels, situated at the extreme eastern points of the *peristôon* and on the cross-axis of the building, aligned with its main domed bay. The building features cloisonné technique, though of a very unsophisticated variety (fig. 476). Though the plan of the church and several of its details, such as double windows in its drum, point to Athens as the ultimate source, the building was clearly the product of a local workshop at a time when the distinctive building tradition of Arta was only in its formative stages. The present majority opinion that dates this building to *circa* 1200, therefore, appears fully justified.

Octagon Domed Churches

The octagon domed church, as we have seen, became one of the paradigmatic types in Middle Byzantine architecture. Its origins still debated, it found its home in the Byzantine province of Hellas, where it presumably came via Constantinople. Since none of the Constantinopolitan examples has been preserved, this remains a hypothesis. Monuments such as the katholika of Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni with their implicit or explicit links to the capital contribute substantially to the validity of this hypothesis. In addition to these two churches, the Panagia Lykodemou in Athens and the katholikon of Daphni Monastery, both of which have also been discussed, we will turn our attention to three more churches of this type, all probably dating from the twelfth century.

The church of Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia is the smallest, though perhaps the finest member of this group.[187] Belonging to a *metochion* of Hosios Loukas Monastery, the church measures 10 × 14 meters in plan (fig. 477A). Built almost entirely of stone, it is in an excellent state of preservation (fig. 478). Its plan shares many similarities with the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, its presumed model. The core of the church, situated precisely in its geometric center, is a square naos covered by a dome, 5.5 meters in diameter. Four arches and four squinches together form an octagonal base upon which the drum rests. The four arches straddle the main axes of the church. To the west, an arch also opens into the sail-vaulted central bay of the narthex. To the east, in a matching situation, an arch also opens into a sail-vaulted bay, accommodating the bema with its characteristic trefoil plan. To the north and south are the rib-vaulted arms of the cross, framed externally by projecting pilasters that support a tall arch whose form outlines the basic dimensions of the interior bay and its vault, as at Hosios Loukas and Daphni. As at Hosios Loukas, these tall elegant arcades are perforated by windows and doors, providing one of the main sources of light inside the building. Unlike Hosios Loukas, the four corner com-



477 Octagon domed churches: (A) Kambia, H. Nikolaos; (B) Monemvasia, Hodēgētria; plans

479 Kambia, H. Nikolaos; dome exterior from W

partments do not communicate with the arms of the cross. Here they are fully segregated and may be reached only through the narthex, or through the pastophories flanking the bema. Hagios Nikolaos is marked by exquisite stone construction that was not the result of the reuse of ancient building material, but of first-hand carving of ashlar blocks, string-courses, and window and door frames. Brick is used sparsely, only in the uppermost reaches of the building, where its application is also rigorous (fig. 479). The church features only two columns, here supporting the arch under the dome on the west side. The columns are crowned by elaborately carved capitals with guilloche bands, palmettes, half-palmettes, and interlace motifs (fig. 480). The vocabulary resembles closely that in the tenth-century church of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas, but also on a number of Byzantine monuments from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

478 Kambia, H. Nikolaos; general view from SE

480 Kambia, H. Nikolaos; column capital

The church of Hodēgētria (also known as Hagia Sophia) at Monemvasia shares most of the planning characteristics with Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia. Measuring 13.5 × 23.2 meters in plan, it is slightly larger, but has identical plan proportions (1: 1.4) as its counterpart at Kambia (fig. 477B). Built in 1150, the church is situated in the most visible location in the upper town, at the edge of a cliff that drops almost vertically into the sea below (fig. 481).[188] The church was built as the katholikon of a monastery, as were most of the churches of the same type. The layout of its plan differs only slightly from Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia – it features an additional space between its domed core and the narthex, as does the katholikon of Daphni Monastery. While the diameter of its dome matches that of Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia (5.5 m), the exterior articulation of its drum is closely related to the dome of Daphni. Similarities with Daphni are apparent also in the general articulation of the windows and in the building technique. The interior reveals a constructional curiosity (fig. 482). The eight main arches sup-

482 Monemvasia, Hodēgētria; interior, view into the dome

481 Monemvasia, Hodēgētria; general view within natural setting

483 Christianoi, Sotēra; general view from S

porting the dome were built with large voussoirs of stone, not brick, as would be standard Byzantine choice. The eight pendentives, on the other hand, are entirely of brick, as are all of the window arches in the drum. It is quite clear from our examination of different churches in this section that there was a far greater sense of uniformity in the area of planning and general style than in construction. The pronounced "constructional eclecticism" suggests that different craftsmen may have been given the task of building churches for which the designs were procured from elsewhere. Marked differences between the churches, such as Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia and the Hodēgētria at Monemvasia, strongly suggest yet again that building design and construction need not have been the work of the same individuals.

The largest of the octagon domed buildings under consideration here is the Sotēra at Christianoi in Triphylia. The church was extensively rebuilt in 1951, but its general importance in the context of this group remains, despite the fact that some of the features (e.g., its dome) must be considered the creations of its restorer.[189] This monastic church appears to be related to the katholikon of Daphni, though in terms of its size – 15 × 23 meters – it is second only to the katholikon of Hosios Loukas. A large dome, here 8 meters in diameter, covers its square naos. One of the distinctive features of this church is that the lateral chapels and the pastophories on each side of the building are fused so as to constitute single spaces, as wide as the bema itself. Externally, the church gives a somewhat austere impression. At its base is a system of large ashlar blocks arranged into cross-shaped forms reminiscent of those at Daphni, as well as several churches in Argolid (fig. 483). Above this, the walls feature a very mechanically executed cloisonné technique. Only part of this belongs to the reconstruction, so that it is safe to attribute the character of the technique to the original builders. Windows are framed by simple brick arches accentuated by recessed dogtooth friezes, the only decorative feature on the entire building.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the "Helladic paradigm," having reached the fullest extent of its expansion in the twelfth century, lost some of its exquisite qualities. Time and again in our discussion it has become apparent that building crews varied widely in terms of their backgrounds and skills. The fact that they were producing buildings that not only corresponded typologically to some of the masterpieces of the group, but also in their measurements and proportions, suggests that some form of visual records of building plans must have been in circulation. Short of that, the various phenomena that we have encountered cannot be adequately explained.

THE WESTERN SPHERE

Byzantine efforts to maintain control over the entire Balkan peninsula had several major general objectives. One of the most important and most complex was the struggle to maintain a foothold along the Adriatic coast.[190] Here the challenges were multiple and Byzantine successes had to depend increasingly on the shrewd manipulation of the various contenders in this arena by nurturing those antagonisms that would best serve Byzantine interests. Among the various powers, or would-be powers, seeking control over Dalmatian cities, Venice stood out as one of the most serious. Already since *circa* 1000 Venice had demonstrated its resolve to bring the Dalmatian towns under its sway, at a time when these were nominally under Byzantine control. Thus, Venice, despite its recognized role as the principal agent of Byzantium in the Adriatic basin, began to display its own imperial ambitions at Byzantine expense. For the time being, at least, the Byzantine emperor could count on the support of the Dalmatian towns that saw in Venice a direct threat to their own maritime commercial economies. These developments in the first decades of the eleventh century were happening against the background of the growing importance of the state of Croatia, itself increasingly coming under pressure from Hungary. In 1102 the Hungarian king, on assuming also the title of king of Croatia, gained a convenient pretext to intervene in the affairs of the Dalmatian towns. By 1105 a century of periodic conflicts between Hungary and Venice over control of the Adriatic littoral began with the Hungarian conquest of Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, and Split.[191] During these regional wars, the Dalmatian towns found themselves negotiating through tumultuous developments, with ever-shifting results, requiring enormous diplomatic skills. The less fortunate players in these struggles, such as the

town of Biograd in 1124, suffered ominous fates. Its citizens were stripped of all of their proprietory rights and the town was razed to the ground by the vindictive Venetians. Conflicts in the Adriatic arena occasionally also brought more distant "outsiders" – Normans and Crusaders among them – into regional power contests. On at least two major occasions, in the 1080s and again in the 1150s, the Normans became directly embroiled in Dalmatian affairs. One of the major power players in the region was the papacy, whose input, though least visible, was constant. Papal jurisdiction over the eastern Adriatic littoral was never in dispute, even when political control was firmly in Byzantine hands. The practical aspect of administering control over the region, however, was an entirely different matter. Informed by motifs that were variously perceived as "heresies," simple "ignorance," or displays of "insubordination," repeated local obstructions periodically flared up into regional conflicts that invariably called for intervention by external powers. Defending the interests of Rome in these matters required the skillful choice of suitable allies and pitting them against ever-shifting alliances in the region. During the period we are examining, the Catholic Church commonly deployed the monastic orders, whose missions in the region almost routinely involved interventions in political matters. The undeniable cultural influence of these orders, and particularly their input in architectural matters, was considerable. The Benedictines were followed by the Cistercians, and later yet – in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – by the Dominicans and Franciscans.[192]

Our discussion of architecture along the Adriatic littoral in previous chapters was qualified as one of the regional developments within the broader framework of Byzantine architecture. In the eleventh century such characterization no longer holds true. Shortly after 1000 architecture in this region became demonstrably Western – in conception and style alike – notwithstanding the fact that some isolated aspects of Byzantine influence persisted into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Scholars reached this general conclusion long ago. However, in making such an assessment, they nonetheless sought to fit the general development of architecture in this region into the structure of corresponding developments in western Europe. A historical model thus created has often resulted in serious conceptual flaws. In classifying the surviving buildings into chronological-stylistic subcategories, they have been labeled as either pre-Romanesque (datable between the ninth century and the eleventh) or Romanesque (datable between the late eleventh century and the thirteenth).[193] In recent years, however, it has increasingly become evident that very few surviving buildings are securely datable to the ninth or tenth centuries, while many others with demonstrably "pre-Romanesque" stylistic characteristics must be dated to the twelfth century.[194] Problems have also arisen in the context of the definition of a distinctive "national" style of architecture.[195] The early period along the Adriatic littoral, with a large number of preserved buildings, has attracted the greatest amount of attention, at the expense of the "Romanesque" material, which remains glaringly neglected. In the process of study of the early material, various assertions of a geopolitical nature have been made that have aimed to satisfy modern political views and ambitions, but have not necessarily helped to illuminate the medieval circumstances that created them. Such studies, despite their often loftily stated aims, have not contributed constructively to our understanding of the larger picture that we are attempting to reconstruct here. To the point, the architecture on the territory of Dalmatia, within modern Croatia, unquestionably contains the largest number of relevant monuments of this group. The question whether, therefore, this architecture may, or indeed should, be labeled "Early Croatian," and on what basis, deserves critical reassessment. Comparable buildings were also being built, albeit in smaller numbers, on the territories of the medieval states of Duklja (Zeta) and Bosnia, in areas with limited or no Croatian population, during the same period marked by considerable political and cultural flux. Equally important is to recognize that religious affiliation (i.e., Catholic versus Orthodox) did not necessarily translate into a specific architectural style (i.e., pre-Romanesque or Romanesque versus Byzantine). Reading this architectural heritage, then, as a testimony of a broader regional architectural development emerging under considerable Western cultural input, but on territories traditionally exposed also to Byzantine influence, may facilitate more effective ways of understanding this uniquely Balkan phenomenon, which cannot be simply brought in line with "pre-Romanesque" developments elsewhere.[196] Some scholarly efforts aimed at addressing the question of "continuity" and "discontinuity" in the architecture and sculpture of Dalmatia have contributed constructively to this modern intellectual discourse. Much, however, remains to be done.

Other specifically Western phenomena that will be noted here were imported by the various monastic orders from *circa* 1000. Architecture built under their auspices is related to Western developments more directly. Thus, the architectural characteristics of Benedictine or Cistercian monasteries, as we know them from western Europe, match those found in the western parts of the Balkan peninsula. These and other phenomena will be duly noted, but largely as examples of imports with varying degrees of impact on the regional scene. Perhaps the most enduring aspect of this legacy was the development of local building workshops, whose training on major construction sites, under the supervision of imported masters, provided the main mechanisms for the assimilation of Western architectural "styles" into the Balkans.

Urban Developments

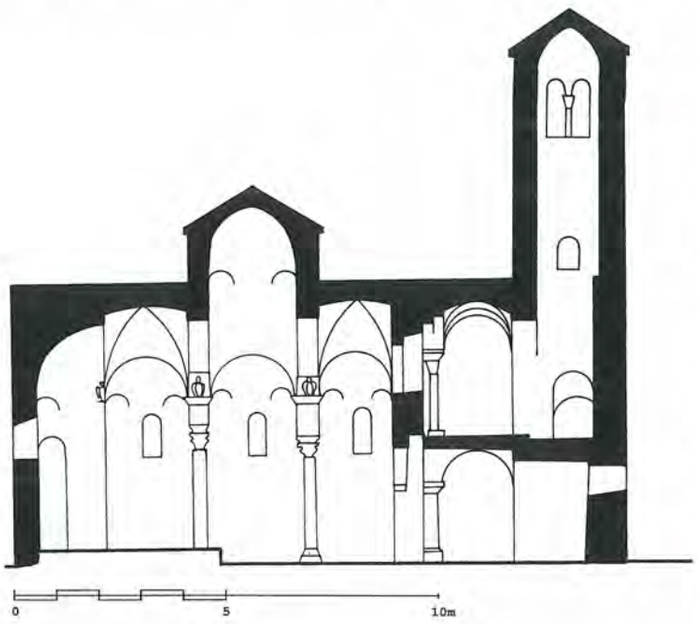
An important dimension of the change occurring in the western part of the Balkans has to do with the reemergence of towns along the Adriatic littoral. Although these were ancient Roman, and some even ancient Greek foundations, their urban character had been suppressed during the seventh–tenth centuries. On territories under Byzantine control, some of these towns continued a form of existence that must have been comparable to what we have encountered elsewhere in the Balkans. Towns on territories held by the Croatians, on the other hand, may have begun to form in earnest only during the eleventh century.[197]

ZADAR

During this period, Zadar (ancient Iadera), Croatia, without a doubt was the most important among the cities on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. A major city in Roman times, its orthogonal system of streets and avenues has been fully preserved. Under consolidated Byzantine control for nearly three centuries after 812, the city was the center of Byzantine administration in Dalmatia. Notwithstanding the fact that it suffered extensive destruction on a number of occasions – lastly from major air raids during the Second World War – Zadar has preserved an impressive number of medieval buildings, some of which are of outstanding quality. Among the surviving buildings were as many as fifty-eight Romanesque houses still preserved in the 1960s along with a number of Romanesque churches.[198] Yet, Zadar cannot be declared a fully Romanesque center. We must not overlook the fact that local monumental painting and even book illumination showed clear evidence of strong Byzantine influence. Medieval architecture, along with the city's remarkable medieval art treasures, unequivocally point to a city of considerable cultural diversity reflecting conditions of accumulated wealth and lasting prosperity. In addition to the church of St. Donat, discussed in the preceding chapter, one should also bear in mind two buildings that, unfortunately, no longer survive. One of these was the small hexagonal church of Stomorica (St. Mary; Sv. Marija, also known as Sv. Ursula). Belonging to a group of such churches, most of them of unknown date, the Stomorica has been related to Zadar's sixth-century hexagonal baptistery flanking the cathedral (fig. 436).[199] Characterized by its smooth exterior without pilaster strips, the church featured only five protruding apses. In the place of the sixth apse was a long corridor providing access into the church, with a single belfry above its entrance. Two other hexagonal churches have come to light at Pridraga and Kašić, in the general vicinity of Zadar, illustrating clearly a local preference for this type. The other church of some importance, but without any historical record, was St. Vitus (Sv. Vid), destroyed in 1877, whose form has been preserved in old drawings made prior to its destruction. Slightly larger, it was a virtual replica of the church of the Holy Cross (Sv. Križ) at Nin, featuring a basically free cross plan, the arms of the cross terminating in round apses on their eastern sides. The main apse, horseshoe-shaped internally, was externally embedded in a rectilinear form, of the same size and character as the remaining free arms of the cross. A dome that rose over the crossing was elevated on a relatively tall cylindrical drum. Smoothed over in stucco externally, its walls were articulated sparingly with a few relatively small blind niches in the upper parts. Similar niches also decorated the exterior of the dome drum.

The oldest surviving church datable to the eleventh century, St. Lawrence (Sv. Lovro), shares certain qualities with the two buildings just mentioned, among them its relatively small size (fig. 484).[200] Measuring merely 6.8 × 9.7 meters, its rectangular plan was flanked on both sides by five projecting pilasters, strategically placed in relationship to the internal spatial disposition of the building, and linked below the eaves with a corbel-table. The church had a dome carried on four columns. Although the dome rose at the point common to Byzantine churches, it did not mark a conventional "crossing." The church, in fact, resembled a type of a miniature domed basilica. Its "aisles" (merely 0.7 m wide), were vaulted by three semi-domes, each resting on a pair of squinches, on both sides of the building. The two other bays of the nave were covered with groin vaults, while the apse was covered by another semi-dome supported on a pair of squinches. This building displays many characteristics that may

484 Zadar, St Lawrence; longitudinal section



be compared with so-called pre-Romanesque architecture, widespread in the central and southern Adriatic littoral at this time. What distinguishes it from others is a relatively large narthex added on its west side shortly after the initial campaign. This narthex had a second floor, whose central bay overlooked the naos through a window. Above the entrance door rose an axially situated campanile. These features have been associated with *Westwerk* formulas in Western medieval architecture, but their character and size find just as close, perhaps even closer, parallels in contemporary Byzantine architecture. One need only be reminded of the floor above the narthex of Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (see p. 372). The main point of difference may be the axial belfry, whose appearance we have also noted in the no-longer-extant hexagonal church of Stomorica. Our knowledge of Byzantine belfries is currently undergoing major changes, and these Dalmatian examples, ultimately, may not appear as unrelated to the Byzantine ones as has been thought. Whatever the resolution of this issue, the fact remains that belfries, particularly axially displayed ones, appear to have gained in popularity in the course of the eleventh century in Dalmatia. We will return to this important point in our discussion of architecture in Split.

Significant changes in the architecture of Zadar are notable toward the end the eleventh century, and may be attributed to the activities of the Benedictine Order. New construction commissioned under their auspices often occurred on sites formerly occupied by older churches, possibly in a state of decay. This pattern is evident in Zadar, as well as in other Dalmatian towns during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The oldest church that followed this pattern is St. Mary (Sv. Marija), belonging to a Benedictine nunnery.[201] Most of the other monastic buildings of this complex were destroyed during the Second World War bombing raids, but the church has survived. Of relatively modest dimensions, measuring 14 × 22 meters in plan, this three-aisled basilica evidently followed the scheme of an early Christian church that stood on the site. Subsequently modified and enlarged, the general appearance of the eleventh-century church has became better known following recent restoration work. The wooden-roofed three-aisled basilica, terminating in three round apses, followed the general pattern of Benedictine monastic construction elsewhere, particularly in Italy. Its central vessel was separated from the side aisles by arcades supported on columns with Romanesque capitals. The church must have been completed at the time of its dedication in 1091. A few years later, a belfry and a chapter house were added, abutting the north flank of the basilica. The belfry was evidently a gift of the Hungarian king Koloman, who also became king of Croatia in 1102. An inscription, dated 1105, commemorates this event. The belfry of St. Mary is the oldest surviving Romanesque construction in Dalmatia. Its upper stories were rebuilt in the fifteenth century, but it preserves its original building fabric in its lower stories, including a second-story chamber with a rib vault. The ribs with their bulky, rectangular profiles are characteristic of early Romanesque construction, and are in evidence also in several other locations within Dalmatia. They spring from four corner columns with Romanesque block capitals bearing the name R. Collomannus (King Koloman). A special balcony projecting from this second-story chamber linked the belfry to the adjacent chapter house. The chapter house is a rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber, its vault reinforced by four transverse ribs, resting on two-storied engaged colonnettes. Two two-light Romanesque windows and a door, all in the north wall, provide the only source of natural light. In the southeast corner is situated the tomb of the Abbess Vekenga, responsible for the building of the chapter house. Her tomb bears the date of 1111, and thus provides the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the building.

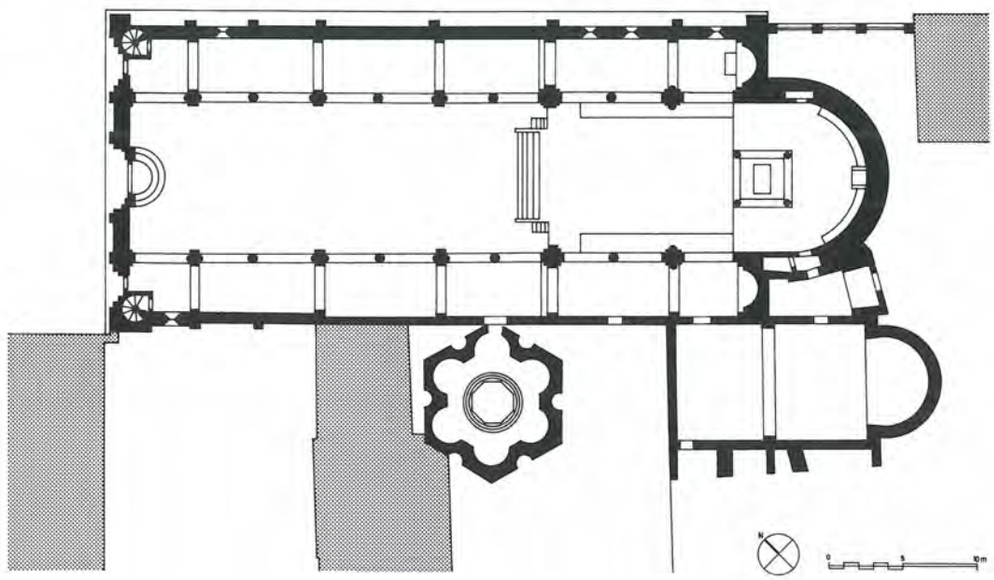
Evidence of foreign builders brought to Zadar by the Benedictines in the last decade of the eleventh century and the first decade of the twelfth had a follow-up story two generations later. When the male members of the Benedictine Order reached the decision to build their monastery, probably during the third quarter of the twelfth century, they, too, must have relied on foreign builders, possibly from Tuscany, in carrying out their plans. Little of the monastery survives, but its church of St. Crisogono (Sv. Krševan) is remarkably well preserved.[202] According to a painted inscription that no longer survives, its construction must have been completed by 1175, the year of its dedication. Also built on the site of an early Christian church, the three-aisled basilica, measuring 18 × 34.5 meters in plan, is larger than the church of St. Mary. With its three-apsed eastern end and its wooden lean-to roofs, the church continues the basic design scheme that we have already seen. The main difference between the two Benedictine foundations has to do with the articulation of the interior. Here, the nave arcades are carried by columns, but also by two piers on either side. The piers, cruciform in plan, subdivide the building longitudinally into three pseudo-bays of uneven dimensions. A similar approach to the articulation of interior spaces may be seen in a number of Italian Romanesque basilican churches, especially those in Tuscany. Similarities to Tuscan Romanesque architecture are just as much in evidence on the exterior of the building, one of the finest preserved in all of Dalmatia (fig. 485). The all-stone construction reveals both sophistication of design and high quality of execution. The east façade of the building features three apses. The main apse, as wide as the nave, rises to a height nearly twice that of the side apses. Its semi-cylindrical wall in its lower part is articulated by evenly spaced engaged slender colonnettes supporting a corbel-table. Above this stands an open arcaded gallery, typical

485 Zadar, St. Crisogono; general view from SE

of Lombard Romanesque architecture. The south façade of the church flanks a public street and is articulated by a splendid blind arcade with a row of evenly spaced, slender twisted engaged colonnettes. The arcade is strictly decorative in nature, for the spacing of its colonnettes bears no relationship to the disposition of the structural members inside the building. The main façade, though more modest than the other two, with blind arcades in its upper part and color banding produced by the use of different types of stone, is a notable achievement in the spirit of Tuscan Romanesque.

Zadar, under Venetian control through most of the twelfth century, experienced a period of prosperity that is clearly reflected in its architecture. It is highly likely that the Tuscan builders brought in by the Benedictine monks to construct their church of St. Crisogono may have been also employed on the construction of the new cathedral. Dedicated to St. Anastasia (Sv. Stošija) the new building was also a replacement of an early Christian church, parts of which, in this case, were incorporated into the new building.[203] The large three-aisled basilica, in its original form measuring 19 × 37 meters, was nearly complete in 1202, when the Crusader storming of Zadar interrupted its construction, possibly causing damage to the unfinished building. Building continued throughout the thirteenth century, but following a scheme more ambitious than the original. Elongated by a bay and a half, as completed, the church attained an overall length of 50 meters (fig. 486). Dedicated in 1285, it must have been basically finished by then, though the main portal was not completed until 1324. Closely related to the design of St. Crisogono, the cathedral displays many modifications of the former scheme. Thus in its interior the rhythm of alternating columns and piers has been regularized, while the spacing of the exterior pilasters has been largely subordinated to the disposition of structural members within. The eastern end of the church features a 20-meter-long raised chancel, extending into the main apse, with the main altar under a monumental ciborium. Below the raised platform is a large crypt whose vaulting rests on a system of columnar sup-

486 Zadar, St. Anastasia; plan



487 Zadar, St. Anastasia; west façade

ports. The façade of the cathedral, most likely completed in the course of the thirteenth century, bears a striking resemblance to Tuscan Romanesque churches with its matrix of harmoniously organized blind arcades supported on slender colonnettes (fig. 487). The monumental freestanding belfry, behind the northeast corner of the cathedral, was begun in the fifteenth century, but only its lowest story was completed at the time. In its present form it was finished in 1892, by the British architect T. Graham Jackson, who relied on the design of the belfry of the cathedral of Rab for his solution.

Our discussion of the development of architecture in Zadar has demonstrated several points of consequence. During much of the eleventh century, as the nominal Byzantine control of the region continued, the architecture displayed the perpetuati on of a local style that may be viewed also as one of several provincial variants of a highly diversified Byzantine architecture, as we defined it in Chapter 6. With the appearance of the Benedictine Order in the last decades of the eleventh century, builders from the other side of the Adriatic brought a different style of architecture. Most often referred to as "mature Romanesque," this style is marked not only by a distinctive architectural vocabulary and construction techniques, but also by design preferences. The basilican church form, in its most elementary original form, made a comeback, displacing variations on the basilican theme that had become common in the Byzantine sphere. One of the more obvious "victims" of this development was the dome, a common feature of architecture in the region until *circa* 1050–1100. The appearance of monumental belfries, which occurs at roughly the same time, may be seen as another significant "paradigm shift" that requires further exploration. Clearly, the development of architecture in Zadar, and in much of the rest of Dalmatia, significantly changed its course after *circa* 1100. The responsibility for this change would seem to have had less to do with conflicts between Byzantium, Venice, and Hungary than with the more aggressive role of the Benedictine Order, which moved into the region in the course of the eleventh century.

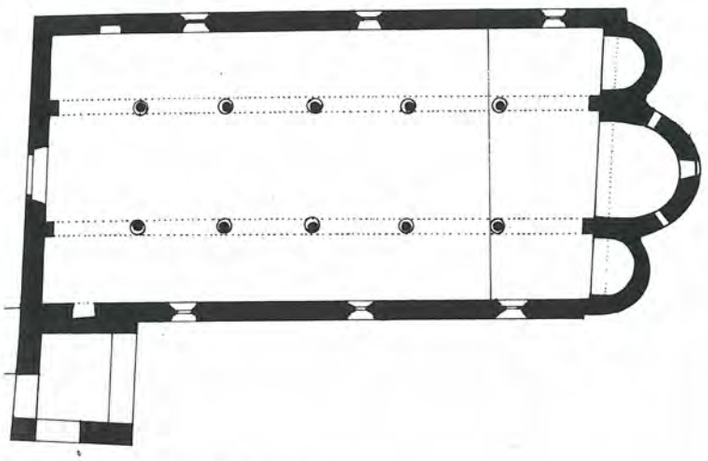
488A Rab, St. John the Evangelist; capital

488B Rab, St. John the Evangelist; capital

489 Rab, Cathedral; belfry

RAB

The town of Rab (ancient Arbe), Croatia, on the island of the same name, has preserved several buildings from the period under investigation, albeit some in a considerably modified state. An important harbor in Roman times, Rab played a relatively minor role during the Byzantine era, but entered a period of considerable prosperity after *circa* 1000. One of the most impressive churches in Rab must have been St. John the Evangelist (Sv. Ivan Evandjelista), in all likelihood built during the eleventh century. This large three-aisled church, measuring 13 × 31 meters in plan, survives only in ruins. Built over the remains of an early Christian basilica, the medieval church adapted its predecessor's large apse with the addition of an ambulatory, a scheme that at the time of its construction must have been related to the initially modified early Christian cathedral of Zadar. Its splendidly carved, classicizing capitals illustrate the high quality of workmanship associated with these first Romanesque building enterprises, and point to the probable importation of master builders and stone carvers at that stage of the general development of architecture in the region (fig. 488A–B). The other notable building is the town's cathedral dedicated to St. Mary Major (Sv. Marija Velika), begun possibly in the late eleventh century and dedicated in 1177, but substantially modified in later times. The lower part of its façade preserves some original features. Two tiers of superimposed blind arcades, executed in two types of stone creating a charac-



490 Supetarska Draga, St. Peter; plan

491 Supetarska Draga, St. Peter; capital

teristic banding effect, emphasize close links with Zadar, and ultimately with the Tuscan Romanesque sources for this type of architecture. The most impressive surviving component of the cathedral is its monumental belfry, 26 meters high (fig. 489). Displaying some similarities with the lower tiers of the belfry of Sv. Marija in Zadar, this, too, may be the work of the early twelfth century, although it is generally dated to the thirteenth. In any case, this is the oldest-preserved and finest of the Romanesque belfries in Dalmatia, featuring a sophisticated design with the characteristically Romanesque staggered system of openings – from the four large arched openings at the top to small single apertures at the bottom. Its design has been compared to Lombard Romanesque belfries, but central or south Italian connections appear to be more likely, given the exclusive use of stone as its building material. Three other Romanesque belfries are also preserved in Rab, on the churches of St. Andrew, St. Dominica, and St. John the Baptist, while others are known to have existed. The belfry of St. Andrew is dated to 1181, while others also belong to the twelfth century. Collectively, they point to the popularity of belfries during this period along the Adriatic littoral.

Of particular importance for the understanding of architecture not only in Rab, but also along the entire Adriatic littoral, is the church of St. Peter in the small town of Supetarska Draga, at the other end of the island of Rab (fig. 490). Unusually well preserved, it is associated with a Benedictine monastery, founded in 1060.[204] Of more modest dimensions, measuring 10.3 × 22.6 meters in plan, this church is closely related in several respects, including its size, to the Benedictine abbey church of Sv. Marija in Zadar. Also probably built over the remains of an early Christian basilica, St. Peter was a three-aisled basilica terminating in three apses, round externally and internally. The nave arcades are supported on freestanding columns with contemporary capitals. These display characteristics typical of several other churches of this period, and reveal an innovative approach to architectural sculpture, in part conscious of classical and especially Byzantine prototypes (fig. 491).

TROGIR

Trogir (ancient Tragurion or Tragurium), Croatia, together with Split and Šibenik, is one of the central Dalmatian towns whose historical development during the period under investigation differed from the towns to the north (Zadar, Rab) and those to the south (Dubrovnik, Kotor). Under nominal Byzantine control, Trogir was one of the first Dalamatian towns to recognize also its dependence on the Croatian state. In 1107 Hungarian king Koloman granted it autonomous status, which it enjoyed through much of the twelfth century. Together with Split, Trogir was able to resist Venetian pressure longer than most Dalmatian towns, succumbing only in 1420.

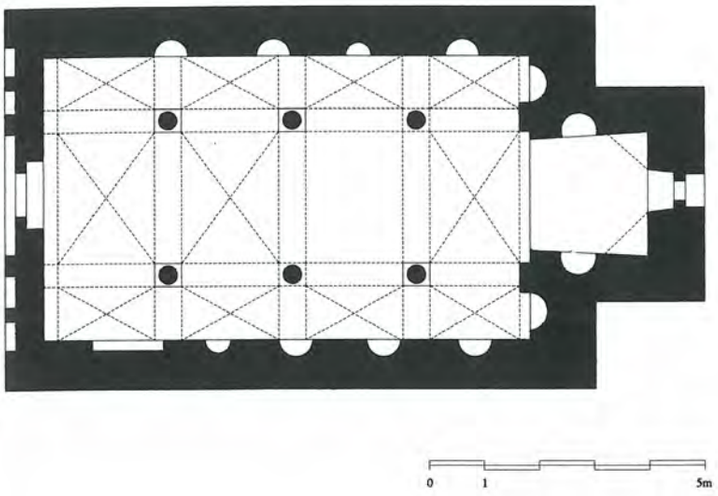
Trogir is notable for its remarkable natural setting (fig. 492). Situated on a small islet within a sea canal that separates the island of Čiovo from the mainland, the town was both naturally

492 Trogir; aerial view of town from W

493 Trogir, St. Mary; 18th-century drawing (C.-L. Clerisseau)

protected and able to provide and control the link between the mainland and Čiovo. Founded by ancient Greek colonists, Trogir has preserved some aspects of its original form within its urban fabric – its circular shape with a superimposed grid of streets. Among its preserved medieval buildings are nearly seventy Romanesque houses, recorded as preserved, fully or in part, as late as the early 1950s.[205]

Two of Trogir's oldest churches, St. Mary and St. Barbara, reveal similarities in their architectural development to those of other Dalmatian cities. Destroyed in the nineteenth century, St. Mary survives only in its foundations. Its appearance, fortunately, was recorded on a fine drawing by Charles-Louis Clerisseau now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (fig. 493).[206] Its foundations were excavated after the Second World War, just south of the cathedral square, demonstrating that it belonged to the group of hexagonal churches alluded to above in conjunction with the discussion of the church of Stomorica in Zadar (p. 438). Its outer diameter measuring 11 meters, the church was closely related to the rest of this group. Unlike some of these churches, however, its six projecting apses were articulated on the exterior by regularly spaced shallow pilaster strips linked by blind arcades just below the eaves. The church was originally domed, while its simple cylindrical drum was also articulated by blind arcading. It was apparently built during the eleventh century, though no documents directly related to its early history have survived. The nearby church of St. Barbara (previously St. Martin) is almost fully preserved. A miniature three-



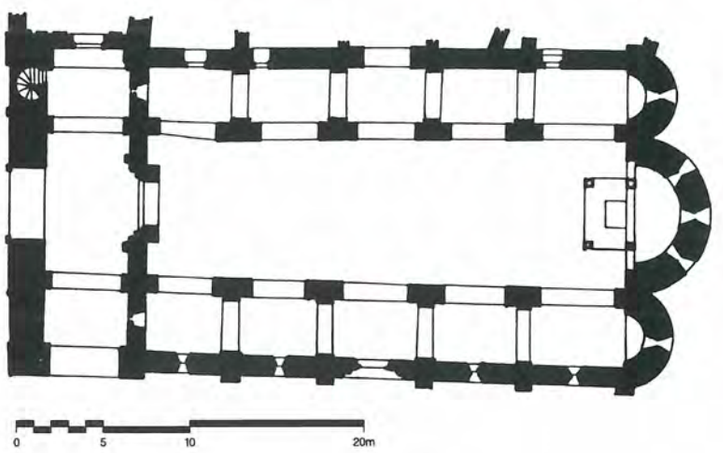
494 Trogir, St. Barbara; plan

495 Trogir, St. Barbara; interior, looking E

aisled basilica, it measures 7 × 12.7 meters in plan (fig. 494).[207] Its barely 1-meter-wide side aisles terminate in semicircular niches set within disproportionately thick exterior walls. Even smaller niches articulate the lateral interior walls of the aisles and the main apse. Though such niches are known in other contexts, here they display a curious disregard in placement relative to the overall structural and spatial disposition of the building. Columnar arcades, whose shafts and capitals are spoils from different periods, separate the aisles from the nave (fig. 495). The main apse is rectangular externally and internally, but is covered by a semi-dome carried by a pair of corner squinches. The church was fully vaulted, apparently with cross vaults, and may have had a low dome over its third bay that no longer survives. As such, it would have been closely related to the church of St. Lawrence at Zadar, and like it may have been the product of the eleventh century.

By far the most imposing and impressive of all the buildings in Trogir is its magnificent cathedral, dedicated to St. Lawrence (Sv. Lovro), begun in 1213 and substantially completed by the middle of the thirteenth century, although it was never fully finished (figs. 496 and 497).[208] Planned as a three-aisled basilica with a wooden-roofed nave, and vaulted side aisles, the church acquired rib vaults over its nave only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Measuring 45 meters in overall length, this was one of the largest medieval buildings in Dalmatia. The main arcade is carried by a system of massive T-shaped piers, clearly intended to support vaulting over the side aisles. A portico, whose massive outer walls indicate that it was intended to support a symmetrical pair of belfries, precedes the building. Of these, only the southern one was completed, but even it was built slowly, as is clear from the different building style on each of its four stories. Two aspects of the cathedral are deserving of particular attention – its exterior articulation and its interior fur-

496 Trogir, Cathedral; plan



497 Trogir, Cathedral, general view from SW

499 Trogir, Cathedral; main portal

498 Trogir, Cathedral, east end

nishings. The church was built in a mature Romanesque style, its articulation and high-quality workmanship attesting again to the probable input of builders from the other side of the Adriatic. While the participation of local craftsmen cannot be doubted, some of the sophisticated design features and details reveal the hand of a master builder whose identity and origins remain a mystery. Especially noteworthy are the three apses characterized by the monumentality of their simple geometric forms, marked by thin, evenly spaced twisted engaged colonnettes (fig. 498). These are linked with corbel-tables, a quintessential Romanesque feature. Fine stone dogtooth friezes, in turn, top the corbel-tables, the entire ensemble executed in a superb manner. Together, the slender engaged colonnettes, the corbel-tables, and the dogtooth friezes, add texture and a sense of scale to the cathedral that mark it as one of the genuine masterpieces of Romanesque architecture in a broader sense. Its architectural qualities are enhanced by equally exquisite sculpture, which

reaches its climax on the main, west portal (fig. 499). Situated within the massively vaulted and relatively narrow portico, this portal lacks the kind of monumental setting that would normally be afforded to such masterpieces. Its elaborate program is focused on the *Birth of Christ*, depicted in the central tympanum. The scene is accompanied, along its bottom, by a Latin inscription that records the name of the sculptor, one Raduan, and gives the date of 1240.[209] Raduan is a Latinized version of the Slavic name Radovan, indicating that by the middle of the thirteenth century local artists and artisans of the highest quality were beginning to appear on the scene. Initially probably trained by the first generation of imported masters, these local artists and artisans emerged in a local economic and cultural climate that fostered lively architectural and artistic production. The interior of Trogir Cathedral has also preserved two pieces of original church furniture – an elaborate ciborium and a pulpit. The ciborium above the high altar is one of the finest examples to survive. Supported on four slender columns, its superstructure consists of four architrave beams forming a square, from which rises in two stages an octagonal, pyramidal roof. Each of the two stages features a miniature open colonnade, the upper one supporting a pyramidal, tapering roof, all made of stone. Symbolic allusions to the Holy Sepulchre are here unmistakable, as is the virtuosity of the artisans who conceptualized and executed this work. Equally impressive, though more modest in size, is the octagonal stone pulpit in the nave. Supported by an arcade on eight freestanding columns with richly carved capitals, the raised platform of the pulpit is enclosed by a parapet externally articulated by a smaller, blind arcade supported on engaged clusters of miniature colonnettes, comparable to those on the superstructure of the ciborium.

SPLIT

Developments in Split, Croatia, were in many ways closely related to those we have witnessed in Trogir, with which Split shared a similar historical destiny. Split began as a small fortified city created in late antiquity expressly to accommodate the retirement palace of Emperor Diocletian (cf. Chapter 1). Its relatively small walled enclosure ultimately accommodated the refugees from the nearby city of Salona, itself plundered and substantially destroyed during the Avar and Slavic invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries. Split's early medieval history remains murky. Concrete evidence of life and particularly of architectural activity cannot be securely attested before the eleventh century. In 1069 Split, as was also the case with Trogir, formally recognized its dependence on the Croatian state. From the twelfth century until the early fourteenth Split was a prosperous autonomous commune, though it was perpetually obliged to some form of outside authority, be it Byzantium, Venice, or the Croatian or Bosnian feudal lords. During this time, the town expanded westward, beyond the original Roman walls, acquiring a new line of provisional walls by the first half of the thirteenth century at the latest.[210] It was in this new part of town that the nucleus of the civic authority began to develop, in contrast to the seat of the ecclesiastical authority, which, by then, had been firmly established around the area of the erstwhile "peristyle" forecourt of Diocletian's palace. By 1227 the first mention of a communal palace appears in the sources. Sources also refer to a public square (Trg Svetog Lovre) next to the church of St. Lawrence by 1255. As was the case with Zadar and Trogir, Split preserved a substantial number of its Romanesque houses – as many as sixty-eight were recorded in 1952.[211] The general pattern of architectural development in medieval Split also followed closely that of other Dalmatian towns. In the course of the eleventh century, a notable regional development took place, whose general characteristics retained relatively close ties with the developments in the Byzantine sphere. From *circa* 1100, however, this pattern began to change with the growing evidence of Western architectural influence. As was the case in other Dalmatian towns, the principle vehicle of this change appears to have been the Benedictine Order with its widespread pattern of monastic activities in the region.

The church of Holy Trinity (Sv. Trojica) at Poljud, a former suburb and now part of Split, is the best preserved of all the six-apsed churches in Dalmatia (fig. 500). As with the rest of this group, its dating is not secure, though recent scholarship has been increasingly inclined to date it *circa* 1000, rather than earlier. The church measures 10.3 meters in diameter. Four of its six protruding semicircular apses are partially articulated externally by shallow pilaster strips forming blind arcades and framing occasional small windows. Built of small fieldstones, the building was originally undoubtedly plastered, and possibly painted, which would have given it a very different appearance. A dome, 6 meters in diameter, covered the central part of the building. Externally it was partially concealed by a false drum without windows, and was probably covered by a low conical roof. Such external treatment of domes, it will be recalled, was typical of much ninth- and tenth-century architecture in the Byzantine world. By virtue of its formal aspects, and its general aesthetics, Holy Trinity, as was the case with most architecture in Dalmatia before *circa* 1100, belongs to what we have defined as a regional variant of Middle Byzantine architecture. The same may be said of another church belonging presumably to the mid-twelfth century. Sv. Nikola or St. Nicholas (Mikula) at Varoš, another former suburb of Split, now within the boundaries of the modern city, in its restored form has preserved the essential characteristics of the miniscule basilican church type

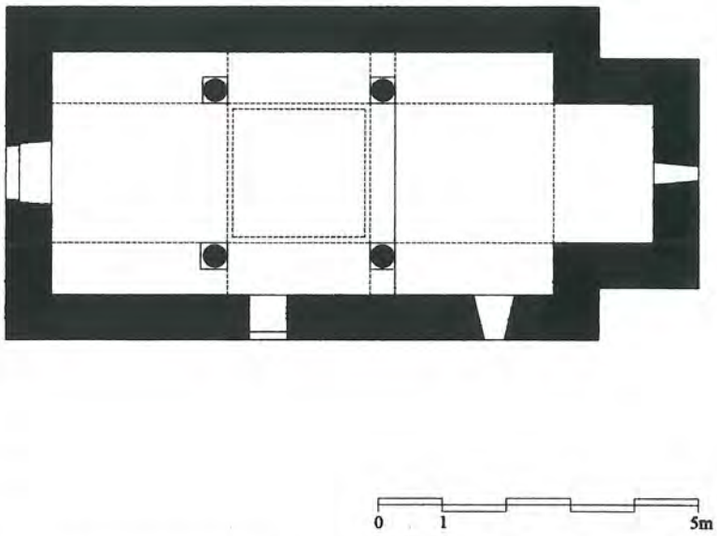
500 Split-Poljud, Holy Trinity; general view from SW (as in 1967)

(figs. 501 and 502). Measuring merely 5.3 × 11 meters in plan, it recalls the church of St. Lawrence at Zadar in layout. Its interior has four rather clumsy columns that carry a small dome over the central part of the building. The dome is externally embedded in a small rectilinear tower-like form with a tall pyramidal roof. Built of rough fieldstones, much like the church of Holy Trinity, Sv. Nikola was also undoubtedly originally plastered externally.

The somewhat larger church of St. Euphemia (originally dedicated to St. Benedict) was built just before 1069, as a church belonging to a Benedictine convent. Destroyed in the nineteenth century, it has been excavated and its general importance assessed. Measuring 9.5 × 17.5 meters in plan, St. Euphemia was a medium-sized basilica, with the main arcades carried on rows of three columns on each side. The side aisles terminated in round apses that together with the main apse formed a familiar east end for eleventh-century Benedictine churches in Dalmatia. Two pairs of columns were spaced more widely than the rest, forming thereby a square bay in plan, over which originally rose a dome. Elevated on a cylindrical drum, the dome was evidently covered with a conical roof. The church of St. Euphemia, thus, must have been one of those rare "hybrid" churches in which the characteristics of Benedictine church planning were combined with aspects of Byzantine regional architectural forms and building techniques.

Two rather unassuming belfries – on the church of Lady of the Belfry and over the baptistery – reveal characteristics comparable with belfries on contemporary churches in Zadar. The church of the Lady of the Belfry (Gospa od zvonika), originally Sv. Teodor (St. Theodore), was built into a passageway above the original inner gate of the west entrance to the erstwhile fortified miniscule city (fig. 503). The belfry itself rose directly above the church, occupying the position usually reserved for domes. On the basis of its style – the wide pilaster strips at its corners and relatively small double openings – this is considered be one of the earliest examples of Romanesque belfries in Dalmatia and is dated to the eleventh century.[212] Related to this belfry was the one that once rose over the entrance into the baptistery, the erstwhile Temple of Jupiter, converted presumably in the eleventh century and possibly earlier (fig. 504). This belfry, recorded on several old engravings, no longer exists, but its form, articulation, and particularly its axial placement, directly above the entrance, place it in a broader trend emerging in Dalmatia during the eleventh century.

After *circa* 1100 church architecture at Split, as was the case in other urban contexts in Dalmatia, took a more decisive turn toward Western models, fully embracing the Romanesque style, imported by the enterprising Benedictines. The most remarkable evidence of this development may be seen at the cathedral of Split, formerly the Mausoleum of Diocletian. Converted into a cathedral at an earlier time, the building acquired a monumental belfry, begun around the middle of the thirteenth century but not completed until almost a century later. The elegant, multistoried tower rose through six stories directly in front of the cathedral entrance, providing the characteristically axial accent to the building and echoing the older, comparable, albeit much smaller, arrangement at the baptistery situated directly opposite.



501 Split-Varoš, St. Nicholas; plan

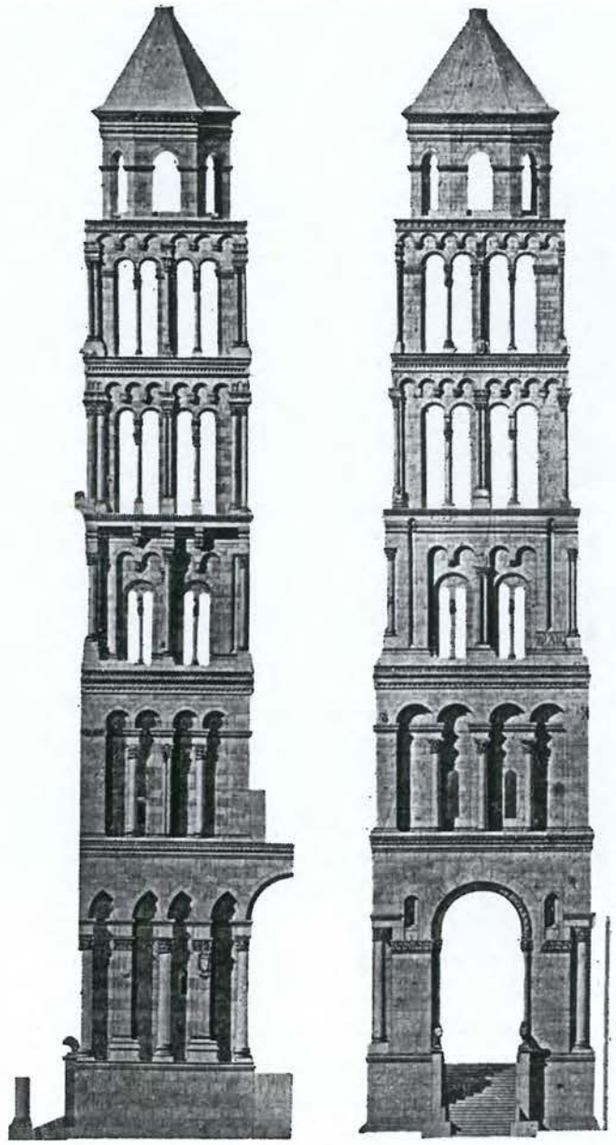
502 Split-Varoš, St. Nicholas; general view from SW

503 Split, Lady of the Belfry; general view

The original Romanesque cathedral belfry was dismantled and rebuilt in the nineteenth century, but detailed evidence of its original appearance has fortunately been preserved (fig. 505).[213] Within the cathedral stands a hexagonal stone pulpit, similar in design and details to the one at Trogir, albeit smaller. The cathedral of Split has also preserved remarkable monumental wooden doors, dated 1214, the work of a local artist, Andrija Buvina. Resembling the monumental bronze doors on several Romanesque churches, these two-leaf doors constitute another basically overlooked masterpiece of medieval sculpture. Buvina may also have been responsible for a pair of wooden choir stalls within the cathedral.[214]

504 Split, Baptistery, late 18th-century general view from E (L.F. Cassas)

505 Split, Cathedral, belfry; S and W elevation drawings

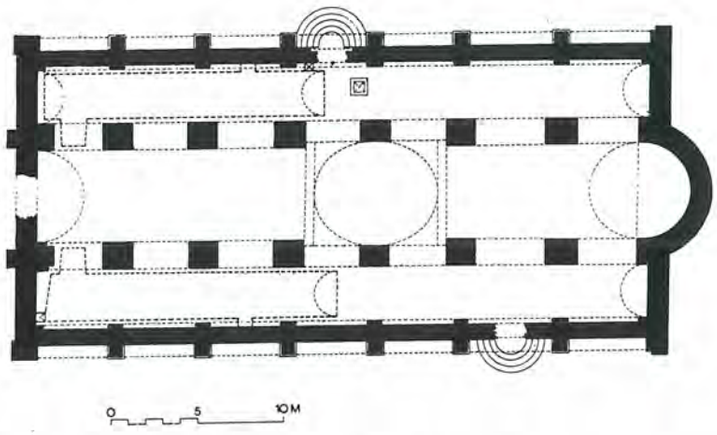


DUBROVNIK

Dubrovnik, Croatia, is unquestionably the most picturesque and the best known of all the towns on the eastern Adriatic coast. Its origins were long shrouded by a myth according to which the native Roman population from the nearby settlement of Epidauros (modern Cavtat), escaping the Avar-Slavic invasions, settled on the small island of Lave in the early seventh century. Eventually, according to the story, the narrow canal separating the island of Lave from the mainland was filled in, fusing it with the settlement known as Dubrava on the lower slopes of Mount Srdj. The filled-in canal eventually became the main street of the medieval town, known as Stradun. Archaeology in recent years has begun to modify aspects of this myth. It is now clear that the island was settled long before the Avar-Slavic invasions. The discovery of the remains of the large sixth-century cathedral below the present one (cf. Ch. 4), as well as of a fortification wall, indicates that a substantial settlement must have existed in this area already in late antique times.

The idiosyncratic historical development of medieval Dubrovnik (ancient Raousion; Ragusa) was slow in the making.[215] In many respects its growth followed a similar pattern to that of other Dalmatian towns. Initially recognizing Byzantine sovereignty, Dubrovnik came under Venetian sway in 1205. Despite its growth and development during the period under consideration, relatively little from this time has survived. It suffered major destruction as a result of an earthquake in 1667. Few medieval buildings survived that catastrophe. Our knowledge of the medieval architecture of Dubrovnik, therefore, is largely based on partially preserved or excavated buildings. Paradoxically, the oldest preserved buildings are found on the mainland slopes of the medieval city, where, according to the sources, the earthquake destruction was most extensive.[216]

The largest and most impressive among the buildings of Dubrovnik from this period undoubtedly was its cathedral. Built on the site of two earlier churches, the Romanesque cathedral of Sancta Maria Maior (St. Mary Major) was begun during the second half of the twelfth century. Completed only in the fourteenth century, it was destroyed in the earthquake of 1667 and replaced by the present Baroque building. Excavations conducted after yet another earthquake in 1979 brought to light much information about the earlier structures, including the Romanesque church.[217] Additional information about this building comes from old representations in various art media, as well as from a number of relevant documents in the Dubrovnik archives.[218] A builder by the name of Eustathius, son of a master builder, Bernard, from Apulia, is mentioned in a document of 1199. Whether Bernard was the original master builder of the new cathedral is not known, but it is clear that in Dubrovnik, too, the master builder was brought in from the other side of the Adriatic. Another master builder by the name of Pasko, mentioned in 1255, also came to Dubrovnik from elsewhere, though his origins unfortunately were not recorded. On account of his fine work on the cathedral he was given the status of a citizen, provided with land on which to build a house, and appointed master builder for life. His contract required that he devote his services to the commune, and he was permitted to seek private employment only if no work was demanded of him. He remained in the position of master builder of the cathedral at least until 1282, when his name is mentioned again in another document.



506 Dubrovnik, Cathedral; plan based on excavations

The cathedral of Dubrovnik was a large three-aisled basilica, measuring 19 × 40.5 meters in plan (fig. 506). In terms of size it was smaller than the cathedrals of Zadar and Trogir, its dimensions to a considerable degree determined by the constrained conditions on the site. Its nave was separated from the side aisles by two rows of six massive piers. Each pier had a matching respond on the aisle wall, an arrangement clearly conditioned by the intention to vault the aisles. At a later point the system was further reinforced by the addition of massive wall buttresses at the salient points on the exterior. It is unclear whether the original plan called for the nave to be vaulted or whether, as was the case at Trogir, this may have occurred later. As is clear from depictions, the building was crowned by a dome situated roughly at its midpoint. The dome was raised on a cylindrical drum perforated with windows. The cathedral also appears to have had elevated "dwarf galleries" along its flanks. These are referred to in several descriptions and appear to have resembled such features on a number of Italian Romanesque cathedrals. The church was planned and built without a portico, and was to have had a freestanding cylindrical belfry in front of its entrance. The belfry was envisioned as containing a baptistery on its ground floor. Begun in 1325, only the baptistery was built, while the belfry was never completed. The latitude in the manner of relating belfries

507 Dubrovnik, St. Luke, general view from city walls

to the main church building seen in Dubrovnik and other Dalmatian towns also points to the Italian Romanesque sources of this architecture. The excavated remains have brought to light evidence of fine stone craftsmanship that can also be associated with the mature Romanesque tradition that this building exemplified. The dome, however, was unrelated to Romanesque design conventions. Although domes are not unknown in Italian churches of the period, the general character of this one may have had its roots in the Byzantine building tradition, which certainly continued to influence regional architectural developments, albeit in a considerably more reduced fashion. It should be noted that neither the cathedral of Zadar nor that of Trogir had domes. The only other contemporary cathedral that was planned and built with a dome was that of Kotor, south of Dubrovnik. Despite the fact that the Romanesque cathedral of Dubrovnik has been lost, the surviving evidence points to it as a building of major importance. Along with several other buildings of consequence in the region, it illustrates the vibrant interactive processes in architecture in the Balkans during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. These processes, as will be seen below, are especially detectable in the central parts of the Balkans, where the meaning of the notion of "stylistic influences" may be subjected to particularly useful scrutiny.

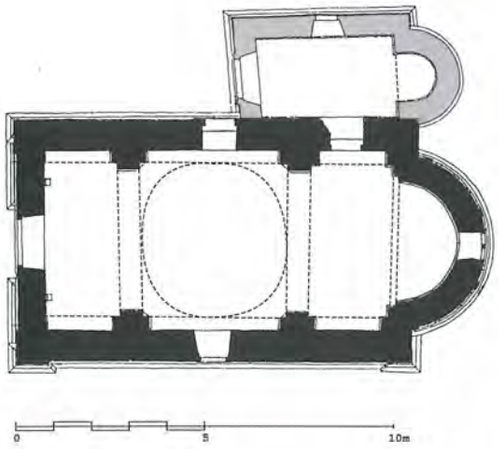
The city of Dubrovnik has also preserved, to a greater or lesser degree, four miniscule churches of the single-aisled domed variety. These churches are generally seen as belonging to the eleventh or twelfth century.[219] None is fully preserved. The best preserved of the four is the tiny church of St. Luke (Sv. Luka), squeezed in between a later western extension and the massive city walls. At present, the church is visible essentially only from the walkway on the city walls (fig. 507). It measures 3.5 × 6.5 meters in plan. Its internally semicircular apse was originally probably contained within a rectilinear wall mass, now obscured by the city ramparts. Internally the church is divided into three more-or-less equal bays, the eastern and the western one of which are covered by barrel vaults, and the central bay by a miniscule dome. The dome rests on four squinches and has no windows. On the exterior it is contained within a cubical mass topped by a pyramidal roof, resembling a miniature tower. The other churches – St. Andrew, the Transfiguration, and St. Nicholas – share most of the characteristics of St. Luke, but are not nearly as well preserved.

KOTOR

The town of Kotor (ancient Acrivium, possibly Dekatheron), Montenegro, began as an Illyrian settlement, developed into an important trading center in Hellenistic times, and became a military outpost under the Romans. From the sixth century Kotor was one of Byzantium's main strongholds on the east Adriatic coast. Situated at the end of a deep fjord, the town was a safe harbor in many respects (fig. 508). A sheer stone cliff that rises sharply behind the city provided an ideal natural protection against land invaders and made Kotor one of the safest havens during periods of trouble. Though an autonomous commune on the order of other towns along the Adriatic littoral, Kotor recognized Serbian sovereignty from 1186 to 1355. Severely damaged by an earthquake in 1979, the town has retained the sense of its medieval scale and urban fabric studied and preserved in the aftermath of the earthquake. Though most of its buildings date from the later Middle Ages, several of its important churches belong to the period under investigation. The oldest among these churches is St. Luke (Sv. Luka), built in 1195 by one Maurus Cazafranco and his wife Buona (figs. 509 and 510).[220] St. Luke

is one of the best-preserved and best-documented buildings of this period along the entire Adriatic littoral. Though it long ago entered into general histories of Serbian medieval architecture, it was only in recent years, following extensive study and conservation, that the original conception of the building became fully known. Initially built for the Catholic rite, the construction took place under the Serbian grand župan Stefan Nemanja and his son Vukan, as is made clear from the Latin dedicatory

508 Kotor, aerial view



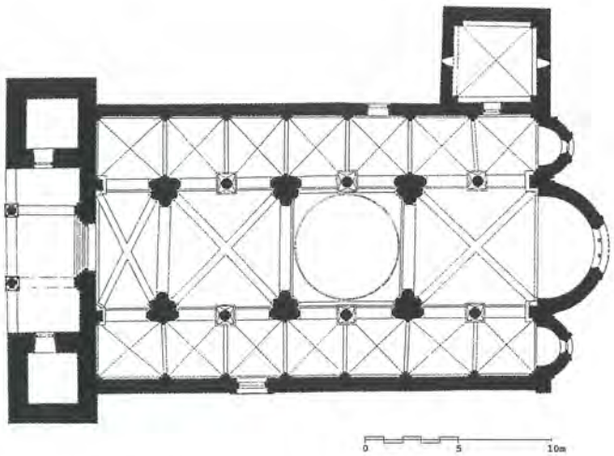
509 Kotor, St. Luke; plan

510 Kotor, St. Luke; general view from SE

inscription on the west façade. In the course of the fourteenth century, possibly around 1368, the church was enlarged by the addition of a sacristy on the north side, subsequently made into the chapel of St. Spiridon. The church of St. Luke is a single-aisled domed building, measuring 7 × 12.5 meters in plan. Only an internally and externally semicircular apse breaks its simple geometric form. Internally, the church is divided into three bays by a system of massive two-stepped wall pilasters. These define the central square bay, separating it from the two smaller oblong bays to the east and west. The smaller bays are covered by pointed barrel vaults, while the central bay has a dome supported by four pointed arches and pendentives. The dome, 5 meters in diameter, despite the fact that it was built in stone, betrays Byzantine architectural characteristics. It is hemispherical in profile, featuring three slender windows on the west, north, and south sides. Externally enveloped by a low cylindrical false drum, this feature harks back to Byzantine architecture of an earlier epoch. Here, perhaps more clearly than in any of the churches in this region, we are in the position to assess the meaning of the Middle Byzantine regional architectural input that has already been alluded to. Externally, the church displays another conceptual link with the Byzantine sphere. The dome with its false drum rests on a cubical base, modified here by its two-stepped arrangement on the lateral façades. The church façades were built of finely cut small ashlars. The main apse features four slender pilaster-like strips that divide its exterior walls into uneven fields, the central one of which contains a twin-light window executed in marble. The south façade of the church is divided into two bays by a broad pilaster strip that abruptly ends in a window at the midpoint, an immediate reminder that the internal disposition of structural elements had nothing to do with the external articulation. This, as well as a virtually complete absence of characteristic Romanesque stylistic features (such as corbel-tables), suggests that the building was the product of local masons still not fully affected by the mature Romanesque style that had started permeating the eastern Adriatic littoral already a century earlier.[221] It is only in the windows of the main apse and the one on the west façade that evidence of Romanesque architectural practice can be detected.

The second medieval church of consequence in Kotor is St. Mary (Sv. Marija).[222] Its date, 1221, is based on a document in Latin discovered within its main altar in 1420. According to this document, the church was a rebuilding carried out under the auspices of the descendants of three distinguished Kotor families. Situated near the northern line of city walls and one of the main gates, this church enjoyed a considerable importance throughout its history. Recent excavations and study have revealed some aspects of its long and complex history. It appears that the original church on the site was a three-aisled, piered basilica, dating from the sixth century. Rebuilt by *circa* 809 in a pre-Romanesque manner, this building, too, seems to have been completely destroyed before the present structure was begun. Subsequently expanded and modified along its north side, the church may have belonged to an urban monastery; traces of a cloister have been detected to its north. The thirteenth-century church was yet another variant of the single-aisled, domed church type. Measuring 8.3 × 18.7 meters, the church was somewhat larger than St. Luke. Its central domed bay, unlike St. Luke, is flanked by two uneven bays. The eastern, smaller of the two, is covered by a pointed barrel vault, as at St. Luke. The larger, western bay, essentially of identical dimensions to the central one, is covered by a rib vault. The central bay is covered by a dome 5.3 meters in diameter. The hemispherical form of the dome, in the case of St. Mary, is elevated on a low drum, within

511 Kotor, St. Mary, general view from S



512 Kotor, Cathedral; plan

which are placed six relatively small windows. Externally, the dome is contained within a tall octagonal form, each of whose faces is articulated by a large arcade. The height of this pseudo-drum rises above the actual one. It terminates in a stone cornice from which rises a low pyramidal tiled roof. The exterior of St. Mary displays many characteristics that point to a fuller understanding of the mature Romanesque style than was the case at St. Luke, built a quarter of a century earlier (fig. 511). These include alternating bands of ashlars of two different types and colors of stone, corbel-tables under the eaves, and portal and window frames.

The most important among the medieval churches of Kotor was its magnificent cathedral of St. Tryphon.[223] Superseding its early ninth-century predecessor, the new building belonged to a series of magnificent Romanesque cathedrals that arose along the eastern Adriatic littoral during the twelfth century. Significantly damaged in several earthquakes, especially in 1667, the cathedral was rebuilt, in general following its original design, but with a significant admixture of the then current Baroque style. The Romanesque cathedral was probably begun in 1124; its three altars were dedicated in 1166, though its construction, especially of its twin towers, may have continued into the thirteenth century. Following yet another earthquake in 1979, the present cathedral underwent extensive structural consolidation and conservation during the 1980s, at which time significant new information regarding the Romanesque building came to light.[224] The Romanesque cathedral was a medium-sized church, measuring 16 × 30 meters (19.5 × 34 m including the twin-towered façade) in plan (fig. 512). Somewhat smaller than its Dubrovnik counterpart, it was also originally domed. A three-aisled basilica, its nave was subdivided into three large square bays, with a half-bay at the west end of the building. A dome, originally elevated on a cylindrical drum, covered the central of the three full bays. This distinctive feature, visually preserved on several medieval images depicting the cathedral, was destroyed already in a sixteenth-century earthquake, and was never rebuilt. The remaining bays were covered with cross vaults featuring massive ribs. The presence of such a massive superstructure was reflected in the articulation of the main piers, strengthened by large engaged colonnettes. The side aisles were also rib-vaulted, though the bays were half the size of those in the nave. The presence of the small vaulting units in the side aisles was responsible for the introduction of subsidiary supports – large freestanding columns – that alternate with the main piers in plan. Above the aisles were low vaulted galleries, whose presence preempted the introduction of clerestory windows. The galleries communicated with the nave through triple-light openings, one in each of the large bays. Aspects of the original exterior articulation of the building are preserved at the east end, where three round apses feature walls subdivided into vertical panels by thin pilaster strips supporting corbel-table arcades below the eaves. The large triple window in the main apse displays rich Romanesque non-figurative sculptural decoration on its framing elements and slightly pointed arches. Pointed arches also appear in the interior gallery, but none of this should be associated with Gothic developments. The architecture of the cathedral of Kotor is unquestionably the work of highly competent Romanesque builders, but the question of their origins presents a dilemma. Kotor Cathedral displays architectural characteristics – heavy rib vaults, an alternating system of piers and columns, the use of galleries, and lack of clerestory lighting – that find their obvious parallels in the Romanesque architecture of Lombardy. At the same time, the appearance and the disposition of the twin towers on its west façade with an intervening open portico may be con-

ceptually compared with the large twelfth-century Norman cathedrals of Sicily. The exact mechanisms of how such a juxtaposition of stylistic traits may have occurred in this important center, also linked by tradition to Byzantine architecture, are still open to debate. Nor is the situation made any clearer by the original sculptural decoration. The variety in design and building methods may be the result of a prolonged construction process that involved two or even more workshops. This has been proposed as the explanation for the twin-towered façade. The present twin towers are assumed to be Baroque replacements of the original Romanesque towers, destroyed in the earthquake of 1667.

The persistence of certain features in church architecture of Kotor betrays the continuity of Byzantine architectural influence in this area. Under direct Byzantine control for a longer period than other towns along the Dalmatian coast, Kotor evidently adhered to certain Byzantine formulas, such as domed churches, long after its building trade had passed into the hands of skilled foreign and native builders trained exclusively within the Romanesque building tradition. The characteristic juxtaposition of the two styles, shared by both the Catholic and Orthodox churches of Kotor, seems to have been the crucial source of influence on architectural developments within continental Serbia, as we shall see. Kotor, it will be remembered, passed into Serbian hands in 1186, and recognized Serbian sovereignty over the next 160 years. Thus, it became Serbia's main, albeit not sole, link with the Adriatic littoral.

Church Architecture

Despite the fact that individual towns emerged as champions of new architectural developments during this period, as has been demonstrated above, the main evidence of architectural activity was in the ecclesiastical sphere, with similar general results visible not only in the major urban centers. Whatever may have been the reasons that contributed to this perception, and there were several, our information is almost exclusively based on surviving and excavated churches. The general picture, it must be admitted, however, is somewhat distorted. As we have noted repeatedly in earlier chapters, the need for more comprehensive ways of looking at the material is acute. In some ways this is true even more so here than in other regions of the Balkans.

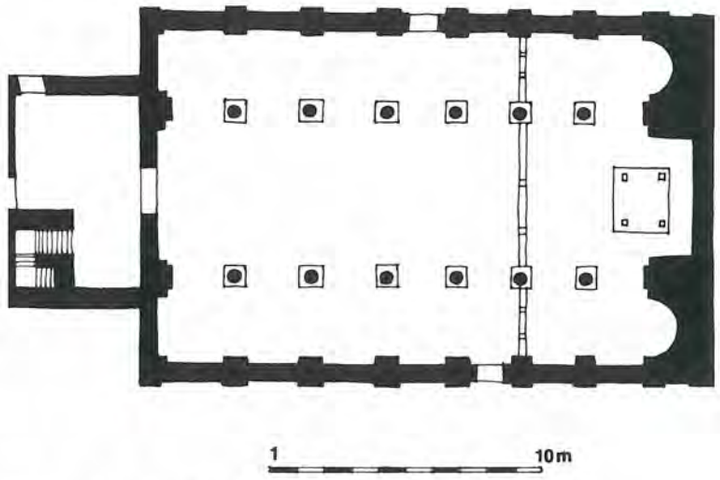
BASILICAS

Several basilicas have already been discussed in various specific urban contexts. These have reflected two general and very distinctive trends. The first is the appearance of three-aisled, three-apsed basilicas with timber roofs and with columnar arcades separating the main vessel of the nave from the side aisles. The planning schemes of these basilicas, closely related to early Christian prototypes, in some instances were directly related to older remains, whereas in others they may have been brought into Dalmatia by the Benedictines. It was they who made the type popular during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.[225] The second trend involved three-aisled vaulted basilicas, at times featuring domes on drums rising over the middle of the nave, the main vessel separated from the aisles by massive piers instead of columns. More prevalent in the central (Trogir) and southern Adriatic littoral (Dubrovnik, Kotor), these basilicas show structural concepts more in keeping with northern Italian and western European developments. Their appearance reflects complexities of patronage and technical know-how, but may also have been affected by rebuilding efforts under the auspices of the Benedictines, or both, though the role of the Normans, links with southern Italy, and the continuing importance of the Byzantine tradition must also be borne in mind.

Two basilicas near Solin (ancient Salona), Croatia – St. Stephen and SS. Peter and Moses – have attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent years, though the question of their date is still hotly disputed. That issue cannot be pursued here; for our purposes, the eleventh-century date assigned to them by Petricioli is accepted and they will be analyzed accordingly.[226] The church of St. Stephen (Sv. Stjepan) belonged to a pair of churches, the southern of which was the single-aisled church of St. Mary.[227] They are thought to have been burial churches of the Croatian kings, but this requires additional research. In any case, St. Stepen, preserved only in foundations, was a medium-sized three-aisled church, measuring 9.5 × 12 meters, with its main arcades on square piers. A corresponding system of responds against the aisle walls indicates that the church was in all likelihood vaulted, while the spacing of the second and third piers from the west wall, on both sides, forms a square bay and suggests the position of a dome. The church had a semicircular apse, marked internally by three miniscule niches and embedded externally into a rectilinear mass. At the west end the church was preceded by a relatively spacious narthex fronted by what must have been a vaulted porch, flanked by a stair tower at the southwest corner of the building. The latter suggests that there was probably a gallery of some sort above the narthex. The exterior flanks of the building were articulated by a series of evenly spaced pilaster strips, most likely linked by arches at the top to form blind arcades. The size and the spacing of these pilasters were unrelated to the internal structural articulation of the building. In this regard, St. Stephen was related to a number of other churches in Dalmatia, collectively labeled as pre-Romanesque.

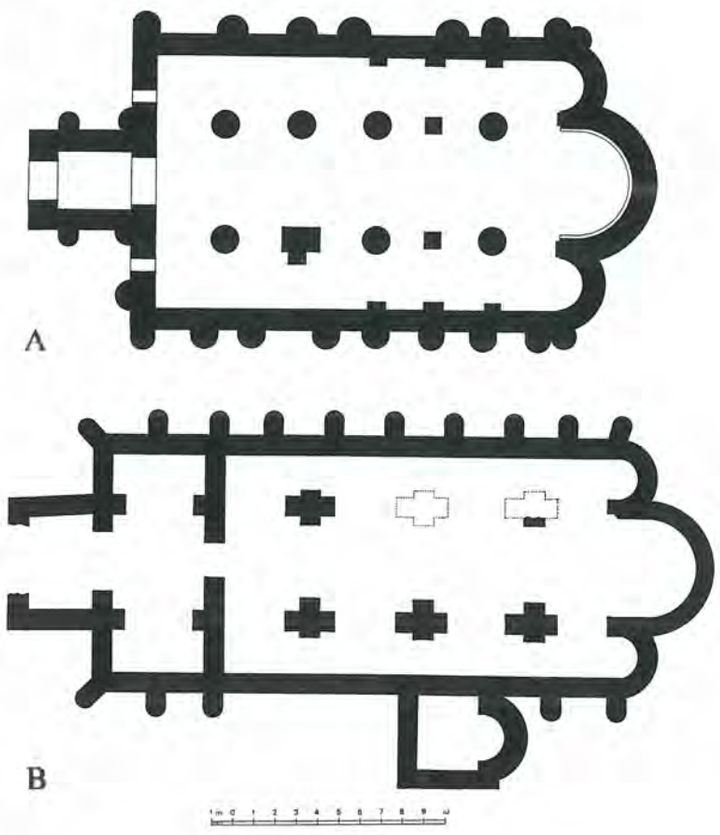
The church of SS. Peter and Moses (Sv. Peter i Mojsije) is the larger and later of the two Salonitan basilicas (fig. 513).[228] Measuring 14 × 26 meters, this fairly large building is also preserved only in foundations. Its main part forms a large rectangle, within which the nave is separated from the side aisles by two rows of columns, six in each row. The nave terminates in a rectangular apse, while the aisles end in semicircular apses, all three embedded within a straight eastern wall. The lateral walls were articulated by a system of internal and external pilasters, all carefully coordinated with the spacing of the columns in the nave arcade. The external pilasters may have formed blind arcades along the flanks of the church, similar to, but larger than, those at St. Stephen. The aisles may have been vaulted, but probably not the nave, nor was there a dome. The careful integration of columns, responds, and façade pilasters indicates that this building was the work of builders familiar with Romanesque practice. It was preceded by a narthex narrower than the church, whose southwest corner contained a staircase, indicating that the space must have had a gallery above it.

Another locus of consequence for early Croatian history is the town of Knin (ancient Teninium, Tnin, or Tenin), Croatia, in and around which a series of early medieval churches and building complexes have been excavated. Begun in the late nineteenth century, these excavations continued sporadically through the twentieth century. Though rich architectural sculpture, as well as movable finds, came to light in large quantities, consensus about the interpretation of the several churches, their function and date, is still lacking. At least two of these were sizeable three-aisled basilicas. One of them, the church of St. Cecilia (Sv. Cecilija) at the site of Stupovi in Biskupija, near Knin, is dated by some to the mid-eleventh century, though the dating question continues to be debated.[229] The church, preserved in foundations only, was a large three-aisled basilica, measuring 13 × 34 meters. Its main body features a nave divided by two rows of massive cruciform piers (fig. 514B). To the east, the church had three semicircular projecting apses. There was an oblong narthex, as wide as the church, with a gallery above it, in front of which rose an axially placed bell-tower. Externally, the church was buttressed by a system of massive wall buttresses with cylindrical ends. The church was apparently fully vaulted, raising questions regarding the origins of its design. Those arguing in favor of Carolingian parallels for this building, and for its ninth-century date, ignore the fact that it was vaulted, something that would have made it completely atypical in a Carolingian context. Another interesting aspect of this church is the fact that at least two and possibly three of its bays were square in plan, suggesting that they were probably covered by cross vaults. It is even possible that one of the bays may have had a dome, as was the case with the cathedrals of Dubrovnik and Kotor. It should be noted, however, that St. Cecilia was built in a considerably cruder manner, lacking the kind of constructional refinement that marked the major Romanesque cathedrals of the Adriatic littoral.



513 Solin, SS. Peter and Moses; plans

514 Early Croatian basilicas: (A) Biograd Cathedral; (B) Knin-Biskupija, St. Cecilia; plans



Comparable in size and general character was also the former cathedral of Biograd, Croatia, whose remaining ruins were razed in 1930 before adequate studies of the building could be made.[230] This, too, was a three-aisled basilica, measuring 14 × 30 meters (fig. 514A). Featuring an east end made up of three semicircular projecting apses, this church, too, had massive piers supporting its main arcades. Most, but not all, of the piers were round. The reasons for such irregularities cannot be deduced from the available information, but it appears to reflect alterations caused by structural concerns. What seems quite certain is that the building, much like Sv. Cecilija at Biskupija, was vaulted. It, too, had wall buttresses that were practically semi-cylindrical in cross-section. This unusual type of buttressing was seen in the tenth-century architecture of Constantinople (Myrelaion church) and in related church architecture of Preslav (see Chapter 6), but here it lacks the kind of structural rigor with which it had been employed in the Byzantine context.

Very different, and therefore very informative, was the church of St. John (Sv. Ivan), Biograd, Croatia, whose remains have been excavated and recorded. Belonging to a Benedictine monastery, this church, despite certain schematic similarities, reveals fundamental differences from the town's cathedral. Founded in 1059–60, and consecrated in 1076, this three-aisled basilica measured 12.5 × 27.5 meters.[231] Slightly smaller than the cathedral, it was distinguished by two main characteristics. Its exterior façades were marked by an evenly and narrowly spaced system of shallow pilaster strips, with no relationship to the interior. Internally, the exterior walls were plain and relatively thin, suggesting that the church was probably never vaulted and must have had conventional wooden roofs. As such, it would have been related to churches such as St. Peter at Supetarska Draga, on the island of Rab, discussed above. Preceded by an oblong narthex, built integrally with the rest of the building, it may have had a pair of towers rising over the corner square compartments.

Basilican church planning in the western Balkans, as we have noted, was substantially the result of the activities of the monastic orders. In addition to the Benedictine Order, whose activities we have discussed in some detail, we should also note the input of the Cistercians in the western Balkans. Though their contribution cannot be compared in scope to that of the Benedictines, several of their monastic establishments were particularly impressive. Their architectural activities do not seem to have competed with the Benedictines in Dalmatia, but were concentrated in the northwestern, continental region of the Balkans, near the present-day border of Slovenia and Croatia. One of these, the monastery at Stična, Slovenia, was founded in 1136, less than forty years after the founding of the Cistercian Order.[232] The monastery and its church were dedicated in 1156. The church, a three-aisled basilica, appears curiously to have adopted a planning scheme based not on the newly established Cistercian paradigm, but on plans used by their main competing order, the Benedictines. A three-aisled basilica with a transept, this church in its original form displayed the classic staggered arrangement of chapels (in echelon) at the east end. In addition to the conventional three apses at the end of the nave and side aisles, there was another apse on the east side of each of the two short projecting transept arms. Despite the fact that the nave arcades were supported on rectangular piers, it seems that the original church had timber roofs. Built a century later, the Cistercian monastery at Kostanjevica, Slovenia, is located on an island in the River Krka, some 20 kilometers west of Zagreb. Founded in 1234, the monastery and the church underwent numerous subsequent modifications.[233] Abandoned in the eighteenth century, it was burned during the Second World War and subsequently restored. The original monastic complex reveals a close adherence to the Cistercian monastic planning paradigm – the church situated on the north side of the cloister, itself surrounded by other monastic buildings. The scheme is subjected to a rigid geometric simplicity, characteristic of Cistercian planning in general. The church was a three-aisled basilica with a deep rectangular choir preceded by a projecting transept. Two small rectangular chapels appear on the eastern sides of each transept arm. The main arcade of the nave had pointed arches carried on compound piers. Sculptural decoration reveals Early Gothic characteristics. The aisles, the choir, and the transept arms were vaulted.

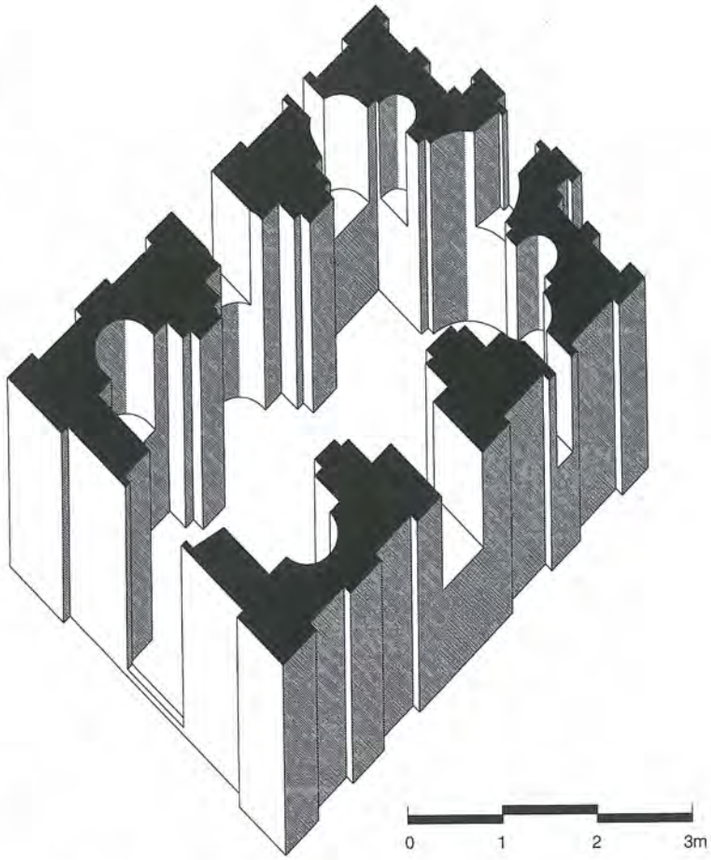
Basilican churches, though monumental in size and impressive in their demeanor, were nonetheless relatively rare. Far more common were small churches, whose geographic and topographical spread testifies to their popularity. Though a subject of central interest among architectural historians, their significance is yet to be completely understood. We lack, for example, a clear perception of patterns of patronage related to these buildings. Many of them must have been private, though others are known to have been monastic, a few even having been royal foundations.

SINGLE-AISLED CHURCHES, WITH AND WITHOUT DOMES

Among the churches built along the eastern Adriatic littoral during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the most common type was the single-aisled, vaulted church, with or without a dome. Very small in size, buildings belonging to this type display a number of variations in detail and methods of construction, but collectively their precise significance eludes us. Scholars who have addressed problems related to this type have focused on subregional groupings, analyzing the idiosyncratic aspects of one

group against another.[234] Such a method of analysis unfortunately has taken us farther and farther away from any hope of understanding the larger picture, whose clarification remains one of the major desiderata in the study of architecture in the western Balkans. One point that has become somewhat clearer in recent years, though it has never been sufficiently stressed, concerns the chronology of these buildings. Routinely dated – as a group – to the period between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, individual churches of this type have increasingly been shown to belong to the eleventh, and even twelfth century. Since a large number of these building have either survived or have been brought to light through excavations, we will limit our discussion to only a few select examples that demonstrate most clearly the essential characteristics of the group.

One of the few reasonably securely dated buildings of this group is the church of St. Michael (Sv. Mihajlo) at Ston, Croatia.[235] Though modified in later times, the building preserves much of its original character, including some exquisite sculptural decoration and interior frescoes. Among the preserved fresco fragments is a portrait of a ruler with the model of the church in his hands. Obviously depicting the donor of the church, this portrait has generated considerable controversy. Because the donor portrait is not accompanied by an inscription, the debate has centered on his identity. Most scholars now accept that the figure depicts King Michael of Duklja (*circa* 1046–81/82), and that the church should be dated *circa* 1080. Measuring only 4.3 × 6 meters in plan, the small size of the building is offset in part by the extreme verticality of its proportions (figs. 515 and 516). The interior is divided into three more-or-less equal bays by means of strongly projecting stepped spurs that support lateral wall arches and somewhat higher diaphragm arches spanning the interior. The first two bays are now barrel-vaulted, while the easternmost bay is cross-vaulted. The eastern wall of the church accommodates within its thickness the main apse and two miniature niches that flank it symmetrically. The main apse is accentuated externally by a small projecting rectangular form marked by slender blind arcades within its walls. The same method of articulation extends along the flanks of the building, divided into five such arcades by pilaster strips as wide as the arcades. Only the west façade appears to have been treated differently. There, two pilaster strips at the corners support a single large blind arch across the entire façade. None of these external features has any structural or formal relationship with the interior. There, each of the three bays features a semicircular niche in its lateral walls, the one in the central bay containing a window on either side. Small windows added in the eastern bay are much higher and externally have been cut through one of the engaged pilasters. Such a lack of coordination between the external and internal articu-



515 Ston, St. Michael; axonometric

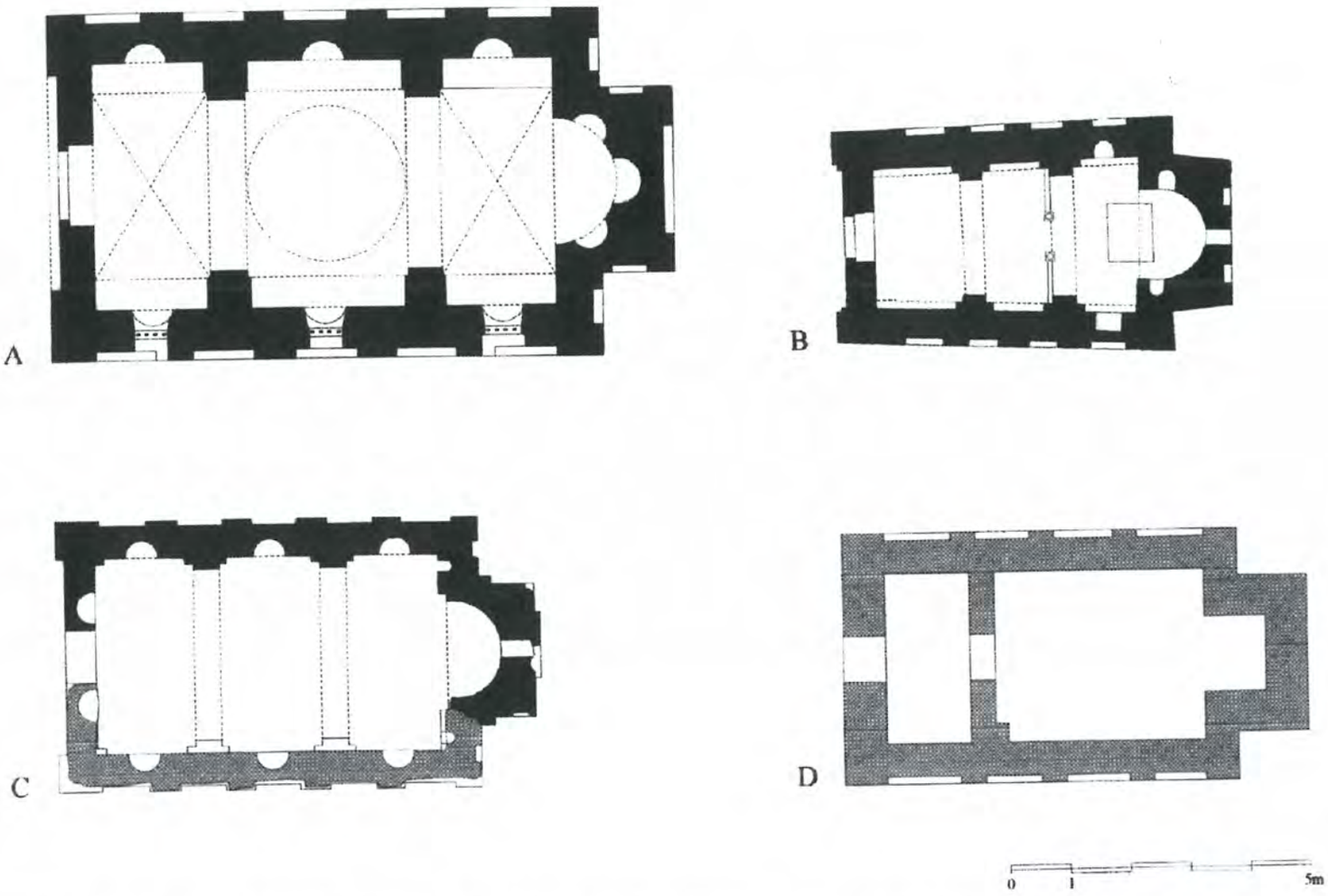
516 Ston, St. Michael; general view from SE

517 Ston, St. Michael; donor fresco, detail

518 Ston, St. Michael; east façade, window detail

lation of the building has already been noted. It clearly reflects a fundamental lack of understanding for the classical principles of architectural design, in contrast to the general impression that the building on which this occurs may be somehow related to the classical tradition. We will return to this point below. The church of St. Michael, judging from the donor model, is now deprived of two important additional elements it once must have had (fig. 517). The first is a small dome, evidently located over the central bay, featuring a low drum and a tall conical or pyramidal roof; this must have resembled domes that survive on several related churches that we will discuss. The other element that has not survived is the prominent belfry that appears to have been situated axially in front of the building. Taller than the dome, this appears to have had a large arched opening on the ground floor serving as an entrance into the church proper. The appearance of such axially situated belfries over the course of the eleventh century has already been noted. In addition to these idiosyncratic features, the church also displays a decorative sculptural vocabulary that finds parallels over a very large geographic area. The window frames on the main apse and along the two lateral façades, as well as the main entrance portal, all display a rich decorative vocabulary of stylized rinceaux with half-palmettes and other motifs (fig. 518). The subject of the origins and spread of architectural sculpture during this period is one of the most important unresolved larger issues in scholarship. One of the main obstacles, at least from our perspective, would seem to be the unrelated efforts of scholars dealing with "Early Croatian" sculpture and those studying "Langobard" sculpture, pre-Romanesque sculpture of central Italy including Rome, and ultimately, those involved with Middle Byzantine sculpture. These issues can only be referred to here without any ambition of accomplishing anything more. The general aesthetic effect of St. Michael derives from two of its main qualities. The first is its compact, richly articulated form. The second has to do with the fact that the church, relatively crudely built of fieldstones in large quantities of mortar, is completely plastered over externally. As we have noted in our discussion of a related phenomenon in Byzantine architecture in Chapter 6, the plaster, which has to be replaced periodically, may have originally also been painted in some way. Our current lack of evidence for such phenomena along the Adriatic littoral should not prevent us from posing the question, whose answer may yet become possible.

The second church of this group, St. Peter (Sv. Petar) at Priko in Omiš, Croatia, tentatively dated to the second half of the eleventh century, is another well-preserved monument that offers invaluable insights into this type of architecture. Somewhat larger than St. Michael, St. Peter measures 6 × 10.8 meters in plan (fig. 519A).[236] In general disposition, it represents a somewhat more elaborate and sophisticated version of St. Michael. Internally, it is divided into three bays by massive, stepped spurs that carry wall arches and slightly higher transverse arches. The central bay is wider than the other two and is domed, while they are cross-vaulted. The east end, as at Sv. Mihajlo, contains the main apse and two flanking small semicircular niches. The main apse in this case is larger and is articulated by three additional niches of its own. Semicircular niches



519 Single-aisled churches: (A) Omiš-Priko, St. Peter; (B) Lopud, St. John the Baptist; (C) Kuti, St. Thomas; (D) Panik, church; plans

also appear in the interior wall face of each the three bays. On the exterior, the apse is contained within a rectangular wall mass marked by slender blind arcades (fig. 520). In a manner also comparable to St. Michael, the lateral façades of St. Peter are marked by six wide evenly spaced pilaster strips, in this case connected by double blind arches resembling a corbel-table. As in Ston, a large blind arch, here supported on a pair of corner pilaster strips, frames the west façade. The relationship between the structural and formal disposition of the interior and the exterior is also lacking. In this case this is apparent in the placement of the two windows of the south wall, whose external openings cut into the adjacent pilaster strips. A particularly distinctive feature of the church at Omiš is its well-preserved original dome. Externally contained within a cubical base with a pyramidal roof, this has been correctly interpreted as a variant of a Byzantine dome, but on account of its four triangular frontons with triple blind niches that frame its cubical base. These are thought to derive from the Byzantine arms of the cross in the typical cross-in-square scheme. Much more relevant is the appearance of the

520 Omiš-Priko, St. Peter; general view from SE

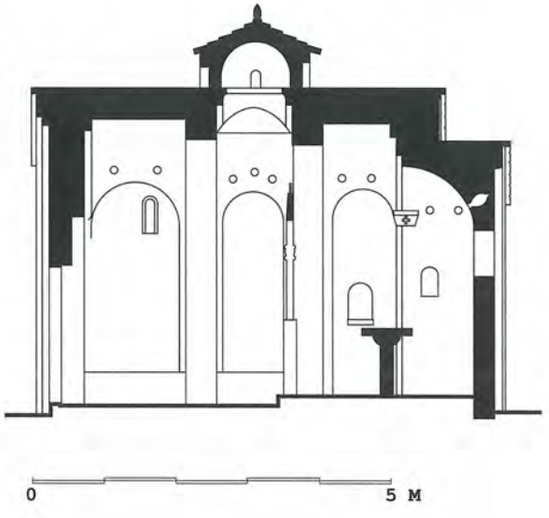
521 Omiš-Priko, St. Peter; interior

interior of this dome (fig. 521). Although completely blind (as most domes of these churches are), it features a row of round-headed blind niches around its base that recall windows in a Byzantine dome. Above these are radially disposed ribs that also closely emulate Byzantine ribbed domes. There can be no doubt that the builder in this case had some knowledge of what Byzantine, in fact Constantinopolitan, domes looked like. Another significant aspect of St. Peter is the reuse of four sixth-century spoils as pilaster capitals on the four faces of its interior spurs. These evidently came from some earlier building on the site, as archaeological excavations conducted in the early 1960s have demonstrated. Links with the late antique architectural heritage, postulated or presumed in other instances, are here quite explicit.

St. John the Baptist (Sv. Ivan Krstitelj) on the island of Lopud, Croatia, also presumably of eleventh-century date, is another relatively well-preserved church belonging to this group.[237] Measuring 4 × 6.5 meters in plan, this small church has preserved some additional features of interest that were not apparent in the two preceding churches (figs. 519B and 522). Its exterior façades have lost most of their plaster covering, revealing the crude, fieldstone building technique commonly used in churches of this type. Internally, its bare walls reveal another detail of considerable significance. At the springing point of all of the vaulting units we find a series of ceramic vases inserted into the vault fabric so that their mouths face the church interior (fig. 523). This vaulting practice is also known in Byzantine architecture, and may have its ultimate roots in late antique architecture. Details such as these, unknown in Western architectural practice, point to one of two possibilities. They suggest that the builders of these small churches may have been in a position to examine some remaining late antique buildings in the region and thus acquire certain information first hand. Alternatively, they may have been trainees of a local building workshop whose practice may have retained certain Byzantine methods over a span of two or more generations.

522 Lopud, St. John the Baptist; general view from SE

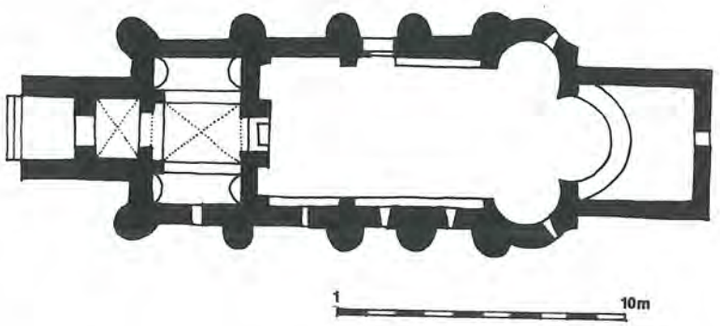
523 Lopud, St. John the Baptist; longitudinal section



Two more churches of this group will be referred to in order to give us a sense of the geographic spread of the type. The first is St. Thomas (Sv. Toma) at Kuti in the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro, the southernmost representative of the group. The church survives in ruins, but its essential characteristics are clear. Closely related to St. Peter at Omiš, it measures 4.7 × 8 meters in plan (fig. 519C). Internally divided into three equal bays by stepped wall pilasters, the church was certainly vaulted, though it is not known whether it had a dome. The main apse is semicircular internally, while externally it is accommodated within a rectangular wall mass. Internally, the main apse was flanked by a pair of miniscule semicircular niches. Somewhat larger semicircular niches also appear in the interior lateral faces of each of the three bays. Unlike Omiš, the church at Kuti also had a pair of such niches in the interior face of its west wall, flanking the main portal. These niches are unique within this group. In terms of their placement they recall the tenth-century church of Vinitsa in Bulgaria (see p. 322). Each of the lateral façades of St. Thomas was articulated by six pilaster strips, probably connected at the top by pairs of small arches, as was the case at Omiš. The church was built of rough fieldstone in lime mortar, in keeping with the general characteristics of this group.

Farther inland, the discovery of a small church of unknown dedication at Panik, near Bileće, in Herzegovina, close to the border of Montenegro, dating from around the middle of the twelfth century, illustrates the spread of the type inland, away from the coastal system of patronage and building practice.[238] In that regard, the church at Panik provides us with invaluable clues regarding the mobility of builders and artisans during the period. The church measures 4.25 × 7.75 meters in plan (fig. 519D). Its rectangular interior was, in this case, subdivided into a narthex and a naos, while its apse was rectangular externally as well as internally. The church was probably vaulted, but it was not subdivided into bays. The external articulation of lateral walls by means of five shallow pilaster strips on each side, along with the crude stone construction technique, is a clear indication that the church belongs to the same family of buildings as those already discussed. The discovery of several thousands of fresco fragments within its ruins has enabled art historians to determine that its frescoes, too, belonged to a trend evident in south Dalmatia, in which Byzantine and Romanesque stylistic characteristics mingled, reflecting the fluidity of movement of artists in the region.

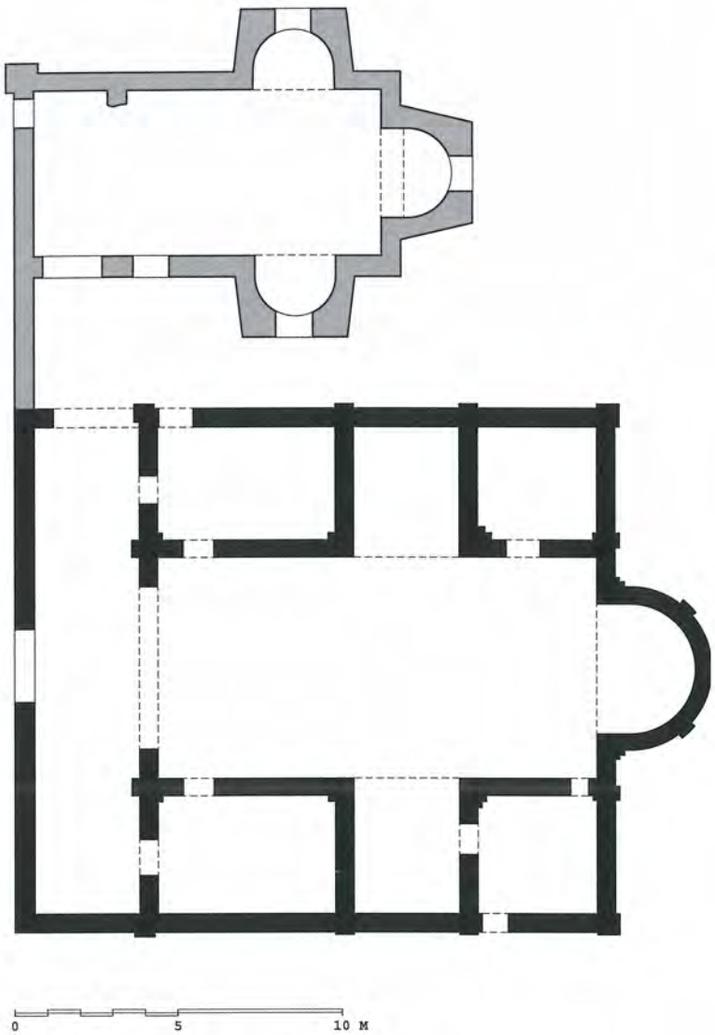
The group of single-aisled churches just discussed is certainly the most visible of such groups in scholarly literature. Given particular attention for a number of reasons, this group has been most closely associated with the development of so-called Old Croatian architecture, as it is known in much of the secondary literature. Restricted largely to the area south of Split, that is to say to the area longest under Byzantine jurisdiction, these churches seem to reflect, in a qualified sense, Byzantine architectural input, as argued above. Other groups of single-aisled churches, however, were being built during the same period, but lack some of these characteristics. It would be unmanageable and counterproductive to engage in an exploration of the local varieties of such types, as are evident on the islands of Brač, Pag, and elsewhere. Two other monuments demonstrate the degree of variation on the theme of single-aisled churches clearly and adequately, and we will examine them briefly.



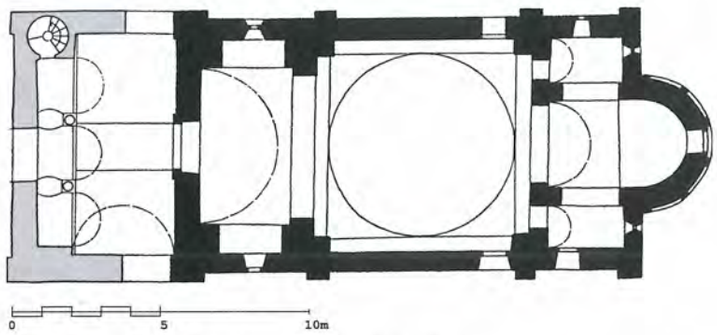
524 Knin-Source of Cetina, Savior; plan

The first of these is the church of Savior (Sv. Spas) at the source of the River Cetina, near Knin, Croatia (figs. 524 and 525). Its dating is disputed, but we will tentatively accept the proposed eleventh-century date.[239] Surviving in ruins, the church is preceded by a five-storied belfry, axially situated above the entrance portico. Belfries of this type, as we have seen, are generally not known before *circa* 1000. Because it was built integrally with the rest of the building, the later dating of the church as a whole seems prudent. Measuring 8 × 27.5 meters in plan, this was a sizable building by medieval standards. Single-aisled, it had an oblong vaulted narthex and a sanctuary originally formed as a type of a triconch. Some Croatian architectural historians have interpreted the narthex with a gallery above it as a *Westwerk* and have accordingly used this to argue for a ninth-century date and for Carolingian influence in the region at that time.[240] Externally, the church was buttressed by massive semi-cylindrical wall buttresses of the kind already seen on the churches at Biskupija and the cathedral of Biograd, both from the eleventh century. Sv. Spas, with its axially placed belfry, tripartite sanctuary, and size, differs fundamentally from the group of single-cell churches discussed above.

The eleventh century witnessed the exceptionally strong influence of Benedictine monasticism along the entire Adriatic littoral.[241] The considerable volume of monastic churches built under their auspices is marked by an extraordinary variety of



526 Trebinje (near), Monastery of St. Peter de Campo, churches; plan



527 Mljet, Benedictine Monastery, St. Mary; plan

528 Mljet, Benedictine Monastery, St. Mary; general view from S.

plans and architectural solutions. Especially noteworthy is the apparent ease with which Byzantine ideas were accepted and incorporated into Benedictine architecture. One of the most impressive, partially preserved monuments from this era is the complex of churches belonging to the erstwhile monastery of St. Peter de Campo, near Trebinje, Herzegovina (fig. 526).[242] The larger and older of the two churches, dedicated to St. Peter, is preserved in foundations only. Measuring 16 × 21 meters, this eleventh-century church has a complex plan. Its core was single-aisled, probably timber-roofed, terminating in a round apse protruding from the rectilinear building. Roughly at its midpoint was a pair of transept-like arms that must have been much lower in height than the main space. The spaces between what appear like the arms of a cross in plan were occupied by four enclosed chambers. In all likelihood, these contained subsidiary chapels. Fronting the nave and the western pair of chapels was an oblong narthex. The organization of this church and the proportions of its plan recall late antique palatine halls, as well as certain church types. Comparisons with the fifth-century church of Hosios David in Thessaloniki have been made, but the church is much more closely related to a number of fifth- and sixth-century single-aisled timber-roofed buildings, accompanied by symmetrically disposed rooms along their flanks. At the latest by the mid-twelfth century, a second, smaller church was added some 4 meters to the north of St. Peter. Also a single-aisled, timber-roofed building, this was dedicated to St. Paul. Featuring a pair of projecting lateral apses, the plan was a type of a triconch. Preceded by an oblong narthex, originally open to the south and related to the narthex of St. Peter, this church was clearly built with a funerary function in mind. A large tomb was built against the north wall of the narthex, in all probability intended for one of the kings of Duklja (Diokleia), a small eleventh-century mar-

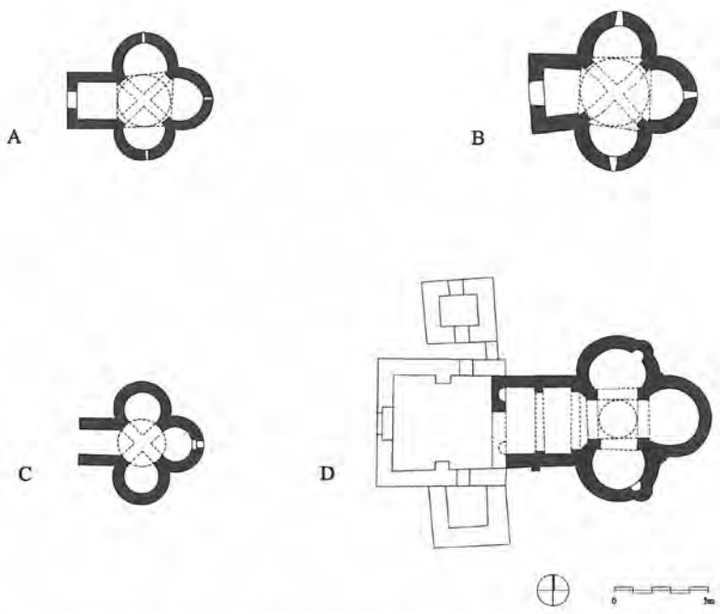
525 (*facing page*) Knin-Source of Cetina, Savior; general view from SW

itime kingdom approximately on the territory of present-day Montenegro. Similarities with Byzantine church planning in this Benedictine church complex clearly indicate the interactive climate between the two religious spheres, at the very moment when the Great Schism (1054) began drawing the two further apart.

Another remarkable example of borrowing and adapting architectural characteristics from the Byzantine sphere may be seen at St. Mary (Sv. Marija), within the Benedictine monastery on the island of Mljet, Croatia.[243] This church, though typologically related to the general group of single-aisled churches, stands in a class of its own (figs. 527 and 528). Its extraordinary quality is as stunning as the small island within a freshwater lake on which it is situated. The history of the monastery and its church is complicated, but in many ways helpful for the understanding of patterns of cultural interchange in the Balkans during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The exact date of its construction has not been recorded, but two relevant charters, issued to the monastery in 1198 and *circa* 1220 – by Pope Innocent III and by the Serbian king Stefan Prvovenčani (Stephen the First Crowned), respectively – provide the critical chronological framework. The most relevant information is provided by the extremely close relationship between St. Mary and the church of the Mother of God (Bogorodica) in the monastery of Studenica in Serbia, whose architecture will be discussed below (see pp. 496–98). Detailed examination of all aspects of the two buildings – from their plans to various details of their execution – have led to the remarkable conclusion that both were the work of the same master builder, and that the church of Studenica was actually built first.[244] Ultimately, it would appear that the patronage of the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja was instrumental for the bringing of the master builder, as well as the artisans, from the opposite side of the Adriatic to the Balkans. They became involved in building first an Orthodox and subsequently a Benedictine monastic church, in the process demonstrating a remarkable degree of flexibility in adapting to the particular needs of two very different monastic communities, as well as skill in dealing with them. At Studenica, the master builder and his crew displayed the ability to learn the essentials of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, adapting these to the manner of building and style with which they were familiar, and which must have been thoroughly "foreign" to the monastic community. At Mljet, their creation seems to demonstrate the reverse – a building whose "foreign" plan was brought by the builders, who evidently succeeded in convincing the monastic community to accept it, while constructing it in a style in perfect harmony with regional architectural production at the time. Although St. Mary, in a very general typological sense, is a single-aisled domed church, its actual architectural solution is unique among the Dalmatian monuments of this period. Measuring 9.7 × 27.5 meters in plan, it reveals characteristics of planning far more akin to Byzantine church plans than any other contemporary building on the east Adriatic littoral. Thus, we must conclude that the mechanisms linking the eastern Adriatic littoral with Byzantium were far more complex than scholarship has been able to convey so far. The plan of St. Mary in its original form consisted of three bays – a large square domed bay, extended eastward into what looks like a Byzantine tripartite sanctuary, and a shallower western bay, as well as a narthex. In almost all respects, including its overall measurements, this plan was a replica of the church of the Mother of God at Studenica (overall original measurements 10 × 28 m) (fig. 559). While it could be argued that the tripartite sanctuary resembles Benedictine chapel groupings in echelon around the main apse, the rest of this plan reveals little that could be associated with this Western monastic order. The large hemispherical dome, 6.5 meters in diameter, rests directly on a circular base formed by a system of Byzantine-like pendentives. The main difference here is in the materials used. Whereas the builders of St. Mary relied exclusively on porous limestone in the construction of the main arches, pendentives, and dome, Byzantine builders invariably would have used brick. The dome lacks a characteristic Byzantine drum, and the four small round windows that perforate its base display unusual idiosyncrasies in their placement. None of the four occurs on axes, but are offset in a counterclockwise fashion for reasons that have to do with the articulation of the exterior dome base. Externally, the dome is embedded into a cubical mass topped by a pyramidal roof, its overall form recalling, on a much larger scale, the dome of St. Peter at Omiš (fig. 520). The architectural vocabulary, consisting of corbel-table, cornice profiles, etc., is fully consistent with mature Romanesque buildings of this period, such as Trogir Cathedral, for example. The partial remains of a belfry that rose over the northern bay of the narthex suggest the possibility that the church may have had a pair of such towers on its west façade. As such, it would have been related to Kotor Cathedral and a number of churches in Serbia from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.[245] A variety of architectural features appearing in unexpected contexts – Byzantine domes in Western monastic churches and Western twin-towers in Serbian Orthodox church architecture – reveal patterns of lively interaction between religious traditions considered by modern reckoning as rigidly separated from each other. "Rigidity," it would seem, has been a problem plaguing modern scholarship, in which the interpretation of unusual phenomena, such as the church of St. Mary on Mljet, must serve as a clear reminder of the need to consider problems of architectural developments within broader contextual frames.

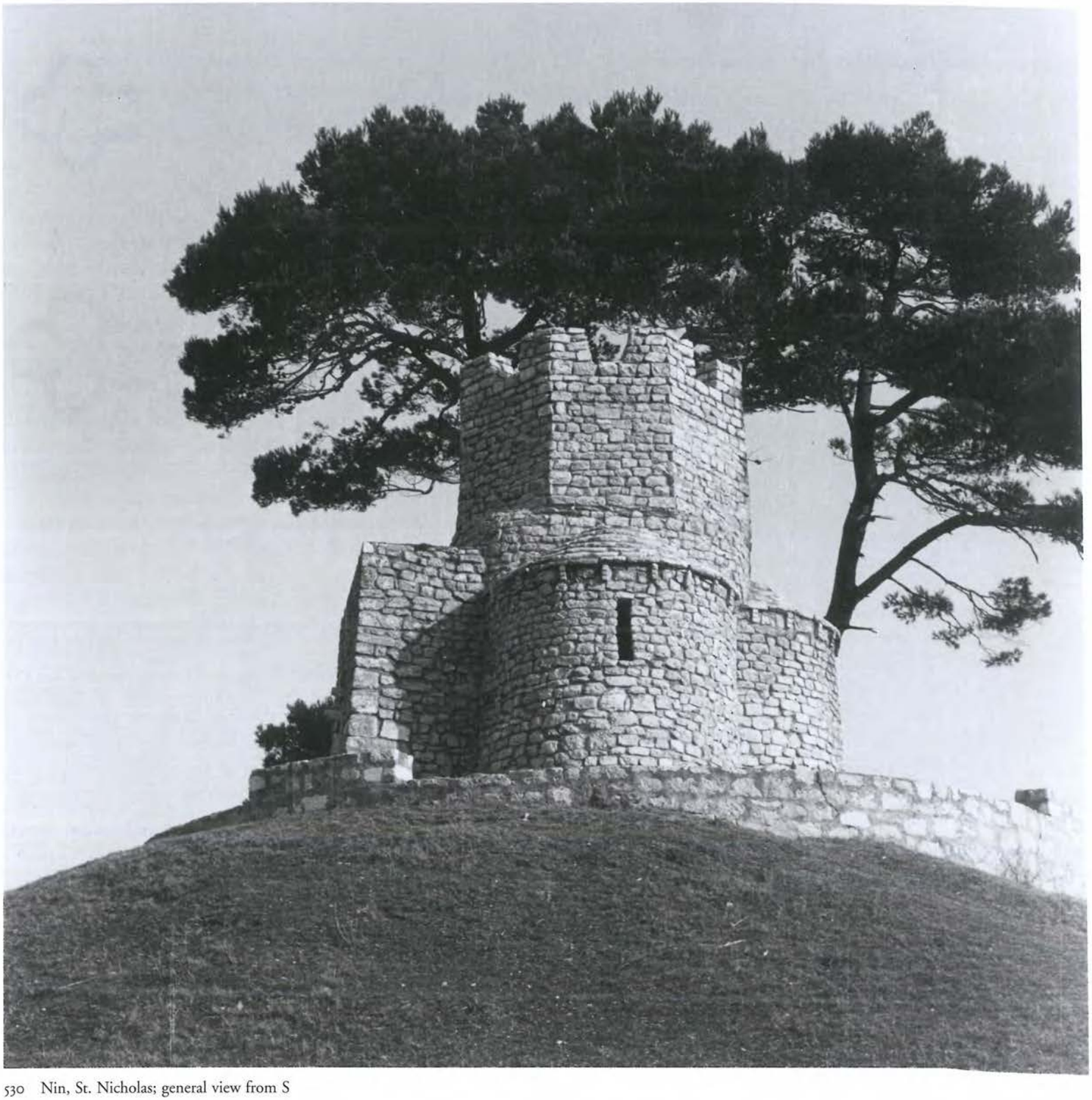
The last group of churches from the eastern Adriatic littoral that we will consider includes a number of centralized churches. In a relatively poor state of preservation, despite their large number, these buildings constitute one of the more conspicuous and at the same time perplexing groups.[246] The dating conventions, and particularly the tendency to assign the "pre-Romanesque" architecture of the eastern Adriatic littoral to the period from the ninth century to the eleventh, have been applied to these buildings practically routinely. Very slowly, during recent years there has been an increasing tendency to assign individual buildings belonging to this group closer to the end of this chronological range than to its beginning. In keeping with the dating of other developments articulated above, it stands to reason that this group, as a typological phenomenon, should be discussed here. The churches that we will consider are all characterized by their externally expressed multiple conches grouped around a central interior space generally covered by a dome. The group may be further subdivided into smaller typological subcategories on the basis of the number of conches – triconchs, hexaconchs, and octoconchs.

The first group includes four monuments whose geographic spread most clearly demonstrates the independence of this type from any narrowly defined local developments. Two of these churches – St. Chrisogono (Sv. Krševan) at Glavotok on the island of Krk, Croatia, and St. Nicholas (Sv. Nikola) near Nin, Croatia – have nearly identical plans and the same structural solution to the central vaulting feature (figs. 529A and B). Yet the two are separated by a considerable distance, preempting any easy explanation of direct links between them. A brief closer look at St. Nicholas near Nin will suffice to illustrate the main characteristics of both. Located on top of an ancient tumulus, surrounded by a picturesque cluster of pine trees, this small church dominates the flat surrounding countryside (fig. 530). Measuring 7 × 7 meters in plan, it features three semicircular conches, while on the fourth side it has a rectangular space of comparable dimensions that accommodates the portal. This rectangular space is covered by a vault of identical dimensions and character as the small half-domes covering the three conches. The central, square space is covered by a domical vault marked by two massive intersecting ribs, placed diagonally in relationship to the main building axes. The two ribs spring from diagonally placed pilasters located at the corners of the central square. This unusual solution, along with other aspects of the plan, was also employed in the church at Glavotok. Externally, the blind dome is enclosed by a polygonal pseudo-drum crowned at a later time by crenelations, which give the building its military demeanor. Notwithstanding this intervention, the tower-like appearance of this central part of the building is genuine. It must be imagined as having been once crowned by a pyramidal roof. Both the church at Nin and the one at Glavotok are now believed to be eleventh-century constructions.[247]



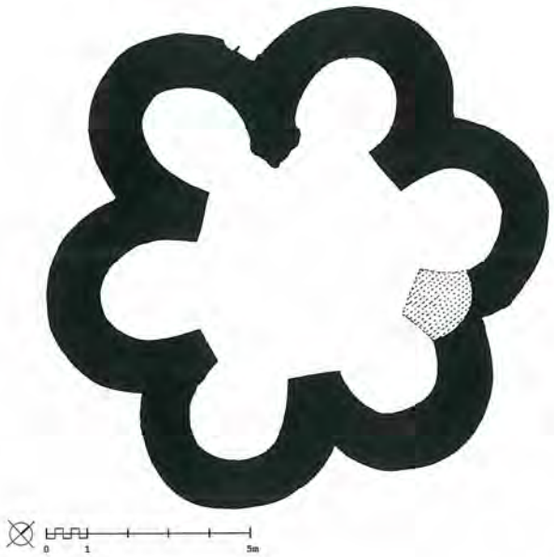
529 Triconch churches: (A) Glavotok, St. Crisogono; (B) Nin, St. Nicholas; (C) Drivast, church; (D) Zaton na Limu, St. John; plans

The foundations of a related small church of unknown dedication were excavated at the foot of the fortified town of Drivast, near Lake Skadar, Montenegro. The small triconch, measuring 6.3 × 6.5 meters, is similar in its basic disposition to the two churches at Nin and Glavotok (fig. 529C). The main difference stems from the fact that the horseshoe shape of its conches is much more pronounced, both internally and externally. A comparable scheme, but on a somewhat larger scale, was discovered in the remains of the church of St. John (Sv. Jovan) at Zaton, near Bijelo Polje, Montenegro.[248] Here the overall dimensions of the plan are 8.5 × 11.5 meters (fig. 529D). The triconch arrangement of the horseshoe-shaped apses is here accentuated by the placement of the four square crossing piers that must have carried a small dome or tower. The western part of the church was elongated by an additional bay. The two churches have been viewed as related, and as such have been linked to the ninth-century developments around Ohrid. The phenomenon has been viewed as reflecting the beginnings of Christian architecture among the Slavs, first in the region of Macedonia and then, a century later, in Duklja through the westward expansion of Samuel's state.[249] The implied tenth-century date for the two small triconchs seems tenuous. Their relationship to the two examples from the Adriatic littoral seems far more compelling than the proposed links with the earlier triconch churches in the vicinity of Ohrid (figs. 346C and D).

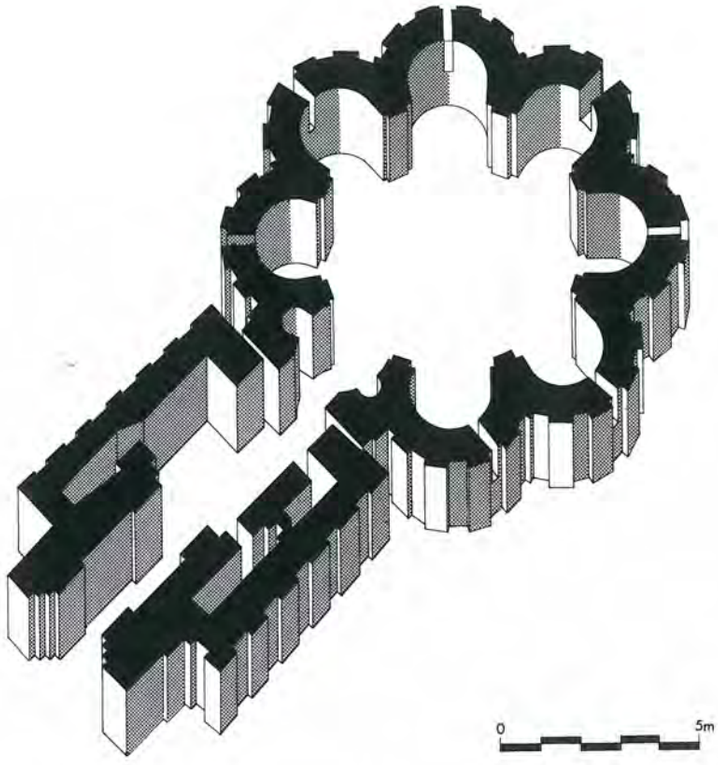


530 Nin, St. Nicholas; general view from S

The disposition of conches in the churches at Drivast and Zaton signals a design preference for the radial clustering of conches around a centrally accentuated core. This notion becomes much more intelligible in polyconch churches, several of which have survived or have been excavated along the eastern Adriatic littoral, but also inland. The problem of the hexaconch group of churches, which are the most numerous, has already been broached in the discussion of churches in Zadar, Trogir, and Split. To this group, now generally dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and associated with the impact of the fifth- or sixth-century baptistery of Zadar Cathedral, one must also add the church excavated at Rogačići, near Sarajevo, Bosnia and



531 Rogačići, Hexagonal church; plan



532 Oślje, Octagonal church; axonometric

Herzegovina (fig. 531).[250] Its close relationship to the coastal group, both on the basis of its planning scheme and its construction technique, once more demonstrates the pattern of influence spreading from the coastal region into the interior. Equally significant here is the relatively late date – late twelfth or early thirteenth century – that has been ascribed to this building on the basis of the archaeological finds.

The only octoconch church that has been preserved in part is the building at Ošlje, north of Dubrovnik, Croatia. Measuring 11.5 meters in its outer diameter, the centralized part of the church was expanded by the addition of a large narthex that brought the overall length of the building to 20 meters (fig. 532).[251] This relatively large church had seven large conches evenly placed around the parameter of its circular, probably domed interior. The place of the eighth conch was taken by the entrance, whose lateral walls were articulated by a pair of symmetrically placed niches. The exterior of the centralized portion of the building was marked by evenly spaced pilaster strips, each conch externally subdivided into five narrow fields by four pilasters. The same formal effect was applied to the lateral walls of the subsequently added narthex. The general stylistic effect of this exterior must have closely resembled the exterior articulation of the three-aisled Benedictine basilica of St. John at Biograd, consecrated in 1076. Because of its sizable narthex, apparently once dominated by a tall, axially placed belfry, and on account of the formal characteristics just mentioned, the church at Ošlje was probably built during the eleventh century.

* * *

The variety of church types examined in the context of architectural developments along the eastern Adriatic littoral during the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveals a strong local trend whose characteristics reveal an adherence to certain local traditions in design and construction alike. These, in turn, have been examined repeatedly as to the meaning of their idiosyncratic architectural characteristics. The most striking revelation, it would seem, is that the architecture in Dalmatia, despite the waning political influence of Byzantium in the area, continued to show striking parallels with contemporary developments within the Byzantine-held territories. Among the more striking general characteristics that the architecture along the eastern Adriatic littoral shares with the architecture in the Byzantine-controlled Balkans are the following. Both seem to cling to certain late antique characteristics, for similar reasons. In both cases, new buildings were not uncommonly built on the sites of fallen late antique buildings, whose remains often provided clues that were readily embraced by their creators. Features such as blind exterior arcading are among the more striking characteristics of both developments that, undoubtedly, have their roots in

the late antique tradition. Both developments appear to display affinities with certain planning schemes – triconchs and quatrefoils being the most obvious – that also point to the common late antique roots. By the same token, the tendency to have domes, on or without drums, embedded in externally cubical masses, also points in the same direction. Last but not least, architecture in Dalmatia, and that within the Byzantine territories, displays remarkable similarities in construction technique, as well as exterior formal expression. Simple walls, semi-cylindrical apses, dome drums, and other aspects of buildings were products of a most common building technique – use of the most readily available fieldstone in large quantities of mortar, the exterior effect achieved by smooth plastering, to ensure the same starkly plain formal effect. Beyond this, the architecture along the Adriatic littoral acquired a new dimension through the extensive engagement of the Benedictines. As ready as the members of this order may on occasion have been to accommodate aspects of the older local tradition, they also brought with them builders and artisans from across the Adriatic. Their presence is especially notable in large-scale projects – major monasteries and cathedral churches. The new builders were also responsible for the introduction of a new style – Romanesque – along with all of its formal and technical characteristics. The assimilation of this new style, however, was a relatively slow process. During several generations it clearly overlapped with the established regional practices that survived well beyond the year 1000.

THE LANDS BETWEEN

As has been pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the period between *circa* 1000 and *circa* 1250 witnessed the political partitioning of the Balkans, the effects of which were permanent. Shortly after the death of Manuel I in 1180, the Byzantine northern "Balkan frontier" that this emperor sought to push across the Danube and Sava rivers collapsed, giving way to new states emerging on the former Byzantine territories. Among these, Bulgaria and Serbia appeared as the most serious challengers of Byzantine authority in the Balkans. With the precipitous decline of the Byzantine Empire and its eventual collapse in 1204, both states retained that role, even after the Byzantine recovery in 1261. The emerging political conditions in the Balkans were substantially shaped by the increased involvement of Western powers in Balkan affairs. In addition to the Venetians and the Franks, who benefited most directly from the results of the Fourth Crusade, the most visible exponent of the growing Western presence in Balkan affairs continued to be Hungary. The impact of the Normans, though more violent, was relatively short-lived. Last but not least, the role of the German Empire, though indirect, was considerable. The pattern of cultural developments thus emerging in the Balkans, especially during the twelfth century, was increasingly the by-product of the growing tensions between West and East. It should also be borne in mind that the expansion of Western interests into the Balkans went hand in hand with the expanding interests of the Catholic Church. The latter took place in a twofold manner, either through the express takeover of Orthodox Church functions, properties, and administration, or through the activities of the religious orders, notably the Cistercians and later the Mendicants. Architecture created under these complex conditions, especially in the central Balkans, bespeaks these new realities in the most eloquent terms.

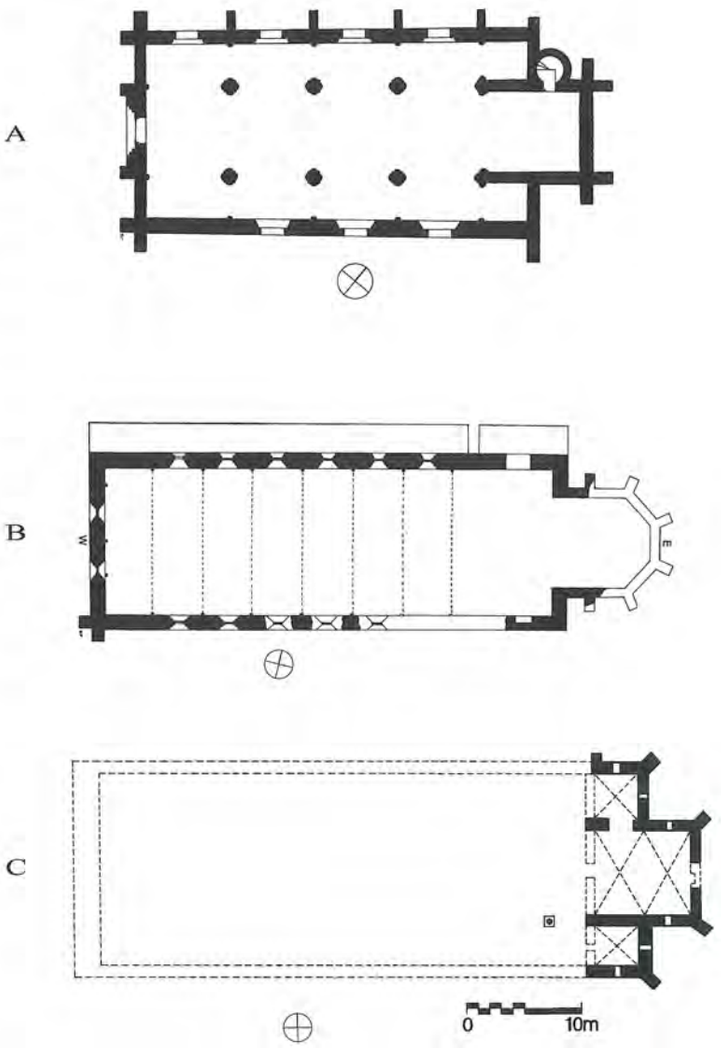
"Frankish Greece"[252]

In the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the so-called Latin Empire in 1204, squabbles within the Crusader ranks began to occur. As a result, militarily the most powerful figure, Boniface of Montferrat, established his own "Kingdom of Thessaloniki" and, wasting no time, began to expand his territorial possessions south through conquest. Meeting little opposition, he took Thessaly, Boeotia, Euboia, and Attica, crossing into the Peloponnēsos in early 1205. The Frankish duchy of Athens, set up at this time, was to endure until 1311. In the meantime, independently, another member of the Crusader army, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, who was not directly involved in the conquest of Constantinople, landed in the southern Peloponnēsos and began his own conquests there. By 1210 he had been recognized by both the pope and the Latin emperor as the legitimate prince of Morea (Latin name for the Peloponnēsos). The new rulers came in as the champions of Western Christianity, and with this also came the complex task of displacing, if not outright abolishing, the Orthodox Church and its activities. Architecture built under these circumstances is revealing, albeit rather poorly preserved.[253] Inasmuch as the Catholic Church, as one of the principal new patrons of architecture, had its own expectations, the changing situation on the ground was a complex and slow process. Thus, the bringing of master builders from outside and the construction of new buildings was but one of the possible answers. The new patrons also relied on Byzantine builders, who continued to be available and who could be instructed to do things in a certain way to suit the new clients, while not abandoning their own building techniques and methods. Last but not least, the new patrons also took extensive advantage of the existing building heritage, resort-

ing to the conversion of Orthodox churches and monasteries and adapting them to their needs.

Various aspects of architectural activity under the new patronage have already been dealt with. In this context we will concentrate primarily on some of the construction work that took place under the auspices of the new patrons and also with the express needs of the Catholic Church in mind. First, we will examine three churches built during the first half of the thirteenth century that, by all accounting, reveal the presence of imported masters with first-hand knowledge of Gothic architecture in the West. The first of these buildings is the Cistercian monastery church of Zaraka, in a remote area near Lake Stymphalia.[254] It was probably built *circa* 1224, but before 1236. The church survives in ruins, while the entire monastery complex has vanished, save what appear to be the remains of a gate. Measuring 18 × 40 meters, the church was a huge building by contemporary Byzantine standards (fig. 533A). It was a three-aisled basilica with the nave arcades, each consisting of three massive piers, separating it from the side aisles. At the east end, the nave ends in a large rectangular sanctuary. The piers are widely spaced, thus forming four large square bays in the nave, while the dimensions of the sanctuary are corresponding in size to a typical nave bay. The side aisles are half as wide as the main vessel and they terminate in square chapels, each one-fourth of the floor area of the sanctuary, which they flank. The arrangement is reminiscent of typical Cistercian church plans. The piers have a quatrefoil core with four engaged corner colonnettes. The pier type corresponds to High Gothic piers, and was clearly designed in relationship to quadripartite rib vaults, typical of the Gothic structural system that the building must once have had. Next to nothing is known about the main elevation of the nave or about the height of the main vaults. The church displays a system of external spur buttresses at most of the crucial points, in accordance with the Gothic structural principles. Surprisingly, no buttresses were built along the south flank of the building. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the building's larger architectural context, knowledge of which would probably explain this apparent anomaly. The building features many fine Gothic details, such as capitals, keystones, and plate tracery for windows. All of these, along with the all-stone construction, reveal the hand of imported craftsmen.

The monastery of Our Lady of Isova is situated in another remote location in the Peloponnēsos, suggesting that it too must have been a Cistercian foundation.[255] Substantial ruins of the abbey church survive, along with the slightly later and much smaller church of St. Nicholas. The main church was single-aisled, measuring 15.2 × 41.3 meters in plan (fig. 533B). To the east the nave extended into a sanctuary, which terminated in a polygonal apse-like form. The general disposition of the building reveals a formula known in Western monastic architecture, though questions have been raised about its presumed Cistercian association. A steep timber trussed roof, whose profile is determined by the surviving western gable containing a large lancet window in the center, covered the church. The construction technique and various Gothic details, seen also in the case of the church of Zaraka, suggest the input of imported artisans. The building is dated to *circa* 1225 and is known to have been destroyed by 1263.



533 Cistercian monastic churches: (A) Zaraka; (B) Isova; (C) Andravida; plans

The best known and the largest of all Western monastic buildings in the Peloponnēsos was the church of Hagia Sophia at Andravida, possibly a Dominican foundation of the early 1240s.[256] Of this enormous building only the east end remains standing today. This building, however, was recorded relatively early when more of it was still visible and it has since been sub-

534 Daphni Monastery, Katholikon,; exonarthex from W

jected to closer archaeological scrutiny than any other monument in this group. The church is a three-aisled basilica originally measuring 18.9 × 45.5 meters (fig. 533c). In plan it recalls the scheme of the church at Zaraka with one major difference. Its main arcades consisted of rows of columns instead of massive piers, which implies that the building had a timber roof. Only the sanctuary and the two flanking chapels were vaulted with quadripartite rib vaults. Their presence, as well as that of transverse pointed arches separating the sanctuary and the chapels from the rest of the church, confirms in no uncertain terms the Western origins of the builders. The windows reveal an unusual stylistic inconsistency. With the exception of the ones at the east end, the others are all round-headed. This type was not uncommon in Early Gothic architecture, but their appearance here does seem rather unusual. This important monument, despite the work already done on it, requires further study.

In the category of Byzantine churches converted for the purposes of the Latin rite, the most distinguished place belongs to the monastery of Daphni. Discussed above (see pp. 388–90), it was apparently taken over by the Cistercians, possibly as early as 1211. In its present form the cloister, though conceptually consistent with cloisters in Cistercian monasteries, may actually be the result of a later rebuilding (fig. 141). The katholikon underwent some modifications as well, although these appear relatively minor considering the well-known attitudes toward art of the new occupants. No architecture, especially on account of its lavish mosaic interior decoration, in fact, could have been farther from Cistercian "ideals" than this. Yet the only interventions that apparently took place were modifications to the Byzantine open portico, which apparently collapsed in the thirteenth century, and the adaptation of the narthex for the burials of the Frankish dukes of Athens, a function that undoubtedly secured a privileged position for the monastery as long as the Franks retained control over the duchy. The rebuilding of the collapsed Byzantine portico resulted essentially in the replacement of the original round-headed arches with pointed ones and in the addition of crenelations, in place of the Byzantine upper floor that was destroyed at the time of the portico collapse (fig. 534).

Frankish presence in the Peloponnēsos and in central Greece brought in a number of foreign artists and artisans, no doubt in concert with the expectations of the new patrons. Commissioned for some major projects, these artists and artisans stayed on, participating in lesser projects that often constituted little more than modifications or repairs to existing buildings. Thus, what is thought of as the "impact" of Western architecture on Byzantine buildings may have had a very limited and short-lived effect. Historically speaking, this was but a short chapter in a troubled region caught up in the struggle of the greater external powers for the territorial control of the area. More enduring and fundamentally rooted in the regional realities were developments in Dalmatia and those associated with the two principal Balkan adversaries of the declining empire – Bulgaria and Serbia.

Bulgaria

As a preamble to our discussion of the architecture of Bulgaria we must stress the existence of two different categories that have been deliberately separated in this context: that of architecture on the territories of the former Bulgarian state, but built under direct Byzantine patronage (generally up to 1186), and that created under Bulgarian auspices (generally after 1186). Several aspects in the former category have already been discussed in the preceding pages of this chapter, within the context of Byzantine architecture strictly speaking. Here, we will focus our attention on architecture built under the Bulgarian rulers, clergy, and noblemen, following the reestablishment of Bulgaria as a state. In this regard we must remember that very few of the monuments are dated with precision. Generally, the process of Bulgarian resumption of patronage of architecture in the aftermath of the Byzantine withdrawal is not in question. However, difficulties arise in connection with scholarship that has deliberately strived at separating the two traditions, with the exclusive aim of defining the specific, "national" characteristics of Bulgarian architecture. This, decidedly, is not our purpose. In fact, an objective analysis of the characteristics of architecture after 1186 can hopefully bring us closer to understanding "continuities" and "discontinuities" in the development of architecture as a result of a dramatic political change.

The process of the unraveling of the Byzantine Empire in the aftermath of the death of Manuel I in 1180 was rapid and took place on several fronts simultaneously. The principle "advantage-seekers" in the ensuing turmoil were the Hungarians and the Normans, followed in short order by the Bulgarians and the Serbs, all of whom attacked the Byzantines independently, stretching their military capabilities to the limit. In one of these instances, which began in 1185 as a local rebellion by two brothers, Peter and Asen, ended in 1186 in Byzantine defeat and the restoration of the Bulgarian state with T'rnovo as its capital. By 1190 the old title of "tsar" had been conferred upon Asen, again putting Bulgaria on the political map as a direct challenger of Byzantine imperial authority. At this crucial watershed, however, neither of the two old adversaries was more than a shadow of its former self. The Bulgarians took advantage of the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire that ensued in 1204 only in small measure. The Bulgarian emperor Kalojan (1197–1207) expanded his territories southward into Macedonia, but his eventual siege of Thessaloniki in 1205 failed, as did other sieges of this important center in the following years. It was only in 1218 with the rise to power of Ivan Asen II (1218–41) that Bulgaria was able to reassert itself yet again, but in a game whose chips by that time had fallen quite low.

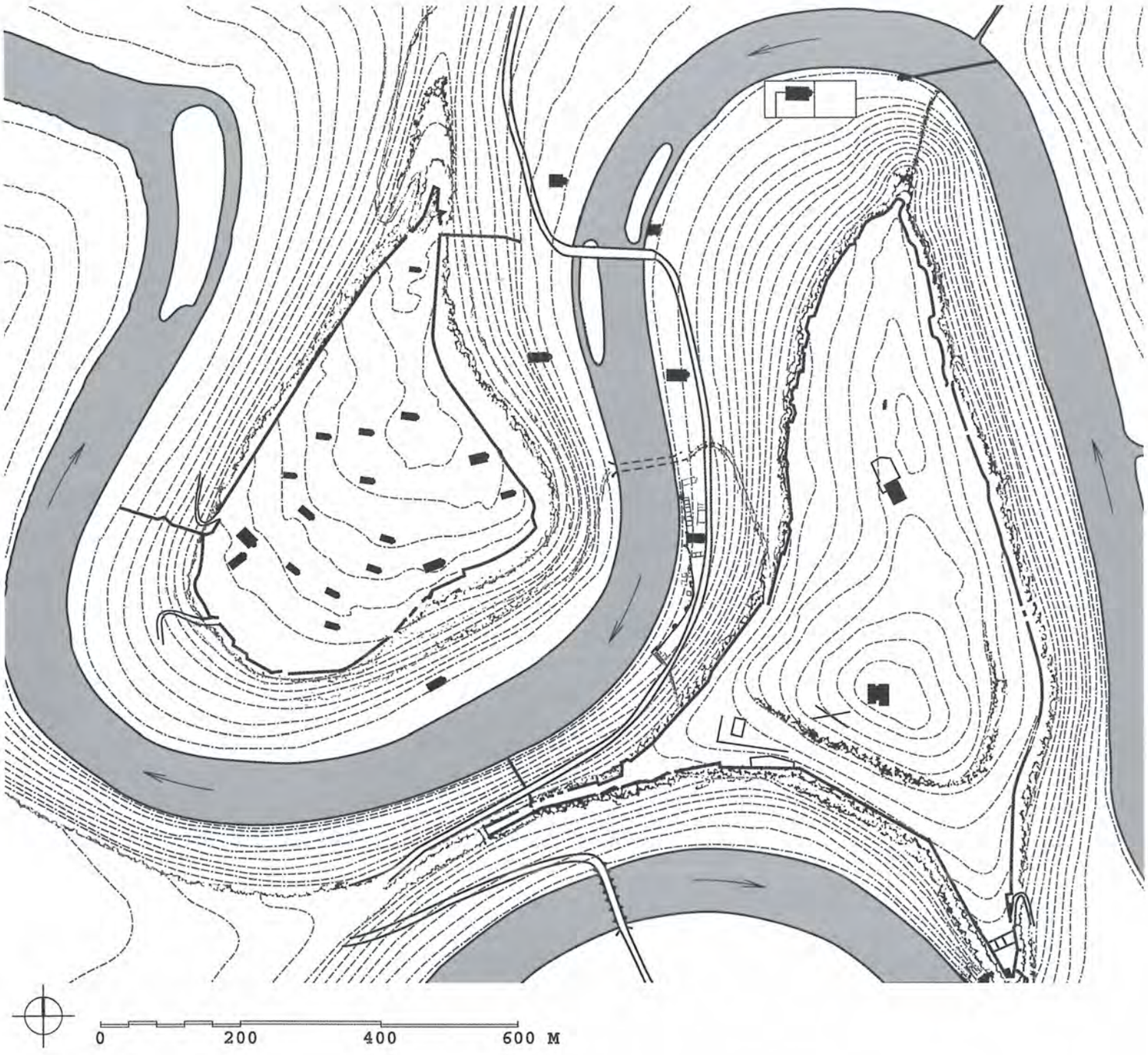
The initial reestablishment of Byzantine rule following the collapse of the First Bulgarian Empire in 1014 resulted, as we have seen, in efforts to reassert control through building. The construction of new fortresses, monasteries, and churches became as widespread as the rebuilding or refurbishing of old structures and the erstwhile centers of Byzantine power. What appears to have been strikingly different in Byzantine architectural patronage in the central Balkans – in contrast to that in the Greek lands – was an enormous stylistic and qualitative diversity. One is left with a distinct impression that the main goal was simply to build; how to build, or whom to use as the builder, appear to have been less pressing concerns for anxious patrons. This is not to say that some fine builders from the imperial capital or other important centers were not on occasion brought into these provincial settings, but many of the surviving buildings reveal traits that were not compatible with standards employed in the heartlands of the empire. The reestablishment of Bulgarian independence, at least initially, marked a break in direct contacts with the main centers of Byzantine architectural production. New buildings, consequently, were either the products of local masters, some of them possibly Byzantine builders who may have remained after the Byzantine military withdrawal, or of the native Bulgarians, who had acquired the necessary skills while working for their Byzantine masters. The results, as we shall see, are both interesting and revealing.

URBAN CENTERS AND FORTIFICATIONS

The Byzantine reestablishment of control over the Bulgarian lands involved above all reclaiming their former centers of power and occupying the Bulgarian seats of authority.[257] In these centers, characteristically, they seldom built major new buildings. Their interventions in centers such as Sofia appear to be limited to small architectural interventions and to the refurbishing and redecorating of extant buildings.[258] New buildings were largely reserved for monasteries, seen as an effective means for staking out territorial claims and as bases for proselytizing in the countryside. In some ways the building of new monasteries was as important for the Byzantines as was the construction of fortifications in strategic locations. Bulgarian patronage following the reestablishment of their statehood, by contrast, followed a different pattern. Old seats of power received particular attention with major reconstruction projects, as well as impressive new buildings intended to provide the new rulers with appropriate settings for the execution of their political program. The subject of urban settlements and fortifications has largely been dealt with in the form of case studies. Some efforts in this direction have been made, but they are rudimentary and so far limited in number.[259]

No site can tell the story of urbanism and fortifications in Bulgaria after 1186 better than T'rnovo, a city with a long history, whose choice as a new center of power surely had as much to do, if not more, with its physical setting than its earlier historical significance (fig. 535). T'rnovo, ancient Zikideva, was a major Byzantine center from the late fifth century to the seventh.[260] It appears to have superseded the nearby Nikopolis ad Istrum, which was situated in the plain and must have proven fatally vulnerable in the troubled times of the Avar-Slavic invasions. Thus the natural land formations where Zikideva-T'rnovo was to be located must have been perceived as an ideal setting from the point of view of defense.[261] Situated on island-like plateaux surrounded by steep cliffs, separated from each other by the meandering River Yantra, Trnovo is distinguished by spectacular natural setting and difficulty of access (fig. 536). It is this latter quality that must have been the decisive factor determining the choice of the site in late antiquity, as well as during the Second Bulgarian Empire.

Though known for a long time, the site of T'rnovo became a subject of systematic excavations after the Second World War. Conducted on a massive scale, these brought to light substantial remains of the medieval city and its Early Byzantine predecessor. The results of the excavations provide unique insights not only into the history of T'rnovo itself, but also into the history of medieval urbanism in the Balkans more generally.[262] The medieval town was naturally divided into several sectors. Archae-



535 T'rnovo, Topographical plan

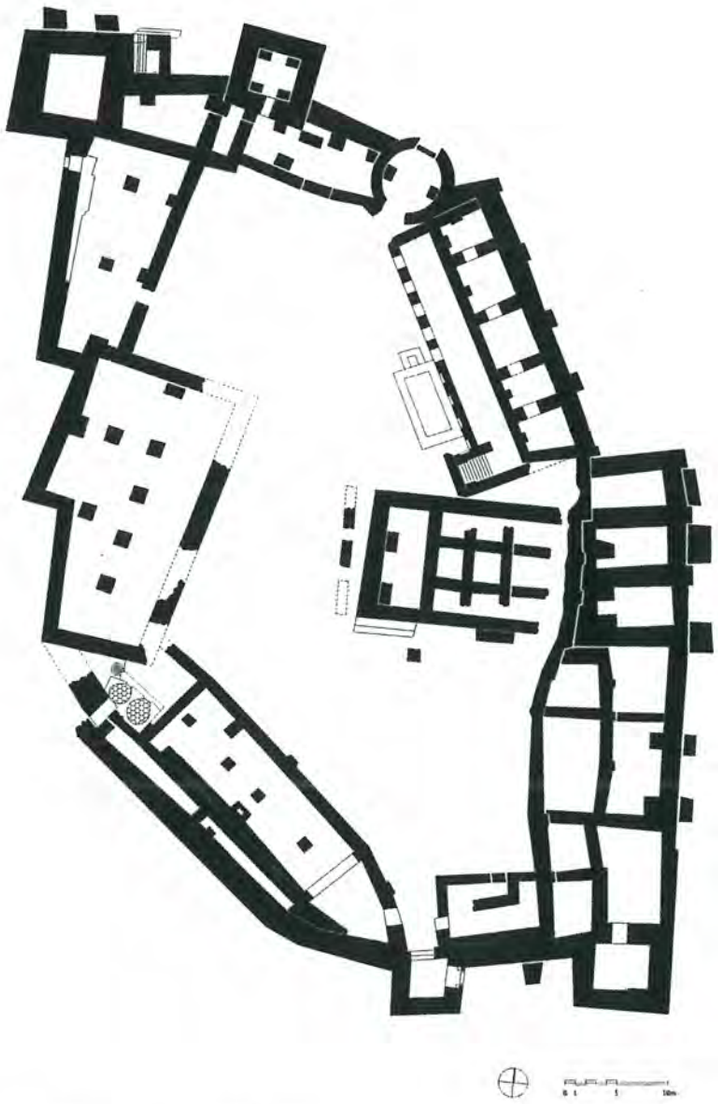
ologically, the two most important of these are Tsarevets and Trapezitsa. Tsarevets, the larger of the two, comprised the center of power, with the main secular and ecclesiastical buildings, while Trapezitsa appears to have been more of a residential area with a plethora of relatively small churches. Both were walled enclosures, each occupying a roughly flat plateau atop virtually sheer cliffs. The medieval enclosure of Tsarevets has an area covering 21 hectares and featuring two principal prominent nuclei. One of these, sitting atop an outcrop of its own, is the site of the imperial palace, while the other, upon an even higher, prominent outcrop, is the location of the patriarchal complex. Both complexes were heavily fortified. Thus, we see here a continuation of a phenomenon that had its beginnings in the Byzantine world as early as the sixth century – the building of small fortifications within larger fortified enclosures.[263]

The larger of the two complexes at T'rnovo is the Palace of the Tsars (fig. 537).[264] Occupying an elevated natural plateau, the palace complex covers an area just under 0.5 hectares, compa-

536 T'rnovo, Aerial view of Tsarevets Hill from NW

rable in size to some of the smallest late antique "cities." The site of the medieval palace was initially occupied by a complex of two successive Byzantine basilicas accompanied by a number of other buildings, whose function remains unknown. The Byzantine complex built *circa* 500 survived into the seventh century, when it was ultimately destroyed. A small early Bulgarian settlement came to occupy the site from the eighth century. The Palace of the Tsars was preceded on the site by another medieval palace, though its identity remains uncertain. Considering that Bulgaria was under Byzantine control until 1186, it does not seem likely that the complex belonged to a Bulgarian nobleman, as Bulgarian scholars maintain. More likely, this was the residence of the Byzantine official in charge. Its destruction during the Bulgarian insurrection of 1185 would have then naturally led to its replacement by the residence of the Bulgarian tsars.

The general disposition of the complex is not unlike that of a small town, but the most appropriate comparison is with the



537 T'rnovo, Palace of the Tsars; plan

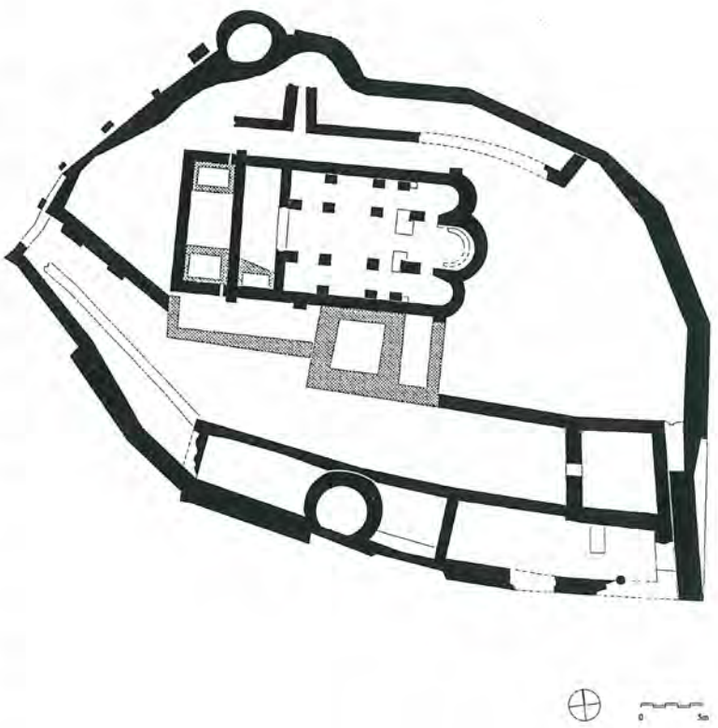
larger monastic complexes of the Middle Byzantine period. The complex has an irregular, elongated form resembling an oval. Like many larger monastic complexes, it was entered through two fortified gates on the shorter sides – the main one on the north, the secondary one on the south. The main buildings of the complex are all organized peripherally, with their backs abutting the main fortification wall, while the principal façades are turned toward an open central courtyard. As was also the case in many monasteries of this period, a church was situated in the center of the court. In this case, this was a palace church rather than a monastic katholikon. The main ceremonial buildings of the palace were located to the west and north of the church. These involve the main building, possibly the throne-room, measuring 29 × 17 meters in plan. Its ground floor preserves the remains of massive piers that held up the vaulting and provided support for the floor of the ceremonial hall situated directly above this elaborate substructure. Adjacent to this building, just to the south, was the kitchen, enclosing three masonry ovens. Beyond the kitchen was another long, relatively narrow space, most likely a dining hall. A huge wing added to the complex in the late twelfth century and consisting of a series of separate rooms is believed to have accommodated the official quarters of the palace. To the north of the church was presumably the residential wing of the complex, consisting of a series of rooms interconnected by doors and preceded by a broad arcaded portico that fronted the building and opened toward the courtyard. This wing extended as far as the main entrance gate on the north side. The complex was surrounded by a fortification wall with a series of towers, four rectangular and one circular in plan.

The church is the least-preserved part of the complex, for only its foundations have survived in part. The east end of the church, in fact, has been completely destroyed. Yet, on the basis of the preserved foundation walls it is clear that this was of the cross-in-square type with an oblong narthex. The foundation walls form a regular grid, the central part of which is a square. Four columns probably upheld the main dome over this central square bay. According to the archaeologists, the church was built during the pre-imperial construction phase of the palace complex. As such, it may have actually been a Byzantine building, though the type was well known in Bulgaria both before and after 1186. Despite its ruinous state, the church has yielded much invaluable material, including several tombs. In the southwestern corner of its naos was uncovered the tomb of Emperor Ivan Aleksand'r (d. 1371). Fragments of his embroidered clothing, various other tomb deposits, as well as a fragment of the tomb lid featuring the feet of the emperor's gisant figure, came to light during the excavations. Material finds throughout the palace complex add to the picture of the lifestyle at the Bulgarian imperial court, modeled closely on the Byzantine prototype. The palace complex was burned and completely destroyed during the Ottoman conquest of T'rnovo in 1393.

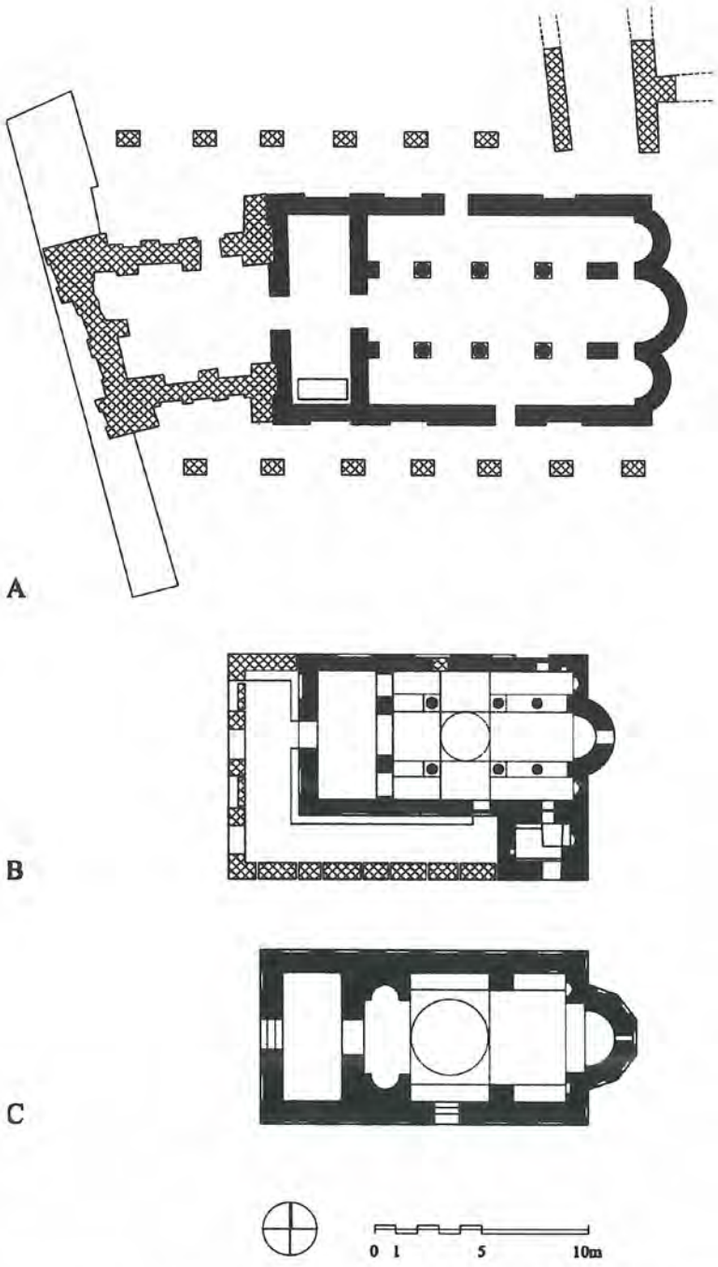
Some 50 meters southwest from the Palace of the Tsars, on another, slightly higher, albeit smaller outcrop, were uncovered the remains of the Bulgarian medieval patriarchate.[265] The complex, though smaller, in many respects resembles that of the Palace of the Tsars (fig. 538). Its floor area is barely 0.25 hectares, or one-half that of the Palace of the Tsars. As in the case of the royal complex, the site of the patriarchate was in use already in the sixth century, when a three-aisled basilica was constructed there, along with a baptistery on its south side. By the second half of the eleventh century the site was evidently occupied by a monastery. This, undoubtedly Byzantine monastery, was

apparently the product of the same "reconstruction" of T'rnovo, as was the case with the royal complex, conducted by the Byzantines in the aftermath of the Bulgarian defeat under Basil II. The appearance of an episcopal center and the later patriarchate, following the events in 1186, must then be viewed as the Bulgarian reclaiming of this important locus, and putting it to somewhat different use. Much like the palace complex the patriarchate was enclosed by massive fortification walls, whose irregular layout followed the topography of the site. A single, fortified entrance was situated on the west side. Various buildings associated with the functions of the patriarchate were built against the interior face of the fortification walls, to be subsequently modified following a major fire in the fourteenth century. The center of the complex was occupied by an open court with the main church in its midst. The church, dedicated to the Ascension of Christ, is referred to in the sources as the "Mother Church of the Bulgarian Empire." It was a variant of the cross-in-square type, measuring 13 × 23 meters in plan. Here, the square naos was initially separated from the sanctuary by a pair of columns (or piers) whose alignment with the columns (or piers) under the dome gave the interior of the church the character of a small basilica. Such solutions are known in Bulgarian architecture, the most notable case being the church of SS. Peter and Paul at T'rnovo, to be discussed below. While similarities between the general layout of the patriarchate and that of a monastery are undeniable, it is unclear how much of this, other than the location of the church, was actually carried over from the former monastery on the site. Also unclear is whether any monastic functions would have continued in conjunction with the patriarchate, as we know to have been the case later in Serbia. The medieval complex was unfortunately destroyed by the summary "reconstruction" of the patriarchal church with a tall belfry directly on the site of the excavated medieval remains. Needless to say, there was no information regarding the three-dimensional appearance of either of these two structures that would have allowed for this drastic undertaking.

The pairing of the two foci – the seat of imperial power and the seat of patriarchal authority – as the two most prominent complexes on the hill of Tsarevets was not a new idea in Bulgarian practice. A similar kind of relationship, it should be recalled, was already employed in the tenth-century construction of Preslav, the capital of the Bulgarian state at that time.[266] Another important complex at T'rnovo from the period under investigation is the so-called Great Lavra, or the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs. Situated along the left bank of the River Yantra, the monastery is situated within a gorge-like setting between the Tsarevets and the Trapezitsa hills. The remains of the monastery, renowned for its substantially preserved church of the Forty Martyrs, were brought to light through archaeological excavations begun in 1973.[267] A foundation of Emperor Ivan Asen II (1218–41), this became one of the most venerable monasteries in medieval Bulgaria, while its katholikon served as the mausoleum of the Bulgarian rulers and their families. The extensive excavations have brought to light the unusually long stretch of monastery wall, extending more than 200 meters along the bank of the River Yantra. The wall, 3.2 meters thick and fortified by massive cylindrical and rectangular towers, must have served a double function – as a fortification and retaining wall, protecting the monastery against flood water. Some of the towers were built around wells that descend into the river bed. The southernmost tower of the fortification system was also connected with the upper levels of the monastery and possibly beyond by means of a covered walkway atop the land wall rising toward the Tsarevets fortifications. Such guarded access to water supplies is known in other late medieval centers in the Balkans, such as Redina in Greece and Berat in Albania. Remains of monastic cells were discovered along the river wall to the north of the church, as well as to the south. On a terrace to the northeast of the church were uncovered the remains of a larger structure of undetermined function. Much farther north, the remains of a two-storied monastic funerary chapel came to light. These buildings, along with the discovery of two gates, at the north and south ends, complete the impression of this monastic



538 T'rnovo, Patriarchate; plan



539 T'rnovo, churches: (A) "Great Lavra", Church of the Forty Martyrs; (B) SS. Peter and Paul; (C) St. Demetrius; plans

complex as having been closely related to the established practice of monastery planning in the Byzantine world.

The church of the Forty Martyrs stands roughly at the midpoint of the lower part of the monastery complex. Because of the narrow site occupied by the monastery, the church appears to have divided it into two courtyards – one to the south and one to the north. The division of the monastery courtyard into two parts by the main church was not an uncommon practice, as we have seen. Most of the time, such a division occurred along the east–west axis, while here, on account of the unusual topography, it is arranged along the north–south axis. The layout of the Great Lavra, it should be noted, is comparable to some degree with the Palace of the Tsars, where the church, situated at the midpoint of the courtyard, essentially divides it into two lesser spaces.

In its original form the church of the Forty Martyrs was a medium-sized three-aisled basilica measuring 11 × 16 meters (fig. 539A). Shortly after its completion, under the auspices of Ivan Asen II, an oblong narthex was added in front of the west façade, adding 3.5 meters to the overall length of the building. It was at the south end of this narthex that the emperor's tomb was placed after his death in 1241. In addition to being planned as the eventual mausoleum, the church was also the emperor's victory monument, as indicated by an inscription on a column that celebrates his triumph over Theodore of Epiros, ruler of Thessaloniki, at the Battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230. The nave was only slightly wider than the side aisles and all three spaces terminated in apses, semicircular internally and externally. Two rows of three columns carried the main arcades, each ending at a rectangular pier that separated the bema from the flanking chambers. It is between these piers that the original iconostasis was installed. The south aisle was used for other royal burials. In the course of the fourteenth century the church was expanded on two more occasions, first by the addition of the mausoleum-exonarthex, and subsequently by the addition of two arcaded porticoes on piers along the northern and southern flanks of the church. It was as a result of these two fourteenth-century additions that the church effectively cut the main courtyard into two completely separate spaces. In addition to being the mausoleum of Bulgarian rulers from the two dynasties, the Asenites and the Shishmanites, the church was renowned for many other distinguished burials, among them that of the first Serbian archbishop, later saint, Sava, who died in T'rnovo in 1235, on return from his second voyage to the Holy Land. Several years later, his nephew, the Serbian king Vladislav, had his uncle's remains transferred to his newly built mausoleum church at Mileševa Monastery. Because it was the dynastic mausoleum of the Bulgarian rulers, the victory monument of its founder, and had immense religious prestige, on account of the various relics that it owned, the church of the Forty Martyrs was the Bulgarian national shrine par excellence. Consequently, the monastery of the Forty Martyrs without exaggeration may be viewed as the third major center of power in T'rnovo during the Second Bulgarian Empire, alongside the Palace of the Tsars and the patriarchate.

Excavations conducted thus far at T'rnovo have yielded innumerable other results that are contributing to our understanding of it as one of the most important cities of the later Middle Ages

in all of the Balkans. Despite this, and despite the fact that the modern town of T'rnovo grew up on a different location, thus not preventing archaeological work, much more needs to be done to ensure our full understanding of the city fabric. Of all the residential buildings that have been excavated, few can be dated securely to the first half of the thirteenth century. Even the remains of those buildings that may be dated thus are difficult to understand in their original medieval form, since they were usually repeatedly transformed during the later centuries. Our understanding of the urban fabric of T'rnovo before 1250, therefore, must await the results of further research. Before leaving the city, however, a few words must be said about its church architecture.

During the excavations conducted in T'rnovo, the remains of innumerable medieval churches came to light. On Trapezitsa Hill alone, the foundations of as many as sixteen churches have been unearthed. Unfortunately, these were generally excavated hastily, and none has been properly published. Further excavations on Trapezitsa Hill remain one of the top priorities for the future archaeology of T'rnovo. Not only is the processing of the information uncovered thus far highly desirable, but the proper urban context of the unusually large number of churches so far discovered requires clarification, since we know practically nothing about their urban setting.

Two other buildings in T'rnovo are of particular significance, despite the controversy that continues to surround them. The first of these is SS. Peter and Paul (Sv. Pet'r i Pevel), located above the bend of the River Yantra, just below the northern tip of Tsarevets Hill. In its present form, the church is the result of a major rebuilding that took place following a catastrophic earthquake in 1913 that left the building in ruins. For a long time, it was believed to date from the fourteenth century on account of the frescoes preserved inside the building. A discovery of fragmentary remains of an older layer of frescoes, however, has confirmed the validity of a legend that attributes the building to Tsar Kaloyan (1197–1207). The church has an elongated plan, measuring 7.7 × 15 meters (fig. 539B). It resembles a basilica in its elongated proportions and single apse, semicircular internally and externally. The church has an oblong narthex, a nearly square naos, and a sanctuary to the east. Four columns, employing late antique spoils, support the dome, while another pair, with an iconostasis between them, separates the sanctuary from the naos. A contemporary chapel abutting the church at its southeast corner may have supported a belfry above it. On account of its interior disposition, the church reveals affinities with the church of the Forty Martyrs, and even more so with the church of the Ascension in the patriarchal complex, despite being considerably smaller. Clearly, an elongated plan appears to have been a local preference, even in churches that may have adopted the cross-in-square formula, as was the case here.

The monastery church of St. Demetrius (Sv. Dimit'r) is situated just below Trapezitsa Hill on the bank of the River Yantra, opposite the monastery of the Forty Martyrs.[268] Nothing of the once huge medieval monastery is preserved, while the church itself is a result of an overly zealous restoration carried out in the 1980s. The building is ascribed great historical significance because it is possibly the first "Bulgarian" monument built after 1185. According to the established tradition, it was built by the brothers Peter and Asen at the very beginning of their insurrection against the Byzantines. The building had survived in a semiruinous state until its incompetent modern "reconstruction," which endowed it with architectural features that it may never have had. Archaeological work conducted from 1971 to 1984 retrieved some relevant information about the building, though many questions about its original appearance remain unresolved. The church has an elongated plan measuring 9.3 × 18.3 meters, in proportional terms corresponding closely to the plan of SS. Peter and Paul (fig. 539C). In other respects, of course, the two churches could not be more different. The interior is marked by the presence of two different pairs of massive engaged piers. The western pair, symmetrically disposed in the western bay of the naos, was marked by a niche in each. The eastern, much smaller pair defined the eastern extension of the naos, along with an iconostasis separating it from the sanctuary. The naos was dominated by a large dome, about which we know nothing because of its early collapse. The present dome, as well as the tower confidently reconstructed above the narthex, have been shown to be figments of the restorers' imaginations. Much ink has been spilled over the question of the typological classification of the original building – was it a single-aisle church, or was it a compact inscribed-cross church? At stake were various theories about the origins and development of subsequent "Bulgarian" architecture, especially the architecture of Nesseb'r, about which more in the next chapter.[269] The church of St. Demetrius, in other words, was perceived as a "prototype" needed to "illuminate" certain larger phenomena. Its political-historical significance made it an ideal "explanation" for the evolution of a truly "national" style of architecture, free from any Byzantine links. The reality, of course, was quite different. What was taking place in 1185, and probably for several decades thereafter, was not a question of "links" with the Byzantine architectural tradition; it was simply the *continuity* of Byzantine architecture, now sponsored by the new rulers. Ultimately, what may be meaningfully debated in the case of St. Demetrius is not whether it was "Bulgarian" or "Byzantine," but *where* its builders may have acquired their training and *what direct bearing*, if any, this may have had on the subsequent course of the development of architecture in Bulgaria.

540 Asenova Krepost; general view

The important other aspect of the architecture of St. Demetrius is the rich articulation of its exterior. This is the function of its façades being broken up into a series of shallow niches by means of pilasters that have no structural relationship with the interior. Such a concept, relatively common in the architecture of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is not at all common in the twelfth. Hence, its appearance here seemed again to point to St. Demetrius as a prototypical design of consequence for the subsequent course of development in Bulgarian architecture. Equally interesting – and controversial – are certain characteristics of the building technique, especially the use of the so-called ceramoplastic elements, small jar-like ceramic vessels with long flaring necks shaped into dish-like bowls or pinched into clover-leaf-like shapes. Set into thick mortar beds, these were arranged in sequences aimed at enlivening wall surfaces and framing openings. Common in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such elements were rare, though not unknown, in Byzantine architecture before *circa* 1200. Their appearance here has been viewed by a number of Bulgarian scholars as an indicator that they were a Bulgarian invention and that, ultimately, they became a hallmark of a decorative style in Bulgarian architecture. Finally, it should be noted that the façades of St. Demetrius were plastered and painted with the imitation of an architectural opus, in keeping with an established Byzantine practice.

The discovery of a brick kiln in the vicinity of the church has shed new light on medieval building methods. A large quantity of fired but unused bricks was also uncovered, suggesting that the manufacturing of brick took place at the construction site itself. In the case of T'rnovo, this has interesting implications, because the volume of construction in the town was very high. Would each site have had its own brick kiln, was this practice reserved only for some of the larger sites, or was the case of St. Demetrius for some reason exceptional? These questions cannot be answered at present. Related to this is also the question of the manufacture of the special ceramoplastic elements referred to above. Could the builder of St. Demetrius have been brought to T'rnovo from elsewhere and might he have wanted to have full control of the entire process of construction, independent from other local workshops? The possibilities, obviously, are many, but the answers are few.

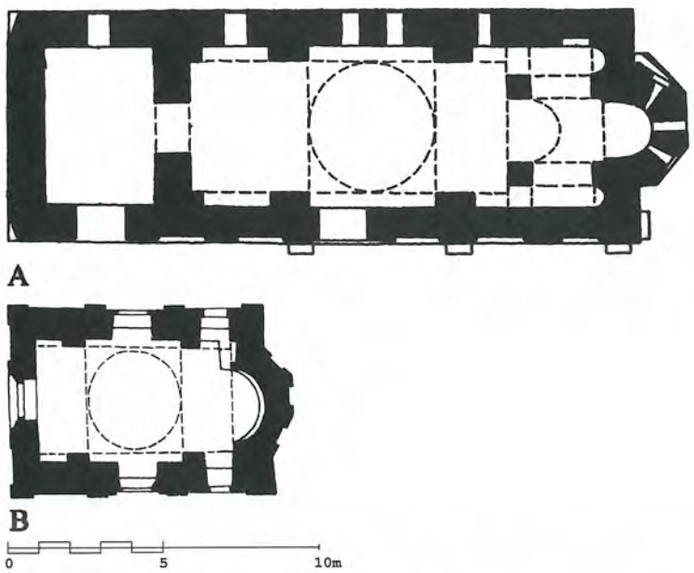
T'rnovo was the most important center of the renewed Bulgarian state and has been the subject of the most extensive archaeological excavations. Other medieval towns, such as Nesseb'r, Cherven, and Shumen, have also been studied, but their most important monuments belong to a later period and will be discussed in that context. Before leaving the subject of settlements and fortifications, we will turn to the site of Asenova Krepost (Byzantine Stenimachos) near Asenovgrad. This stronghold is mentioned in Byzantine sources already in the eleventh century and may well have resulted from their efforts to control this territory following the reconquest by Basil II. The fort is perched on a steep rock within a gorge of the River Asenica, controlling the most important pass through the Rodopi mountain range (fig. 540). The site is dominated by the well-preserved church of the Bogoroditsa Petrichka, situated on the northern edge of the cliff upon which it sits. To the southwest of the church, on an even higher level of the same outcrop, was situated a small residential complex, whose exact function and architectural form still remain a mystery. Excavated in recent years, its components are known to have included a major tower (donjon) that may have been used for habitation; two large halls, of which only substructures survive; industrial rooms; two cisterns; and a small chapel with a narthex including two eleventh- to twelfth-century burials. The complex was heavily fortified and may be compared, in some sense, to the patriarchal complex at T'rnovo. The larger settlement to which Asenova Krepost related is practically unknown in archaeological terms, though it is mentioned in the sources. The complex was destroyed in the early thirteenth century, but was rebuilt in 1231, according to a preserved inscription of Ivan Asen II. Here, once again, we are in a position to argue for a Byzantine presence and input before 1185, and Bulgarian reconstruction following a violent takeover *circa* 1200.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The debt of Bulgarian church architecture to the Byzantine tradition is undeniable, but its accurate gauging has been obscured by the pronounced tendency in Bulgarian scholarship to prove the opposite. Many attempts have been made to demonstrate the existence of certain "national" characteristics in Bulgarian architecture and to prove how these came into being as a direct function of regained political independence from Byzantium. Things, of course, are much more complex than that. This is not to say that Bulgarian builders had no impact on architectural developments in Bulgaria after 1186. Nor is it to deny that patronage of architecture, after the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire, passed entirely into the hands of Bulgarian rulers, aristocracy, and higher clergy. What we hope to demonstrate is that after the expulsion of the Byzantine political machinery, a body of Byzantine builders must have remained behind, continuing to provide their services for the new patrons. Furthermore, and this is equally important, these Byzantine builders would have been responsible for the training of native builders, whose manner of work would have resembled Byzantine architecture. Gradually, links with the Byzantine tradition, whether direct or indirect, must have loosened. A generation or so after 1186, architecture in Bulgaria became only distantly related to mainstream Byzantine architecture, having by that time charted a course of its own.

One of the most important monuments to illuminate this "transitional phase" in the church architecture of the restored Bulgarian state is the church of Mother of God of Petrichka (Bogorodica Petrichka), the only standing building on the site of Asenova Krepost examined above. Its history and function are as perplexing as in the case of the fortified residence nearby. The church is a sizeable building, measuring 7 × 18 meters in plan, and consists of a single-aisled, domed naos preceded by an oblong narthex above which rises a belfry (figs. 541 and 542A). It is two-storied, and as such belongs to a group of distinctive churches in Bulgaria that have long since attracted scholarly attention.[270] Although perceived as a monastic funerary chapel, there is little hard evidence to sustain such a notion. While a number of monastic funerary chapels do employ a two-storied arrangement, there are at least as many that do not. By the same token, it seems methodologically wrong to assume such a functional link for all two-storied churches. This is a glaring problem with the church of Mother of God of Petrichka, for there is no indication that its lower story was ever intended to serve as a burial crypt or a functional space of any kind.[271] The church is also notable for its exterior articulation, involving a blind arcade on the second story, without any structural relationship to the interior, and some decorative patterns executed in brick. All of this has been viewed as

541 Asenova Krepost, Mother of God of Petrichka; general view from SW



542 (A) Asenova Krepost, Mother of God of Petrichka; (B) Bachkovo Monastery, Chapel of the Archangels; plans

543 Bachkovo Monastery, Chapel of the Archangels; general view from NW

anticipating a full-blown decorative trend that would occur in Bulgarian architecture a century later. The elements used in the articulation of the south church façade, the frieze of pendant triangles, employed on the main apse, as well as the "banding" of voussoir arches, all appear in Middle Byzantine architecture of Constantinople and the related area. Of particular relevance is a comparison with the contemporary so-called Lascarid architecture in Asia Minor, built under the auspices of the displaced Byzantine court during the Latin occupation of Constantinople.[272]

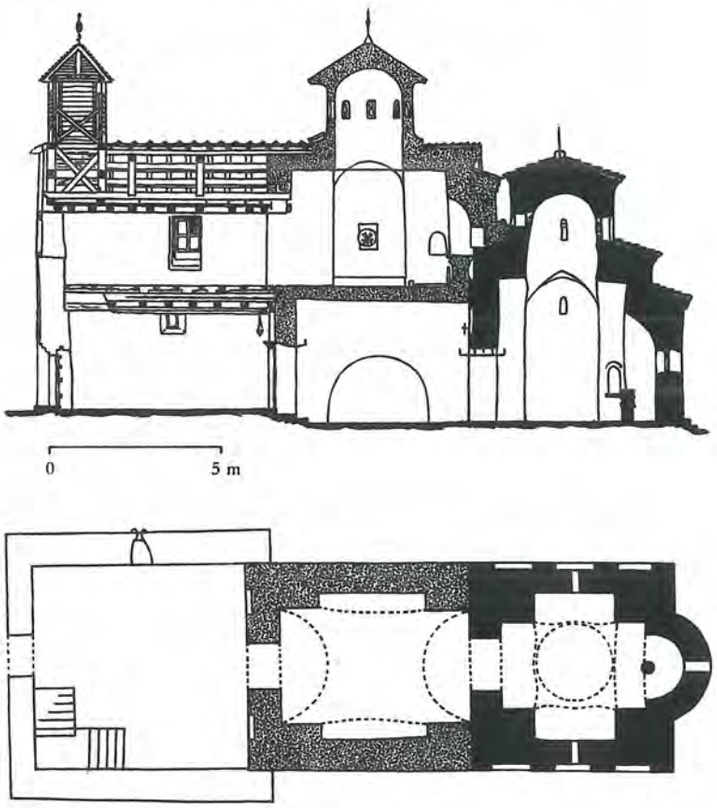
The chapel of the Archangels, the only genuinely medieval component preserved within the enclosure of the monastery of Bachkovo, is related to the church of the Mother of God of Petrichka in several respects (figs. 542B and 543).[273] The chapel is attached to the west façade of the monastery katholikon built in 1604 in place of the original eleventh-century one. A recent attempt to suggest that the chapel of the Archangels actually postdates the new katholikon cannot be accepted.[274] The chapel unmistakably belongs to the thirteenth century and must have been built as an addition to the original eleventh-century katholikon, though it may not have been physically attached to it, as it is to the present main church. Elevated upon an open substructure consisting of six massive piers organized in two rows of three, the elevated chapel may well have been a gate chapel of the original monastery enclosure, about which we know practically nothing. Both its elevated position and its dedication reinforce this notion. The chapel measures 5.7 × 11 meters and is

subdivided internally into three uneven bays, the central, square one dominated externally by a sixteen-sided dome of very similar appearance to the dome of the Mother of God of Petrichka. The two churches also share a two-storied layout, blind façade arcades unrelated to the internal structural layout, and building technique. In both instances we may be dealing with the work of Byzantine builders imported from one of the secondary centers, or the work of local artisans operating under the close supervision of a Byzantine master. There can be no doubt about the Byzantine character of these two churches, though they may have been built under Bulgarian patronage in the early stages of regained independence.

The best-known monument belonging to the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire is the church at Boiana. Its main claim to fame is its splendid cycle of frescoes dated precisely to 1259, but its architecture and its historical origins are more complex issues that remain quite murky.[275] The church has two very distinct medieval building phases (fig. 544). Its eastern part is a compact inscribed-cross church, measuring 5.75 × 6.75 meters (including the apse), built probably in the eleventh or twelfth century. The exact date of its construction and the name of its patron are unknown, though Greek inscriptions on its partially preserved frescoes make it clear that this was probably a Byzantine private foundation built in the period of Byzantine rule after the reconquest of these territories under Basil II. The second building phase was the work of a Bulgarian nobleman, one Kaloian, and his wife Desislava. While these figures cannot be historically pinpointed, we are certain that they lived around the middle of the thirteenth century. Their addition was a small two-storied church built directly in front of the west façade of the original building, to which the new church is attached. Furthermore, the patrons undertook to provide frescoes not only for their addition, but for the old church as well. Identified by Old Church Slavonic inscriptions, these frescoes underscore the distancing, thus implied, from the Greek-Byzantine tradition. It is generally accepted that the new building was meant to be the mausoleum church of the donors, though this notion has not been archaeologically confirmed. The new church has a "crypt," a low barrel-vaulted space without any windows, through which one enters the original church. Along the side walls of this space are two shallow "arcosolia," though frescoes painted within their lunettes do not indicate that they were actually intended to function as tombs. The upper church essentially repeats the plan of the original church. The main differences between the two concern the building materials – all brick in the original building, and a crude mixture of brick and stone in the addition – as well as their exterior articulation.

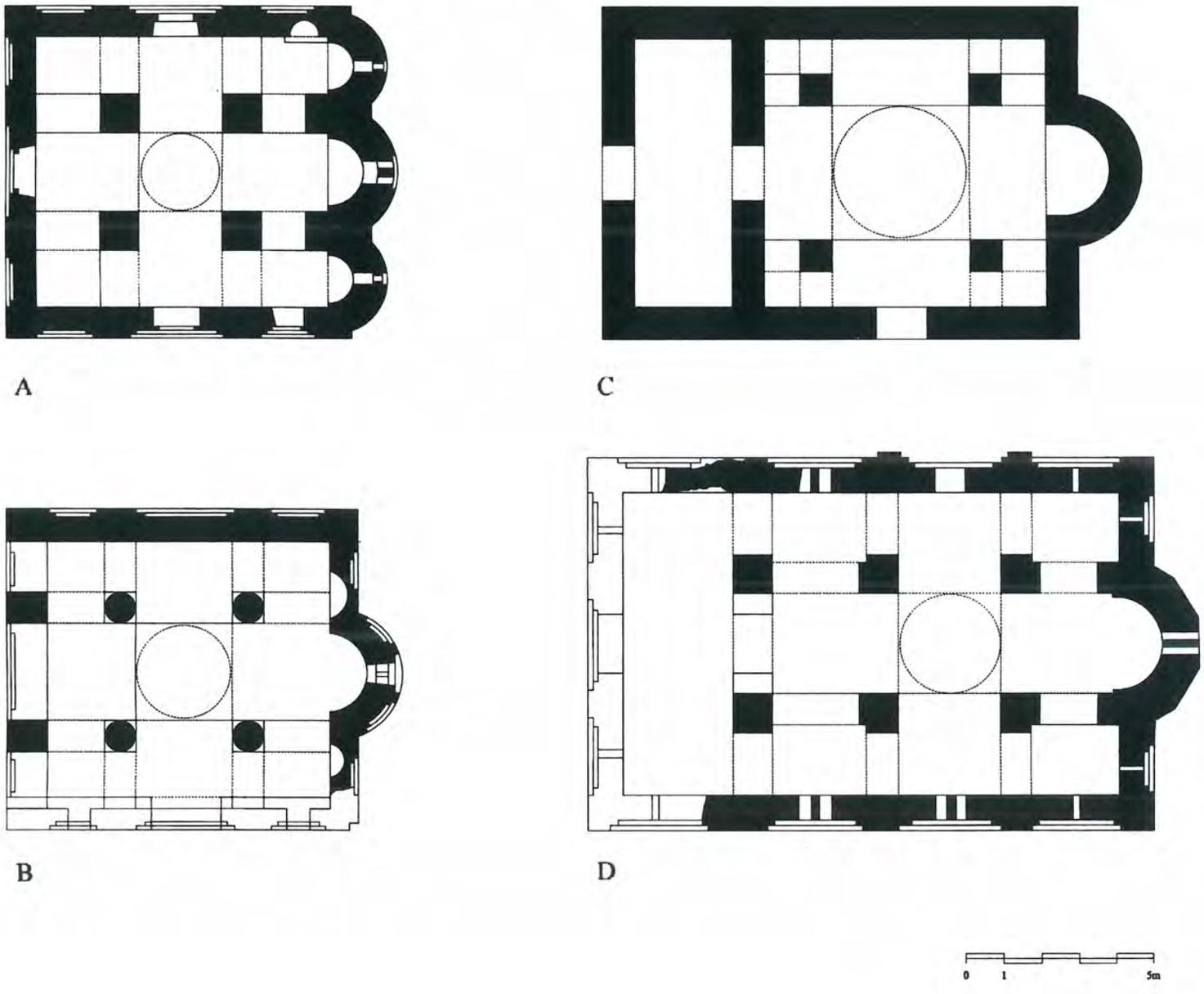
Our discussion of church architecture in Bulgaria will end with a group of cross-in-square churches that provide invaluable insights into the development of architecture in Bulgaria and its relationship to the Byzantine architectural tradition. All of them are distinguished by a basically square plan with four piers supporting a central dome, hence none of them has a separate sanctuary bay.[276] None of the monuments of this group is dated precisely, but on account of different factors all of them may be dated tentatively between the early decades of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth. The church of St. John the Theologian (Sv. Ivan Bogoslov) at Zemen Monastery is the best-known and best-preserved member of the entire group, though it, too, is a product of several subsequent modifications (figs. 545A and 546). Measuring 9 × 10 meters in plan, the church is essentially a square with three shallow semi-cylindrical apses on the east side. Four massive piers, about 1 meter square, support the main dome, whose drum is cylindrical on the exterior. Four niches alternate with four windows in the lower part of the drum, recalling the articulation of the drum on the chapel of the Archangels at Bachkovo Monastery. The upper part of the drum with four shallow arched niches is a result of a later modification to the building, as is the pronounced horizontal cornice that runs around the entire church, crowning its cubical mass. Each of the three façades facing north, south, and west is artic-

544 Bojana Monastery, church; plan and longitudinal section



ulated by three blind arcades with double skewbacks, the central one being slightly wider and higher than the flanking two. For a long time the building was judged to be a fourteenth-century construction on account of its relatively well-preserved cycle of frescoes. A discovery of some older frescoes below the present ones, made in the early 1970s, however, has demonstrated that the building must have been built in the twelfth century and possibly even earlier. The construction of the Zemen church is its most perplexing aspect. Made entirely of stone with only sporadic use of brick, it does not look like contemporary Byzantine architecture in the central Balkans at all. It should be noted, however, that the entire exterior of the church was once covered with thick mortar, scored and painted in emulation of a highly regular building *opus* combining stone and brick. Only fragments of this treatment have been preserved, on the east façade. Fragments of comparable emulations of building *opera* have been noted throughout the Byzantine world during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Particularly useful in the present context are the churches of Cyprus, where stone was employed as the material of choice, yet exteriors were plastered and painted in

545 Cross-in-square churches: (A) Zemen Monastery, St. John Theologian; (B) Rila, Archangel Michael; (C) Ruen, church (D) Patalenica, St. Demetrius; plans



emulation of other building techniques.[277] In the case of the church at Zemen, this may lead us to the conclusion, postulated earlier, that Byzantine patrons in the reconquered Bulgarian territories after 1018 were eager to build and hired builders, most likely Bulgarians, who were readily available to them. The result was a considerable variety of building methods, often employed within the framework of a relatively consistent architectural development from the point of view of building designs, as the group of buildings under discussion illustrates.

The second church belonging to this group is the cemetery church of Archangel Michael in the town of Rila, about 20 kilometers south of the eponymous monastery (fig. 545B).[278] Badly damaged in the earthquake of 1929, the church was incompetently restored. Its plan is comparable to that at Zemen, but the execution of its various architectural details, notably the exterior blind arcades with double skewbacks, is far more rigorous and in keeping with Byzantine practice of the time. This is also true of the building technique, which reveals far greater reliance on brick, especially in the forming of arches and niches. Yet this church, like the one at Zemen, was also plastered externally, scored and painted in emulation of the building *opus*. Thus, these two very different buildings from the point of view of their design and building methods essentially followed the same plan, while their plastered and painted façades reveal a common aesthetic expression. The same may also be said of the third church belonging to this group, St. Demetrius at Patalenitsa, near Pazardzhik. Heavily disfigured by later crude restorations, this building has preserved enough of its original fabric to make it fully recognizable. It is also a cross-in-square type, the four piers carrying the dome, in this case being L-shaped (fig. 545D). It measures 9.5 × 16 meters in plan. Its core is roughly the size of the Zemen church, but in this case it had an oblong narthex. Its remnants have been incorporated into a larger narthex constructed at a later time. The façades of St. Demetrius are articulated by shallow blind arcades outlined by double skewbacks in a manner comparable to that at Rila. The system, as at Rila, also reflects the interior structural disposition, as was characteristic of Byzantine architecture related to Constantinople during this period. The church was built of a mixture of stone and brick, although the technique itself is far from accomplished. Brick was used for outlining niches and arches. The entire exterior, as was the case at Zemen and Rila, was covered by plaster, scored with a pattern emulating regular building blocks and broad mortar joints and probably painted. From what survives of this exterior decoration, it appears to have been identical to that at Zemen. The dating of the church at Patalenitsa hinges on that of its interior frescoes, preserved in very fragmentary condition. Opinions vary considerably, but a dating toward the end of the twelfth century seems to be emerging as the generally acceptable one.

546 Zemen Monastery, St. John Theologian; general view from N

The last monument of this interesting group of churches, in the village of Ruen, near Plovdiv, is the least known.[279] The church here has two medieval building phases – the older one from the twelfth century and the later from the fourteenth. The original church consisted of a square naos and an oblong narthex, measuring 9 × 14.2 meters in plan (fig. 545C). The interior of its main part was marked by four square piers carrying the dome, but here the piers are close to the outer walls, creating a different interior disposition. Externally, the façades of the Ruen church are marked by a system of shallow blind niches outlined with double skewbacks, as seen at Rila and Patalenitsa. The church was built of stone and brick, using the technique of banding through alternation of several courses of brick and stone. Although, strictly speaking, none of these four churches was overtly "Bulgarian," their "Byzantine" characteristics reveal deviations from the Byzantine norms, employed in buildings such as St. George at Kolusha. In a way, we can suggest that the making of a regionally distinctive architecture was the result of various factors, including the availability of builders and materials. A derivative form of mainstream Byzantine architecture thus evolved in this part of the Balkans still under Byzantine control and under Byzantine patronage. It was that idiosyncratic type of architecture, on the other hand, that also continued under Bulgarian patronage. The attempt to draw a sharp line between the developments before and after 1186 has been a counterproductive enterprise. It is only through an understanding of the various interactive processes that took place in this region over a long period of time, *before* and *after* 1186, that a clearer picture of architecture in Bulgaria begins to emerge. The distinctive form of dependence on the Byzantine tradition is striking, in contrast to development in other neighboring areas. A particularly informative contrast is with the architec-

ture in Serbia, where the degree of dependence on Byzantine prototypes was considerably smaller, for reasons that will be explored next.

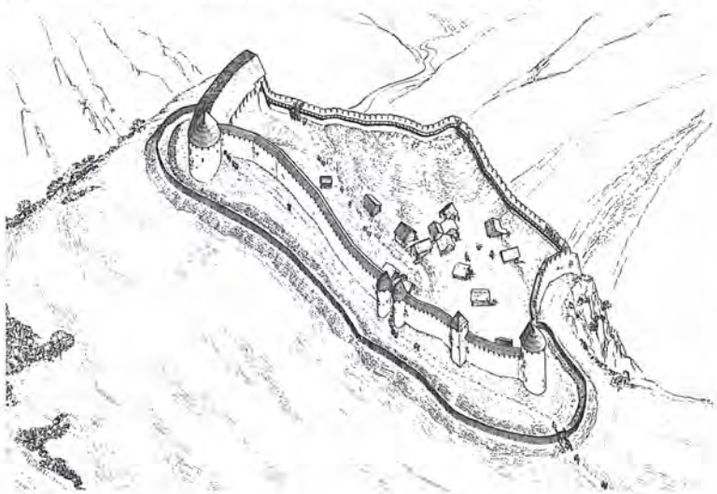
Serbia

Writing a history of the areas populated by the Serbs before the second half of the twelfth century is a complex task, obscured by the paucity and at times contradictory nature of the surviving written sources. The beginnings of politically independent thinking among the Serbs are first clearly verifiable in the western region, bordering on the Adriatic Sea. Initially known as Duklja (after Roman "Doclea") and subsequently as Zeta, this territory, in some sense, is akin to the state of Crna Gora (Montenegro).[280] The Byzantines began to lose their grip on this area shortly after the death of Basil II in 1025. A type of guerilla war lasting through the 1030s eventually led to the formation of the state of Duklja, under the ruler Vojislav, who in 1040 established his capital at Skadar (modern Shkodra, Albania), but his state proved to be short-lived. Caught up in the struggle of greater interest groups, local rulers became both beneficiaries and victims of the prevailing circumstances. The first, more sustainable Serbian state came into being only during the second half of the twelfth century. Initially known as Raška, it wrenched its independence from Byzantium in a protracted struggle during the reign of its grand župan, Stefan Nemanja (*circa* 1166–96). Repeatedly defeated and humiliated by the Byzantines, the Serbs under Nemanja's leadership grasped their ultimate chance following Emperor Manuel's death in 1180. Recognizing the importance of the Church as an institution, Nemanja adopted an approach that had the Byzantine centuries-long approbation – the building of strong ties with the Church by supporting its needs, above all through patronage of its building projects. He became an eager founder of new monasteries, thus laying the foundation of an ecclesiastical administration that would fully mature under his successors. His son and heir Stefan Prvovenčani ("First-Crowned," 1196–1227) cemented Nemanja's political successes by procuring the royal crown from the pope in 1217. Two years later, in 1219, his younger brother, Rastko, obtained the consent of the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch, then in exile in Nicaea, for the establishment of an autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church, while he became its first archbishop, by the name of Sava I. The mechanism of a national state working in tandem with a national church, thus put in place in Serbia during the second decade of the thirteenth century, would endure until the end of the Middle Ages, while some of its ideological vestiges survived until modern times.

Our knowledge of building activity in the area eventually occupied by the first Serbian state rests largely on the architecture of monastic complexes and, to a far more limited extent, on fortifications. The Byzantines, as we have seen, had built a number of fortresses in the disputed mountainous area sandwiched between the province of Dalmatia and territories surrounding the Morava and South Morava river valleys, over which they had firmer control. The Serbs, in turn, having taken over some of these forts, repaired or rebuilt them, while others – somewhat later – were entirely their new constructions.

One of the most important forts in the area of central Serbia, Ras (Byzantine Arsa), had a long and complex history that has been clarified by extensive excavations (fig. 547).[281] Approximately 10 kilometers from Novi Pazar, it is situated on a plateau raised upon steep cliffs above the confluence of the Šebečevska and Raška rivers. Archaeology has determined that the site was fortified already in late antiquity. Destroyed in the first waves of barbarian invasions, it was rebuilt by the Byzantines in the sixth century, under the name of Arsa. Destroyed during the Avar-Slavic invasion in the later part of the same century, the site was abandoned for a long time. It came back to life in the later eleventh century, now in an area heavily contested by the Serbs and the Byzantines. In 1127 the rebellious Serbs apparently destroyed the fortress, but were eventually defeated by the Byzantines, who rebuilt it. By the middle of the twelfth century, back again in Serbian hands, Ras became an important stronghold. As such, the fortress was targeted by Emperor Manuel I during his campaign against Serbian insurgency in 1149. It was not until his death, in 1180, and the final establishment of Serbia's independence that Ras again assumed its central role in the life of the Serbian state. The fortified enclosure now occupied only the essentially flat area on the top of the plateau, measuring

547 Ras, fortified settlement, aerial reconstruction drawing



about 180 meters in the north–south direction with a variable width from 20 to 60 meters in the east–west direction. The largest and most heavily fortified tower was at the southernmost point. Construction involved the use of earth and wooden palisades, as well as drywall construction reinforced by wooden grill reinforcements within the wall mass. The origins of these construction techniques are debated. A fortified twin-tower gate provided the main entrance in the west wall, while the ruler's residence with an accompanying semi-cylindrical tower was at the north end, facing the interior of the enclosure. Though this in all likelihood was not the main residence of the Serbian rulers, it is the only one about which we have some concrete archaeological evidence. Stefan Radoslav (1228–33) even had his mint, the oldest known in Serbia, situated within this complex. Most of the other buildings were built of wood on stone foundations and were generally scattered within the walled enclosure in a manner that appears to be characteristic of most later, medieval urban conglomerations. The site was evidently abandoned by the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, following yet another, in this case apparently final, destruction.

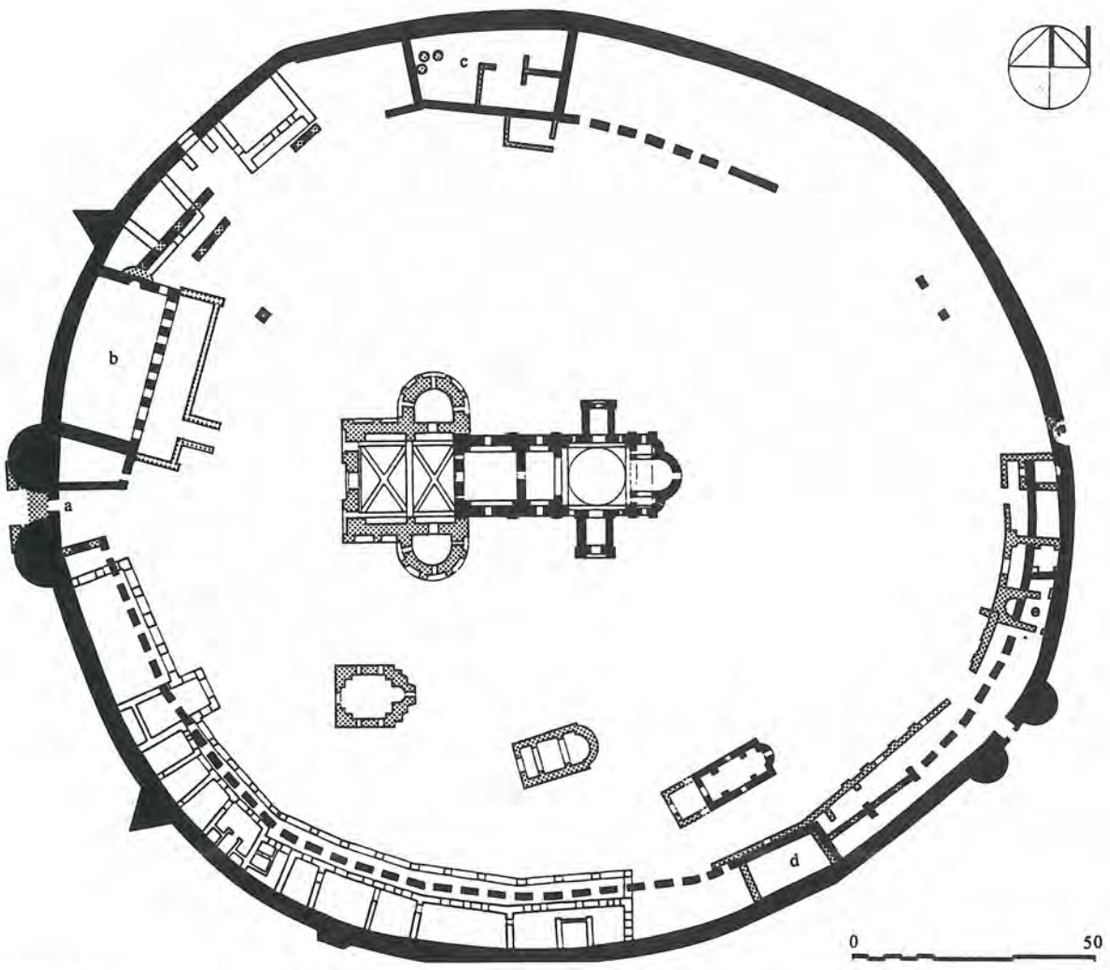
Unlike some forms of urban survival and revival witnessed especially in maritime parts of the Byzantine Empire, rural forms of life predominated in the central Balkans during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To some extent the beginnings of urbanization among the Serbs may be associated with the conquests of Byzantine cities, such as Naissos (Niš), the first Serbian capital under Stefan Nemanja. Major architectural achievements sponsored by the Serbian ruling class, however, were not to be found in cities, but in the countryside, in the form of large monastic complexes. Monasticism in its late antique Mediterranean origins was an escape from urban forms of life. Paradoxically, in twelfth-century Serbia, it could be said that nascent forms of urban culture took place in organized monasteries.

MONASTERIES

It is the monastic complexes that provide us with the clearest picture regarding large-scale medieval planning and construction under Serbian auspices. This in part is due to the fact that monasteries became special beneficiaries of patronage extended by the Serbian ruling elite, but also because monastic complexes became a subject of systematic excavations and study in Serbia during the 1970s and 1980s.[282] One of the striking general discoveries made in their study is the idiosyncratic nature of their planning. Though based on the general knowledge of Byzantine monastic planning, Serbian monasteries from the very end of the twelfth century onward display a preference for a more-or-less circular organization of their complexes, with the katholikon invariably occupying the central position. This is in contrast to the evolved Byzantine monastic planning tradition, which preferred a rectilinear scheme.[283]

There can be no doubt that the first major strides in starting the monastic architectural tradition among the Serbs occurred under Stefan Nemanja. In the context of this book it is impossible to enter into all of the intricacies of dating and the implicit evolution of early monastic planning within Serbia. Thus, for purposes of clarity, several select monastic complexes will be presented in a summary form.

The best-known, and the largest, if not necessarily the oldest, among the monasteries founded by Stefan Nemanja is the monastery of Bogorodica (Mother of God), on the small mountain River Studenica, after which it is known simply as Studenica. Situated within a picturesque mountainous terrain, the monastery itself sits on a gently sloping hillside and is laid out on a roughly circular plan (figs. 548 and 549). Its enclosing wall has an approximate diameter of 135 meters, and thus encloses a space with an area of 1.5 hectares. Most of the buildings presently occupying the monastic enclosure are much later constructions. Extensive archaeological excavations conducted over the past several decades, and still in progress, have brought to light much information about the medieval monastery and its layout. Its plan was evidently based on an "ideal" program, extending beyond the specific functional needs of the particular monastic community.[284] The monastery may be perceived as a small city, surrounded by its enclosure wall, entered through gates fortified by twin towers and resembling conventional city gates. Within the central open space of the enclosure, in addition to the katholikon, are situated several smaller chapels serving a variety of special functions. Along the fringes of the monastic enclosure is the refectory, the second-largest building in a monastery, situated to the north of the main gate.[285] Other monastic buildings, including the dormitories, surrounded the central court with the main church – the symbolic and functional focus of the monastery – in its very center. The plan of Studenica preserves one of the clearest planning statements, and undoubtedly served as a model for subsequent Serbian monastic foundations. It would be mistaken to think, however, that the importance of Studenica derived from its rational planning. Its importance was spiritual in nature and rested on its possession of the remains of Stefan Nemanja, soon after his death canonized and subsequently venerated as St. Symeon. The cult of Stefan Nemanja – St. Symeon – embodied two most sacred and influential tenets for the future of medieval Serbia: its political independence as a state and the autonomy of its Church. Studenica thus became the guardian of the holy relics of the dynastic founder and the first national saint. The shrine containing his relics, renowned for producing miraculous holy oil, became a locus of major significance. Studenica Monastery became the



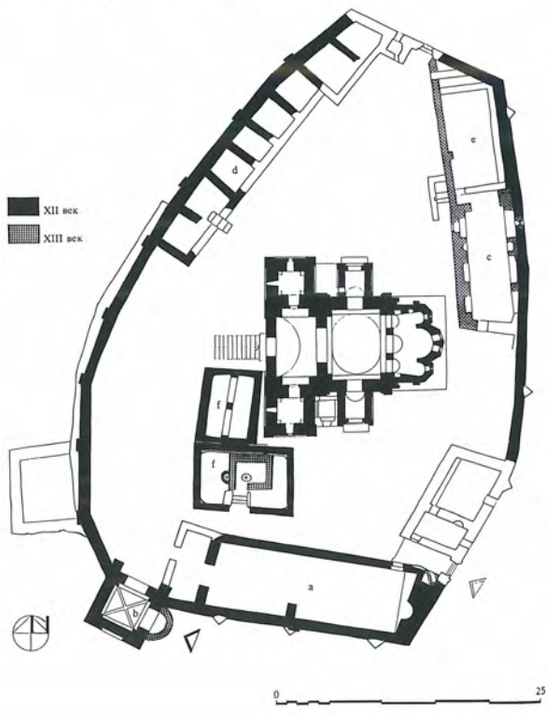
548 Studenica Monastery; plan

goal of pious pilgrimages, attaining the first rank in the hierarchy of all monasteries in medieval Serbia. Only one other Serbian monastery could be compared to Studenica in terms of its general religious significance – Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos. Physically separated from Serbia, situated on the Holy Mountain of Athos, the major monastic enclave in the Balkans, Hilandar Monastery came into being through the endeavors of Stefan Nemanja and his youngest son, Rastko. Having abdicated from his position as grand župan of Serbia in 1196, Nemanja retired to the Holy Mountain to become a monk. Nemanja, with the help of Rastko, then already a monk by the name of Sava, devoted the energies of the last three years of his life to the creation of a Serbian monastery with the blessings of the Byzantine emperor, Alexios III. Following his death in 1199, Nemanja was first buried in the katholikon of Hilandar, from where Sava solemnly transferred his remains to Studenica in 1206 or 1207. Thus, Studenica acquired another important dimension of its spiritual superiority – a palpable link with Mount Athos, and thereby with the entire Eastern Orthodox ecclesiastical world.

Another of Stefan Nemanja's monastic foundations, known as Djurdjevi Stupovi ("Pillars of St. George"), near Novi Pazar, has survived only as a ruin, now partially rebuilt. Carefully excavated and studied, the complex may be discussed with some precision.[286] Built after Nemanja's successful escape from captivity engineered by his brothers in 1196 or 1197, the church of St. George, and presumably also the rest of the monastic complex, was completed by 1170–71, according to the preserved stone inscription above the church portal. Thus the complex antedates the beginning of the construction at Studenica by nearly a decade. The complex, built on top of a conical hill dominating the countryside, was constrained by the available space. Featuring a plan in the shape of an irregular oval, measuring some 70 meters in the north–south direction and 40 meters in the east–west direction, Djurdjevi Stupovi is a relatively small monastery (fig. 550). With an approximate area of 2,000 square meters, it was less than one-seventh of the area of Studenica in size. Its katholikon, occupying the highest point of the complex, was surrounded, as in the case of Studenica, by an open, albeit very tight courtyard space. Entered originally through a fortified

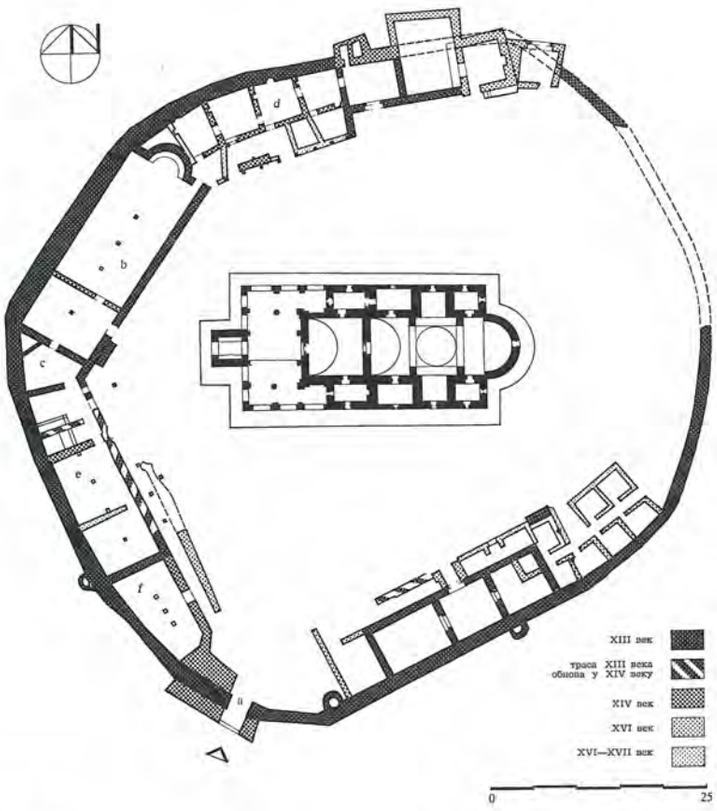
549 Studenica Monastery; aerial view from E

550 Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery; plan



gate at the southwest corner of the complex, the monastery also had a small secondary gate at the opposite, northeast side. Despite its irregular form, Djurdjevi Stupovi shares the basic planning principles of Studenica. The refectory, in this case, was located just south of the main entrance gate, thus retaining its close relationship to the point of entry, as well as to the katholikon. Other monastic buildings, as in the case of Studenica, were situated along the exterior walls of the monastery.

The monastic complexes at Studenica and at Djurdjevi Stupovi reveal planning schemes that already at the very beginning of the development of the monastic architectural tradition in Serbia produced planning principles that would be firmly adhered to in the following centuries. In some sense the phenomenon may be compared to the appearance of the plan of St. Gall Monastery, at the very beginning of the Carolingian era, and its subsequent lasting impact on monastic planning throughout medieval western Europe. The successors of Stefan Nemanja piously adhered to the formulas set by their saintly ancestor. The monastic complex at Mileševa, the foundation of Stefan Nemanja's grandson, King Vladislav (*circa* 1234–43), is



551 Sopoćani Monastery; plan

one of the more important examples in this context. Renowned for its association with the cult of St. Sava, the monastery was built on the small River Mileševka, a tributary of the Lim, and close to the western frontier of the medieval Serbian state. The founding of Mileševa took place *circa* 1219, while Vladislav was still a prince. It was a royal monastic foundation, with its church, following the model of Studenica, envisioned as the founder's mausoleum. In 1237 King Vladislav had the remains of his uncle, the first Serbian archbishop, St. Sava, transferred from T'rnovo in Bulgaria, where Sava unexpectedly died during one of his journeys and where he was initially buried in 1235. Because of the importance of St. Sava's relics, Mileševa gained enormously in importance, acquiring a high rank among medieval Serbian monasteries. Repeatedly damaged throughout its long history, the first time apparently as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, only the main monastery church has been preserved, albeit in a significantly altered form. Extensive systematic excavations of the monastic complex, conducted over two decades in the 1980s and 1990s, have brought to light not only the basic form of the medieval monastery, but also the nature of subsequent changes that the monastery underwent over the centuries. Excavations have also yielded invaluable information about the monastic life at different phases of the monastery's long history.[287] The detailed study of this important complex, still incompletely published, was one of several exemplary archaeological undertakings within Serbian medieval monastic complexes conducted over the last several decades. The excavations have revealed that the complex had an irregular shape, roughly recalling the nearly circular plan of Studenica. The katholikon, in this case dedicated to the Ascension, stood in the middle of an open court. Measuring 95 meters maximally in its east–west, and 65 meters maximally in its north–south direction, Mileševa's plan can best be described as a highly irregular oval. The south flank of the complex was irretrievably lost to a major flood in the late nineteenth century. The medieval monastery was approached through a gate (now lost) near the southwest corner of the enclosure. The preserved southeast gate must have been the secondary entrance, as was customary in most monastic complexes. To the west of the church, along the exterior wall of the monastic compound, was the medieval refectory, the foundations of which have been traced below the present buildings in this area. All other monastic buildings, as was the case at Studenica and Djurdjevi Stupovi, were situated around the perimeter of the central court, leaning against the outer monastery wall. The freestanding bell-tower to the west of the main church, a nineteenth-century construction, has recently been summarily destroyed. Certainly the medieval monastery would have had a tower, but its location, form, and size are unknown.

Vladislav's younger brother and successor on the Serbian throne, Uroš I (1243–76), was responsible for another royal foundation, that of Sopoćani Monastery. Situated in the region of Ras, the heartland of the Serbian medieval state, Sopoćani, as a royal monastic foundation, again followed the model of Studenica. Its katholikon, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was also intended to be a royal mausoleum. The exact foundation date of the monastery is not known, but it is generally considered to have occurred after 1250. On account of this, technically, it should be considered in the next chapter. For a number of reasons, however, above all its close relationship to the tradition started at Studenica, it is included here. As at Mileševa, the monastery compound has been brought to light by extensive archaeological excavations.[288] In this case, the foundations of the entire complex have been preserved (figs. 551 and 552). The enclosure – defined by a massive wall, serving a retaining function along the north side and otherwise freestanding, as at Studenica – has an irregular overall form somewhat resembling a circle, which, presumably, it aimed to simulate. With its floor area of roughly 5,000 square meters, Sopoćani is about one-third the size of Studenica, while it is two-and-a-half times larger than Djurdjevi Stupovi. Thus, Sopoćani along with Mileševa may be said to belong to the medium-sized group of Serbian monasteries. The complex is

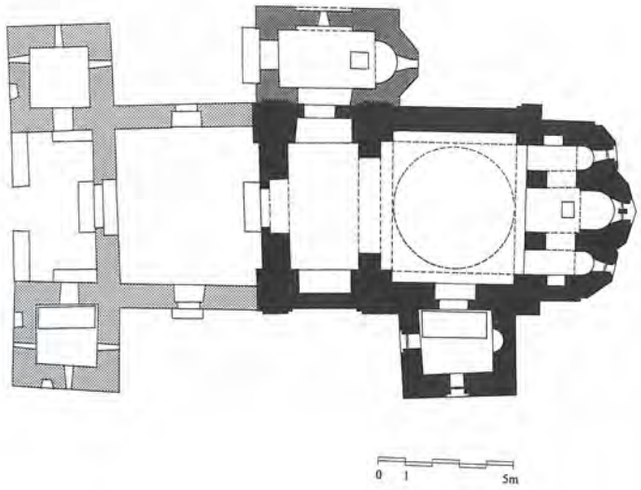
552 Sopoćani Monastery; aerial view from S

entered through a gate at the southwest point of the enclosure wall. A customary secondary gate was situated at the opposite, northeast point of the enclosure. A sizeable apsed refectory, somewhat longer and wider than the main part of the original church, was situated northwest of the entrance to the katholikon, in a relative position identical to the refectory at Studenica. As in all the cases we have examined, the other monastic buildings were all built against the outer monastery wall, leaving an open central space with the main church in the middle.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, as we have seen, Serbian monasteries were being built in accordance with an established pattern perpetuated by the royal dynasty, whose members also held the highest positions within the Serbian Church. To be sure, there were other, smaller, independent monastic constructions, cave monasteries, and related foundations, but the royal dynasty held a practical monopoly in mainstream monastic building activities. It should also be noted that by the middle of the thirteenth century the population of Serbia still lived predominantly in the countryside. This explains the fact that practically all of the episcopal centers established in Serbia by its first archbishop, Sava I, in 1220 were attached to monasteries, most of them in rural locations.[289]

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

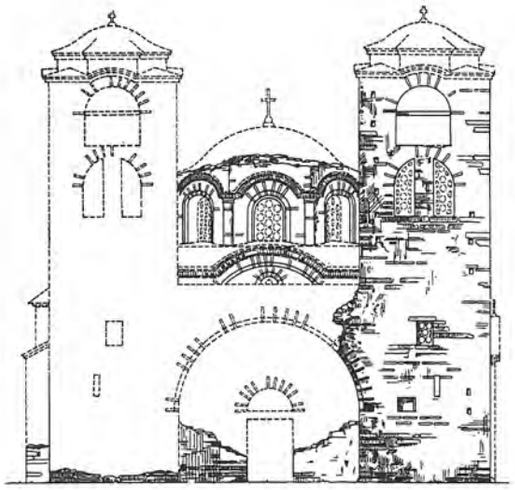
The emergence of monumental church architecture in Serbia is also associated with the reign of Stefan Nemanja.[290] While a few earlier structures are known, their patronage, and even the dates of their construction, are still disputed. Stefan Nemanja was the first ruler, Byzantine emperors included, who may be credited with the construction of several buildings of consequence in the central Balkans. Very significantly, the buildings built under his auspices vary to such a degree from each other that they unmistakably bespeak the basic practical realities confronting the ambitious Serbian *grand župan*. In the last decades of the twelfth century, we must conclude, Serbia had few, if any builders on its territory capable of constructing a major church building. Achieving that task, then, required bringing builders from elsewhere. As we shall see, Nemanja, whose state bordered on two cultural realms – that of the East and that of the West – took advantage of both. Though the buildings that Nemanja is credited with are not in doubt, their precise chronology is still not fully resolved. The views presented here are at some variance with the commonly accepted interpretation of this extremely important development.[291]



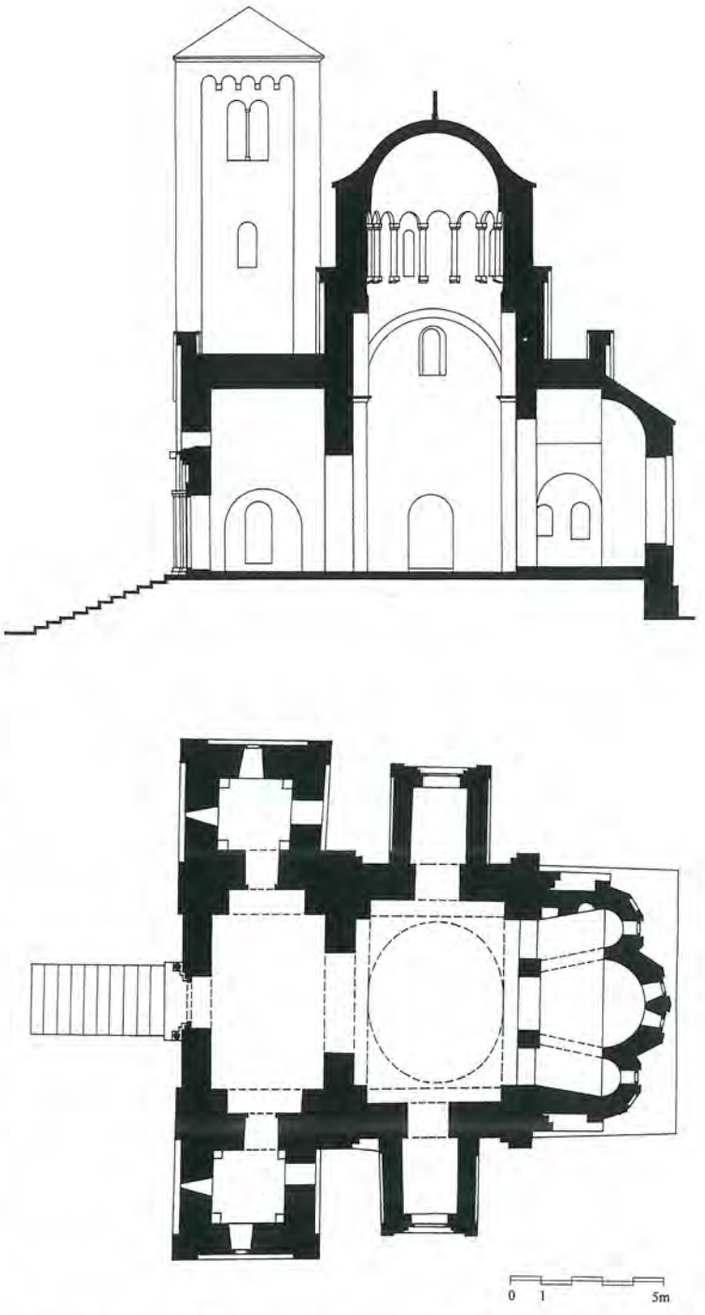
553 Kuršumlija, St. Nicholas; plan

554 Kuršumlija, St. Nicholas; general view from NE

The first building with which Nemanja is credited is the church of St. Nicholas (Sv. Nikola) at Kuršumlija, Serbia.[292] The exact building date is not known, though it is generally believed that construction took place between *circa* 1166 and 1168. A coin of Manuel I found in the excavations along the north foundation wall of the naos has been interpreted as confirming that the older part of the church dates from the time of Stefan Nemanja. While chronologically accurate, this conclusion presents us with other problems. The oldest part of the church, measuring 8 × 14 meters, is a relatively small building (fig. 553). Dominated by a square domed naos, it has a tripartite sanctuary extending eastward and an oblong narthex on the west side. The narthex communicates freely with the naos through a large semicircular arch. The sanctuary is separated from the rest of the church by a tribelon supported by two massive square piers that originally must have supported an iconostasis. The domed bay, externally treated as a prismatic mass, 7.5 meters on the sides and 9 meters tall, rises above all other parts of the church (fig. 438 and 554). In its upper section, a semicircular tympanum, containing a large triple high-shouldered window, articulates each of the four faces of this prismatic volume. Each tympanum is recessed from the wall plane by a double skewback, while the window openings are likewise set back from the tympanum face by double skewbacks of their own. The building was built entirely of brick using the so-called recessed-brick technique throughout. The use of this technique, as well as the reddish mortar, betray the work of Byzantine, more specifically Constantinopolitan builders. The low octagonal drum with cylindrical corner colonnettes and a large round window set back by double skewbacks in each of its faces terminates in a characteristically undulating eaves line. Above this rises a hemispherical dome externally sheathed in lead, whose interior is subdivided by eight ribs, 80–85 centimeters wide (fig. 558B). All of these characteristics unmistakably belong to the twelfth-century Constantinopolitan building tradition at its best. While the origins of the builder of this part of the church cannot be in doubt, its actual patron is in question. Before we turn to that issue, it should be noted that St. Nicholas was expanded by the addition of a spacious exonarthex preceded by a barrel-vaulted open portico flanked by two towers, probably belfries. The technique of construction, though related to that on the main building, here involves large quantities of stone, not used at all in the main part of the building. Because there were two phases of construction, it has been argued in a variety of ways that Stefan Nemanja was responsible for both. Without going into too many details here, the following alternative sequence of events may be proposed. The first phase of of Sv. Nikola may be the work of the Byzantines, possibly Emperor Manuel I himself, to commemorate one of his several victories against the Serbs, during his campaigns in 1149 and 1150. Indeed, the south chapel abutting the naos, containing a monumental floor tomb, may have been intended as a burial place for someone of high rank killed in one of these battles. Nemanja's rise to power during the 1160s eventually led to conflict with his brothers (in 1167) and the last confrontations with Emperor Manuel I (in 1168 and again in 1171–72). As one of the bones of contention between Nemanja and his brothers, Serbian sources mention his "illicit construction of the churches in Toplica," an unmistakable reference to Nemanja's building activities on Sv. Nikola and the nearby church of the Virgin in the area known in medieval times as Toplica. The exonarthex of Sv. Nikola with its twin towers, and the rebuilt portions of the sixth-century church of the Virgin, reveal the same construction technique, thereby indicating that Nemanja's interventions on both churches may have occurred "illegally" from the Byzantine point of view. The complaint of his brothers, therefore, may have been addressed to Emperor



555 Kursumlija, St. Nicholas; west façade, partial reconstruction



556 Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery, St. George; plan and longitudinal section

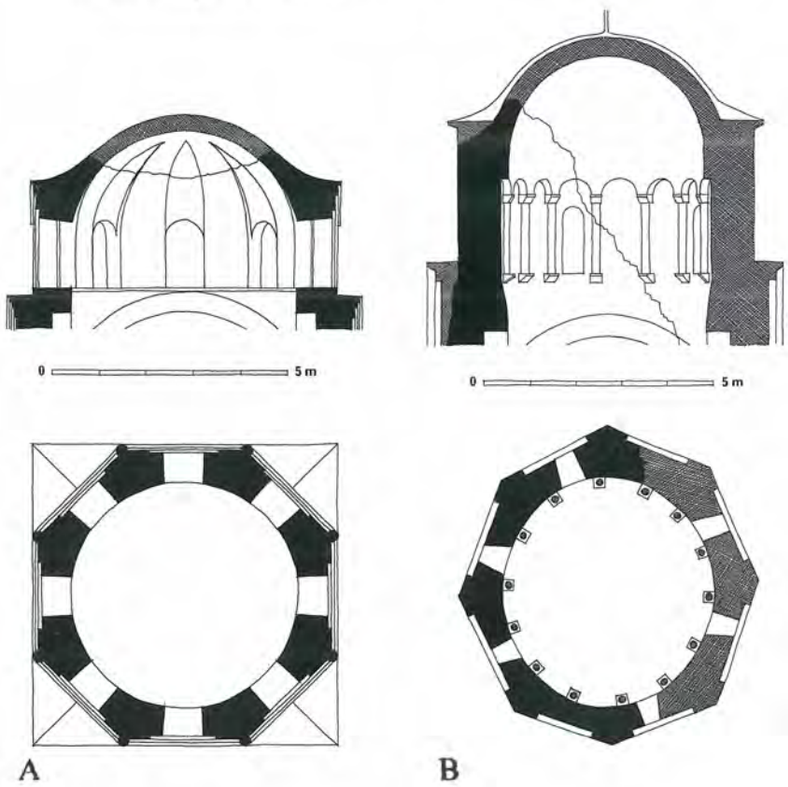
Manuel, with hopes of soliciting his intervention against Nemanja and for their ultimate political gain.

Before leaving St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija we must consider some crucial aspects of its final appearance. These highlight what was to become one of the regional architectural hallmarks – a curious blend between Byzantine and Romanesque architectural features that graphically reveals the position of Serbia as a land between the Eastern and Western cultural spheres. The unmistakably Byzantine, in fact Constantinopolitan, original domed core of the church was juxtaposed with a twin-towered portico that has no parallels in Byzantine architecture (fig. 555). It is the latter feature that has attracted most attention. Despite the Byzantine building technique and certain formal characteristics – towers terminating in domes – their pairing as part of the main church façade has been viewed correctly as a Western idea. Explanations as to the reasons why this may have happened, and where the concept may have actually come from, have varied widely. Links with the Adriatic littoral, and particularly with the city of Kotor as a result of its conquest by Nemanja in 1196, have generally been accepted in scholarship as the most rational explanation of the source of this architectural formula. The reasons for this development have long since been linked to the establishment of the first episcopal sees in Serbia in 1220. This notion, as attractive and influential as it was for some time after it was first expressed in 1963, has been proven wrong. It is now clear that the appearance of twin-tower façades was neither chronologically nor functionally related to the establishment of episcopal centers. The Western sources of this concept, on the other hand, are undeniable and ought to be developed further. Links with Norman Sicily, in particular, stand out as a possible area in which future research may be fruitfully conducted.

The construction of the church of St. George (Sv. Djordje), in the monastery of Djurdjevi Stupovi, and popularly known by that name, near Novi Pazar, Serbia, appears to have been started sometime after 1166–67 and was certainly completed by 1170–71. This impressive church, according to the sources, was built by Stefan Nemanja in thanksgiving to the saint, with whose help he was able to defeat his brothers who had conspired to oust him. In conceptual terms, the church of St. George shares most planning features with St. Nicholas, yet in terms of their actual construction and style the two churches could not be more different (fig. 556).[293] Djurdjevi Stupovi features a domed naos, preceded by a narthex, and expanded eastward by a tripartite

557 Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery, St. George; reconstruction model

558 Domes: (A) Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery, St. George; (B) Kursumlija, St. Nicholas; plans and sections

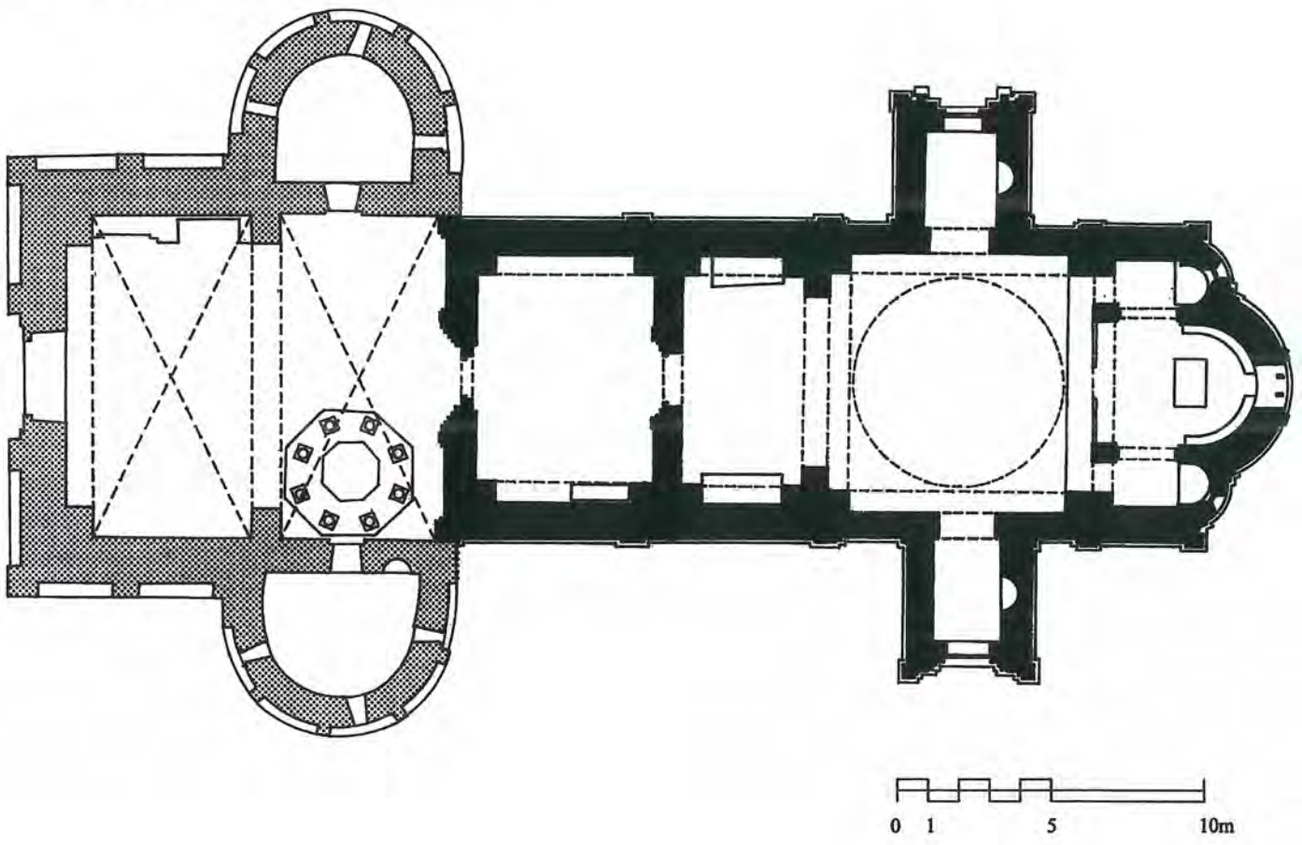


sanctuary. The sanctuary was originally separated from the naos by a tribelon supported by a pair of piers and closed by an iconostasis screen. Owing to the extensive damage that the church suffered in the First World War, the sanctuary was completely destroyed and its reconstruction, until recently, was not attempted. The domed bay is extended north and south by two enclosed square porches, while the narthex is flanked by two square compartments, above which rose two towers (fig. 557). The main components of the plan of Djurdjevi Stupovi correspond to those at St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija, but their arrangement is much more compact. Owing to the tight space within the monastery courtyard, Djurdjevi Stupovi had to be much smaller. Its plan measures only 16 meters in length by 9.5 meters (15 m including the two porches 17 m including the twin towers). Though roughly corresponding in size to the original dimensions of St. Nicholas, it is considerably shorter if its exonarthex with twin towers is taken into consideration. Because both churches display twin towers, it would stand to reason that Djurdjevi Stupovi, emulating St. Nicholas in most other aspects of its plan, probably emulated its final, expanded version that included a pair of towers as well. Their appearance at Djurdjevi Stupovi, directly flanking the narthex, would seem to be caused by shortage of space in the east–west direction. Other differences in the plan of St. George, in comparison with Sv. Nikola, include the domed bay, whose measurements (4.4 × 5.5 m) resulted in its dome being oval in plan. The square funerary chamber, flanking the south side of Sv. Nikola, was here replaced by an enclosed portico, and given a matching feature on the opposite, north side. All of these differences appear relatively minor, until one begins to examine the construction of Djurdjevi Stupovi. Built entirely of porous local limestone, the church reveals that it was the work of very different builders from Sv. Nikola. Significant preserved details on its façades, in fact, indicate clearly that the builders of Djurdjevi Stupovi were trained in the Romanesque tradition. Because the plan they were evidently instructed to execute was that of a domed Byzantine church, they appear to have encountered a number of problems, whose curious resolution is preserved in the building they created. Perhaps the most useful way of understanding the difficulties of the Romanesque builders in attempting to deal with the Byzantine form is to compare the domes of the two churches (figs. 558A–B). Internally oval, the drum of Djurdjevi Stupovi is an irregular octagon, rotated so that its four corners are aligned with the cardinal points. Much taller than the drum of St. Nicholas, it displays great irregularities in overall form and execution. This is especially evident in the placement of its six windows, each of which cuts through the thickness of the wall in a different way. Instead of the Byzantine system of regular internal ribs alternating with window openings, the dome of Djurdjevi Stupovi was built with

an internal Romanesque blind arcade, consisting of fourteen small colonnettes supported on stone corbels at the level of the window sills and carrying capital brackets, directly above the window openings. The relatively regularly constructed arcade framed six window openings, while its remaining eight blank fields were filled with frescoes depicting standing figures of Old Testament prophets, as was customary in Byzantine churches. Externally, the irregular eight-sided drum featured corner pilasters, bent in the middle, to mark the corners of the octagon. On each face pilasters carried a corbel-table consisting of three small blind arches. The drum was topped by a flat cornice, above which rose the visible part of the dome shell covered with lead sheathing. Executed entirely in stone, the dome of St George at Djurdjevi Stupovi was obviously the work of Romanesque builders unacquainted with the building form they had been asked to build. By virtue of its attenuated proportions and its external articulation, the result resembled a Western tower as much as a Byzantine dome.

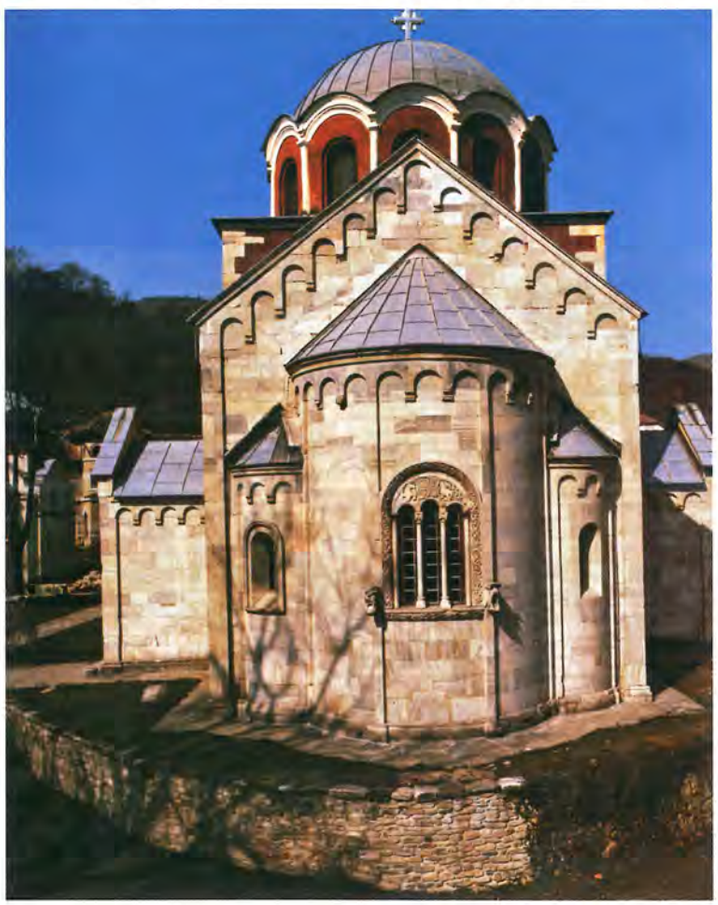
General conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of St. George suggest that Western-trained builders must have been given instructions to create a church with certain spatial characteristics suitable for Orthodox monastic use, probably by the patron – Stefan Nemanja – along with his advisers intimately familiar with liturgical needs. Moreover, they seem to have been given orders to use the church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija as their model. What they produced was a relatively faithful repetition of the spatial scheme with its most characteristic planning components. Clearly, this was the issue of central concern: the exterior style of the building was of no concern either to the patron or to the monks. It was the interior space, with its well-chosen program of frescoes, that created the religiously suitable environment for the liturgy. How the building looked on the exterior, as long as it was built well, was apparently left to the builders' discretion. The final remaining question in this context is the origins of the builders. Earlier belief that they came to central Serbia from Kotor has recently been rejected. An alternative proposal, suggesting that they came from Como, in Lombardy, on the other hand, seems even more problematic. Geographically and historically closer connections, such as those with Hungary, remain to be examined more thoroughly. The only certainty is that the builders of St. George were brought in from the Western cultural sphere, as a direct reflection of the absence of highly trained builders on the territory of Serbia at this time.

559 Studenica Monastery, Church of the Mother of God; plan



The third, and most important, of Nemanja's church foundations – the church of Mother of God (Bogorodica) at Studenica Monastery, Serbia – unequivocally confirms the general notions expressed above. Begun in 1186, or possibly as early as 1183, the katholikon of Studenica was the last major ecclesiastical foundation commissioned by Stefan Nemanja, and was designated as his eventual burial place. Owing to its great spiritual role, its historical significance, and, not least, the outstanding intrinsic qualities of its architecture, the church of Mother of God is the most extensively studied medieval Serbian building.[294] Repeating the essential planning characteristics of the churches of St. Nicholas and Djurdjevi Stupovi, the church at Studenica in its original form is somewhat, though not significantly, larger than its two predecessors. Measuring 10 meters in width (18.5 m including the two enclosed porticoes on the north and south sides), and 28 meters in overall length (without the later exonarthex) the church is also taller than the other two buildings (figs. 559 and 560). The interior apex of its dome rises to a height of 19 meters (as opposed to 11 m at Sv. Nikola and 14.4 m at St. George). In this case the domed naos is extended eastward by a tripartite sanctuary and westward by an oblong bay. In the case of the two earlier churches, this bay was actually segregated from the main naos as an inner narthex. Here the separation is suggested only by means of a large arch supported by massive spurs projecting from the lateral walls of the building on the north and south sides. Thus, this space, though distinct, constituted an extension of the domed naos. Functionally, this was to be the area designated for burials, the most significant of which, in the southwest corner, was Stefan Nemanja's tomb. In the practice of the Eastern Orthodox Church, this was as close a tomb could have been placed to the domed area of the naos with its symbolic, heavenly connotations. The modifications of the plan at Studenica, therefore, were executed with the envisioned mausoleum role of the church clearly in mind from the outset.

560 Studenica Monastery, Church of the Mother of God; general view from E



While this distinction of the church at Studenica is of great functional and symbolic importance, it is the character of its external appearance that has attracted far greater attention. The exterior of the katholikon is marked by the use of high-quality white marble with grayish veins, somewhat resembling Prokonnesian marble (fig. 560). Situated near the marble quarries, its use becomes less of a surprise. The unmistakably Romanesque conception and execution, however, indicate that this was the work of some of the finest Western builders and sculptors available at the time. Yet neither their names nor their place of origin are known. This, the third of Nemanja's great ecclesiastical foundations, was the work of a very different workshop from those employed at Kuršumlija and Djurdjevi Stupovi. The building technique and the architectural vocabulary employed in the construction of the katholikon reveal the highest standards employed by Romanesque builders, in all likelihood originating from southern Italy. In addition to the standard architectural features, such as corbel-tables, slender pilaster strips, and steep triangular gables, the rich sculptural decoration around the main portals and windows has neither precedents nor any immediate following in the central Balkans. What remains striking about the articulation of Studenica's façades is the curious lack of relationship between the seemingly meticulous placement of the exterior pilasters and the interior structural elements. Such a lack of relationship is fairly uncommon in high-quality Romanesque buildings. Here, it must be remembered, the master builder was evidently charged with the employment of an established Byzantine conception of interior space, whose articulation differed completely from the rhythmic divisions into even bays typical of Romanesque basilican churches. Romanesque aesthetics here clearly came into conflict with the Byzantine conception of the "ideal" church form. Another area where the Romanesque master builder obviously had to take a Byzantine form into account may be seen in the two semicircular tympana below the

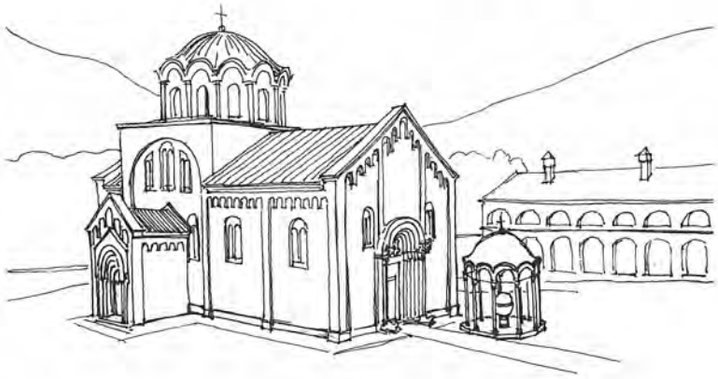
561 Studenica Monastery, Church of the Mother of God; general view from S

main arches carrying the dome (fig. 561). Though executed in the Romanesque mode, their forms unmistakably reveal typically Byzantine triple, high-shouldered windows, such as the one seen on St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija (figs. 438 and 554). The ultimate compromise that the builder of the Studenica katholikon was expected to make was evidently beyond either his aesthetic sensibilities or his technical expertise, or both. The great dome that rises above the naos is unmistakably a Byzantine, moreover a Constantinopolitan creation. Measuring 6.5 meters in diameter, the dome is scalloped internally in a manner typical of Con-

stantinopolitan domes. Elevated on a relatively low, twelve-sided drum, it was built of alternating courses of bricks and small stone blocks. The twelfth-century dome of the main church of the Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) is the closest parallel in the Byzantine capital (fig. 394). Whether a Byzantine builder had to be called in because the Romanesque master could not build a dome of that size, or whether other technical or aesthetic reasons may have entered into the picture, we may never know. Efforts made to "reconstruct" hypothetically what the intentions of the Romanesque builders may have been betray a preoccupation with aesthetic purity that clearly was not shared by the patron and the users of the church.[295] Symbolic form, it must be remembered, is ultimately free of any stylistic connotations. Style was inevitably the invention of builders and artists who, generally speaking, on account of their experience and recognized abilities, were given a free hand to express their design visions on the exteriors of buildings, within certain limits. The case of the Studenica katholikon is particularly instructive in our efforts to gain a better understanding of the interaction between patrons and builders, a process that must have typified all construction, but has seldom left such clear indication of how far the builder's choices were actually permitted to go.

Before leaving the great church of Bogorodica at Studenica, we must consider a major modification of the building that took place under the auspices of Nemanja's grandson, King Radoslav, possibly around 1230. Radoslav, who was forced to abdicate in 1234 and who subsequently became a monk in Studenica, was ultimately buried in the exonarthex he evidently commissioned. Whether the reason for the addition of the huge exonarthex was solely motivated by Radoslav's desire to be buried in it is an open question. An important consideration has been overlooked in scholarship that has addressed this issue. As finished during the first decade of the thirteenth century, the katholikon of Studenica had a freestanding phiale covered by a dome supported on eight slender columns in front of its west façade, just to the south of the main portal (fig. 562). Such structures were common in the architecture of Mount Athos, and in all probability the one at Studenica emulated such a scheme. Used in the monastic ceremony of the Blessing of the Water on the feast of the Epiphany (6 January), the phiale at Studenica may have presented a problem of sorts for climatic reasons. The construction of the great exonarthex, a few years after the completion of the church, may in fact have been motivated precisely by this consideration. It is now clear that the original, freestanding phiale was left in its original position and was enclosed within the new exonarthex (fig. 559). Thus, both the ceremony and the font necessary for its performance became associated with the interior space of a narthex, providing a formula that was to be faithfully emulated in subsequent Serbian architecture.[296]

562 Studenica Monastery, Church of the Mother of God with original phiale; reconstruction drawing



The beginnings of church architecture in medieval Serbia, as we have seen, were given major impetus and future guidelines through the patronage of Stefan Nemanja. Before we examine other dynastic church foundations in Serbia during the first half of the thirteenth century, we will take into account some related developments that took place under the auspices of members of Nemanja's broader family. These foundations, though more modest in size and execution, nonetheless provide us with important insights into the paths and mechanisms of the spread of ideas and building methods from the Romanesque West into the Byzantine East, but probably also in the opposite direction. The first of these foundations was the church of St. Peter (Sv. Petar) at Bijelo Polje, Montenegro, founded by Nemanja's brother Miroslav during the second half of the twelfth century, and certainly before 1199, the year of his death.[297] Disproportionally for its small size, the church has an enormously complex history, many questions of which still remain unresolved. The twelfth-century church, for example, was built upon the foundations of an earlier structure, whose date is a complete mystery. According to some scholars, this was an early Christian church, while others maintain that the older church probably belonged to the pre-Romanesque epoch, and should probably be dated to the eleventh century. Unfortunately, no documents or archaeological material have been preserved that would confirm either of these two hypotheses. The present building, itself the result of many subsequent additions, alterations, repairs, and reconstruction, consists of two main parts. Its oldest part is the small naos, measuring approximately 6 × 10 meters (figs. 563). It is a single-aisled building with a square apse at its eastern end and a small dome carried on two arches spanning the full width of the interior and supported by a pair of engaged piers at the midpoint of the building. The "dome," in fact, is more of a miniature tower with a square shaft capped externally by a pyramidal roof. "Domes" of this type are characteristic of "pre-

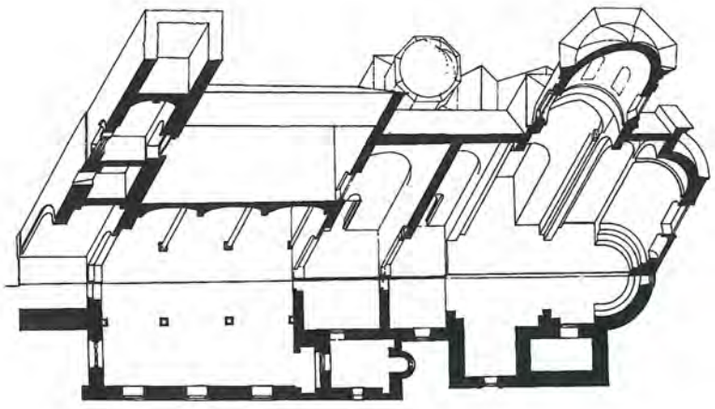
Romanesque" churches along the Adriatic littoral. The church of St. Peter is the easternmost example of this phenomenon and one of its latest manifestations. The small church was enlarged, possibly still during the lifetime of its original patron, by the addition of a pair of towers with a semi-open porch between them (fig. 563). The disproportionally tall towers, only one of which survives, originally more than 22 meters high, dwarfed the main part of the church, the external apex of whose "dome" was merely 9.5 meters tall. The Western origin of such a pair of towers has never been in doubt, but the date and the reasons for their erection have been much debated.[298] Regardless of the outcome of this debate, they, along with other idiosyncratic features of Sv. Petar and other contemporary buildings, reveal a process during which local architectural concepts were being formulated on the bases of Eastern as well as Western models.[299]

The son of Nemanja's eldest brother, Tihomir, one Stefan Prvoslav, was the most likely patron of the church of St. George (popularly known as Djurdjevi Stupovi) at Ivangrad (medieval Berane), Montenegro (fig. 564).[300] Although the foundation date remains unknown, it is assumed that the initial building may have occurred during the eighth or ninth decade of the twelfth century. In a process not too dissimilar to what we saw at Bijelo Polje, the original church was expanded by the addition of a narthex, originally flanked by two towers. The original naos is based on a classic single-aisled, domed plan type, whose popularity and geographic spread during the period of investigation became quite significant.[301] Measuring 8 × 13.5 meters in plan, the church was basically rectangular with a single protruding round apse. Inside, the rectangular space was subdivided into three bays by means of massive projecting spurs whose function is structural – supporting the lateral arches as well as the vaults and dome. The central bay, wider than the other two, is defined by four arches, above which rises the dome elevated on a tall drum. The design of this church, as well as the exterior building technique, featuring alternating bands of two types of darker and lighter stone, finds its closest parallels in the twelfth-century architecture of Kotor, and points again to possible connections between the southern Adriatic littoral and the interior of the Serbian state. The original church was enlarged, probably during the first decades of the thirteenth century, by the addition of a narthex and a pair of towers flanking a probably open porch. At a later point, possibly during the fourteenth century, the apparently damaged pair of towers was replaced with a single belfry constructed directly above the original open porch that now became part of the interior of the narthex.

The development of church architecture in Serbia experienced another high point after *circa* 1220, as a result of the proclamation of the kingdom (in 1217) and the independence of the Serbian Church (in 1219). In 1220 the first Serbian archbishop, Sava I, introduced the new organization of the Serbian Church, based on its own system of new bishoprics. This event, also, may have played a role in the increased volume of construction that began under the first king, Nemanja's son and Sava's brother, Stefan Prvovenčani. The seat of the archbishopric was attached

563 Bijelo Polje, St. Peter; general view from SW

564 Ivangrad, St. George; general view from SW



565 Žica Monastery, Church of the Ascension; axonometric section

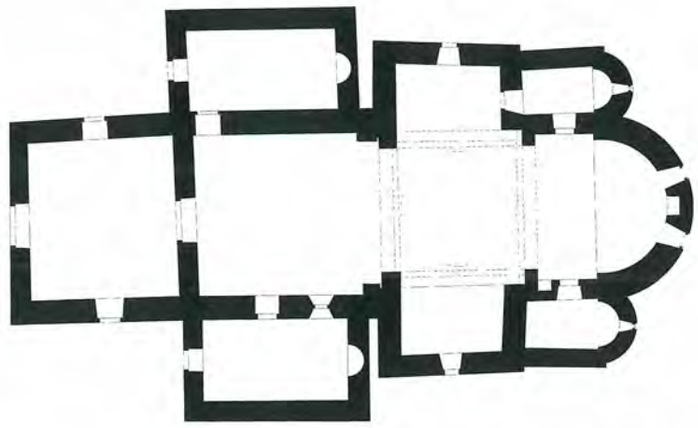
to the monastery of Žiča, with its main church dedicated to the Ascension (Vaznesenje). Begun already in 1206 by Stefan, the church was apparently completed by 1217, in time for his coronation ceremony. Thus, in a manner related to what we saw at Studenica, the katholikon of Žiča was imbued with both church and state significance. The original plan was a variant on the theme of a single-aisled, domed building (fig. 565). The western and the domed bays constituted the naos, while the eastern bay, terminating in a large apse, internally and externally semicircular, contained the sanctuary. The main, domed bay was expanded laterally by two projecting wings, narrower than and not axially related to it. Resembling somewhat the transept arms in Western church architecture, these were dubbed "low transepts," while their function was thought to be related to the lateral apses of Athonite katholika. To the west the church had a narthex linked laterally with two chapels, domed at a later time, probably in the early fourteenth century. In this form, the church measured 8 meters in width (14.5 m including the "low transepts") and had an overall length of 24 meters, falling just short of the dimensions of the Studenica katholikon.[302] It was built relatively crudely, its building technique displaying considerable inconsistencies and the use of different types of materials, all suggesting that it was the work of several different hands. Its exterior appearance would have been modified by virtue of the fact that it was covered with plaster and painted red, with some subtle decorative accents on corbel-tables and dome windows in the form of red and green lines on a white background. All of this signals an early appearance of polychromy in Serbian architecture.[303] From a written source we learn that Archbishop Sava I, apparently on two separate occasions, brought "many builders and skilled marble workers from the Greek lands," as well as "marble workers and fresco painters from Constantine's City." What, if anything, at the Žiča katholikon may be attributable to Byzantine builders is hard to tell. It should be remembered that in its present form the church is a result of multiple subsequent rebuilding efforts. The first of these occurred after a major destruction at the end of the thirteenth century; others followed the abandonment and demise of the church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and finally German shelling in 1941. Among the excavated and otherwise retrieved fragments around the church were numerous marble pieces belonging to the original architectural elements and pieces of church furniture (the iconostasis, candelabra, tombs, etc.).

Modifications of the original building, already in the course of the thirteenth century, included the addition of two rooms flanking the main apse, presumably needed as pastophories, as well as the large exonarthex with an axially placed belfry in front of it. The addition of the exonarthex may have been conceptually linked to the addition of a similarly large exonarthex at Studenica. This one, on account of its upper-level space and its linkage to the multistoried bell-tower, has attracted a considerable amount of attention. Referred to in the sources as *katihumenija* (*katēchoumeneion*, in Greek), the upper story may have been used as a private space into which Sava I withdrew after stepping down as the archbishop of the Serbian church.[304] The slow but methodical building of the church of the Ascension at Žiča coincided with major developments of the Serbian medieval state and Church. Constructed under the auspices of the first Serbian king, and under the watchful eye of the first Serbian archbishop, it acquired the highest rank in the hierarchy of Serbian churches, to be superseded only by the complex at Peć several decades later. Within its walls Sava I was able to assemble a major collection of holy relics that he procured on his two journeys to the Holy Land. In many respects influenced and expressly modeled after the great Christian shrines in the Holy Land, Mount Athos, and Constantinople, the church of the Ascension at Žiča joined the katholikon of Studenica in becoming one of the most influential buildings in the subsequent development of Serbian church architecture.

The church of the Dormition (Uspenje Bogorodice) of the monastery of the Mother of God in Hvosno, in the region of Kosovo, also known as Studenica Hvostanska, chronologically and architecturally is closely related to the church of the Ascension at Žiča. Situated some 20 kilometers northeast of Peć, this major monastic complex is known only from the sources and the pitiful archaeological remains excavated in the late 1960s.[305] Built on the remains of a fortified late antique settlement, the medieval monastery followed a pattern common in medieval Serbia. Mentioned in eleventh-century sources as an episcopal center, it must have undergone a major reconstruction under Serbian auspices in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth-century katholikon, in this case, as archaeology has clearly demonstrated, was built directly over the foundations of an Early Byzantine basilica. The church, begun *circa* 1220, is mentioned as belonging to one of the new bishoprics established by Archbishop Sava I. Much like the katholikon at Žiča, it was built in two main phases. The first phase saw the construction of a single-aisled, domed building, with characteristic "transept" arms projecting from the north and south flanks of the square domed bay. To the east, the church terminated in a single large apse, semicircular on its interior. Unlike Serbian churches of this period, but recalling a practice common along the Adriatic littoral, the apse was contained externally within a large rectangular wall mass. To the west, the naos was preceded by a two-bay vaulted narthex. Measuring 5.8 meters in width (8.8 m, with the transept arms included) and 17.5 meters in length, the church of the Dormition belonged to the category of medium-sized buildings. Relatively well built, it displays a regularity of plan and a system of slender external pilaster strips that have been attributed to Romanesque builders, possibly from the Adriatic littoral. During the second stage, possibly in the 1230s, the church was enlarged following a similar pattern seen at Žiča. The sanctuary was enlarged by the addition of two symmetrical rectangular chambers along its northern and southern flanks. To the west the church was enlarged by the addition of a large exonarthex, measuring 9.5 × 7 meters. This exonarthex presumably had an upper story. At the same time, the church acquired two symmetrical chapels flanking the original inner narthex, but not communicating directly with it. Because of their exceptionally thick walls, it has been assumed that above these chapels rose a pair of tall towers, resembling those at Bijelo Polje.

Practically simultaneously with the construction of the main monastic churches at Žiča and Studenica Hvostanska, another important church may have been initiated under the auspices of Sava I – the church of the Holy Apostles (Sv. Apostoli) at Peć, in the region of Kosovo.[306] Despite our considerable knowledge about the complex of the later Serbian patriarchate, the exact circumstances and the date of the thirteenth-century construction at Peć remain obscure. What *is* clear, however, is that an older, probably eleventh-century, three-aisled basilica may have stood on the site, and that a substantial portion of its nave was incorporated into the new church. The new building, in terms of its layout, followed generally that of Žiča, with some minor modifications (fig. 566). Measuring 8 × 28 meters, the church had an identical length to the Studenica katholikon, though it was considerably narrower. The overall proportions of the building were somewhat odd, because of the large remaining portion of the older church that became the western part of the new naos, and the new narthex. Otherwise, the church featured a domed bay, with two laterally projecting "low transept" arms,



566 Peć, Holy Apostles; plan, reconstruction of original layout

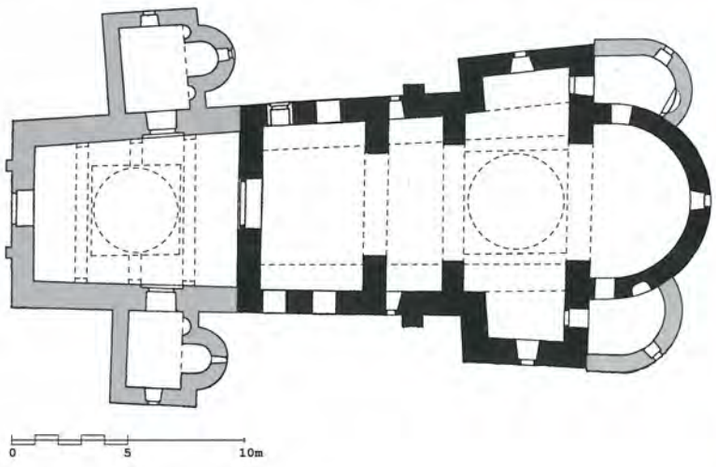
and a deep sanctuary terminating in a large apse, semicircular internally as well as externally. Unlike Žiča and Studenica Hvostanska, the main apse of the church of Sv. Apostoli was flanked by a pair of chapels (presumably pastophories) featuring small semicircular apses of their own (fig. 566). This arrangement, which appears to have become standard in subsequent buildings, seems to have been introduced here for the first time. Another noteworthy feature, also apparently a contemporary innovation, was the fact that the southern chapel (diaconicon) was fully segregated from the naos, and accessible only through the sanctuary. The church also included another pair of chapels, flanking the western part of the building. Here this pair of chapels was associated with the western arm of the naos and not the narthex, as was the case at Žiča. Because of its dependence on an earlier building, the church of Sv. Apostoli at Peć inherited relatively low proportions, reflected in the comparatively

567 Peć, Holy Apostles (right) Church of the Mother of God (left); general view from SE

low height of its dome, vaults, and the conch of its main apse. If we add to this the smooth cylindrical exterior form of its dome, as well as its relatively crude construction technique, the church appears as a very archaizing building. It is impossible to determine the exact reasons for such an anachronistic appearance. One possibility may be that it was the work of one of the first local building workshops that must have started forming in Serbia as a result of the intensive construction activity that began under Stefan Nemanja. The final impression that the building would have given in medieval times was related to its red, plastered façades with some painted decorative accents, whose traces have been detected on parts of the building during its recent restoration. All of this was covered by yet another coat of painted plaster with more elaborate decorative patterns, after the fourteenth-century additions and remodeling of the entire complex. Repeated Bulgarian and Kuman raids into the territory of Serbia inflicted damage on Žiča, the seat of the Serbian archbishop. After one of these raids, *circa* 1285, or possibly in 1291, it was decided to move major functions of the archbishopric from Žiča to Peć, where its security could be better controlled. In the aftermath of this move, the status of the church of the Holy Apostles rose rapidly, since it became the burial church of the Serbian archbishops and later patriarchs. In the course of the third decade of the fourteenth century the church was enlarged into a major complex with the addition of the church of St. Demetrius, the church of the Mother of God, and a sizeable exonarthex (cf. Chapter 8).

The church of the Ascension (Vaznesenje) at Mileševa Monastery was probably the last major undertaking before the middle of the thirteenth century.[307] Commissioned by the second son of Stefan Prvovenčani, Vladislav, before he became king in 1234, the exact date of its foundation is unknown. On the basis of various pieces of historical evidence contained in its frescoes, the painting of the church is now assigned to the years 1222–28. The building of the church, then, would have occurred roughly simultaneously with Žiča, Studenica Hvostanska, and Sv. Apostoli at Peć. Related to the other monuments in the general concept of its plan, the church of the Ascension displays a number of peculiar deviations from what may be considered the then current norm. Measuring 8.5 meters across its original west façade, the church had a length of 19.5 meters, and a maximum width, including its "low transept" wings, of 18 meters (figs. 568 and 569). The original naos consisted of a domed bay and a very tight (only 2.35 m) western bay, in the southern compartment of which is situated the sarcophagus tomb of King Vladislav, the patron of the church. The sanctuary, in this case, originally consisted of a very large horseshoe-shaped apse with a diameter of 6.5 meters. The church displays a curious tapered form that may have been affected by the foundations of an earlier building whose remnants have been detected in certain places. The church was continuously undergoing modifications, even as it was being built. This process continued after it was completed along with its remarkable frescoes (finished by 1228). Major changes occurred around 1335, following the death of St. Sava in Trnovo, Bulgaria. King Vladislav had his uncle's remains transferred to Mileševa, but only after the church of the Ascension was expanded by the addition of an exonarthex flanked by two chapels. At the same time, it would appear, the original narthex was integrated spatially with the naos when much of the dividing wall was dismantled. These interventions, obviously, had much to do with the desire for the most effective way of displaying the remains of St. Sava, whose shrine remained one

568 Mileševa Monastery; Church of the Ascension; plan



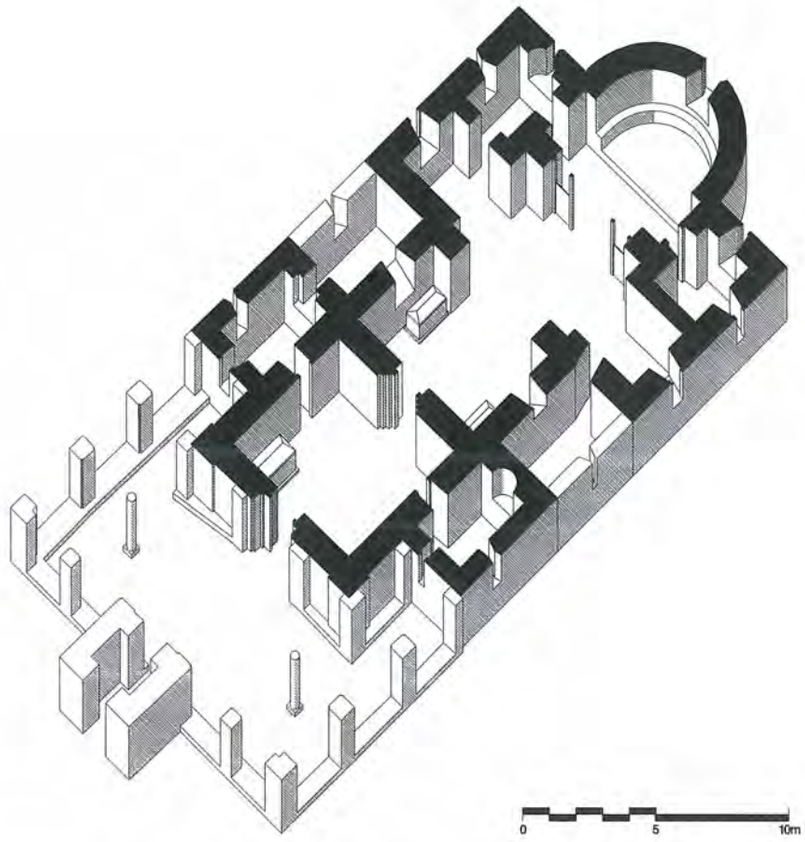
569 Mileševa Monastery, Church of the Ascension; general view from SE

of the most popular pilgrimage sites until his relics were removed and burned by the Ottomans in 1594.

The church of the Ascension at Mileševa, much like other churches of this closely related group – Studenica Hvostanska and the Holy Apostles at Peć – reveals an unassuming construction technique consisting of small porous limestone blocks. Its exterior was most certainly plastered over, although merely traces of the original plaster have been preserved. Hence it is impossible to say whether, as was the case with the churches at Žiča and Peć, it also may have been externally painted.

Built probably sometime before 1263, the church of Holy Trinity (Sv. Trojica) at Sopoćani Monastery, Serbia, chronologically speaking, does not belong to this chapter. We will consider it here, however, for it marks the culmination of a trend set by several royal patrons during the first half of the thirteenth century.[308] The church was founded by King Stefan Uroš I (1242–76), the youngest son of Stefan Prvovenčani, and was intended to be his mausoleum. It shares many planning, design, and constructional characteristics with the older churches belonging to this group. Renowned for its remarkable frescoes, the church is ranked among the masterpieces of thirteenth-century Byzantine art. Its architecture, by contrast, has not fared as well. Because of its modest character, and largely because of the hybrid quality of its design, the building has been excluded from the general studies on either Byzantine or Romanesque architecture. The church of the Holy Trinity is closely related to the church of the Ascension at Žiča with a few variations in its plan (fig. 570). Measuring 15 × 25.3 meters in its original form, it is slightly larger than its venerable predecessor. Consisting of a single-aisled naos with a large semicircular apse, the interior of the church is marked by four massive spurs (about 1 × 1 m in plan) that divide the main space into three uneven bays. The largest, central bay is domed, while slightly pointed barrel vaults cover the western and the eastern bays. The central bay is topped by a high dome (19 m to the apex). The dome, with an interior span of 4 meters, is supported by a highly attenuated drum pierced by eight windows. Externally, the drum is cylindrical, its smooth surfaces broken by eight evenly spaced shallow pilasters. These rise to a corbel-table consisting of three small arches on corbels between each pair of pilaster strips. A horizontal cornice that gives it a characteristic Romanesque rather than Byzantine appearance caps the drum. Other aspects of the building's exterior also underscore this distinction (fig. 571).

The main body of the church is flanked by low lateral spaces, asymmetrically placed in relationship to the domed bay, and by a string of lateral chapels – three on each side, all vaulted and externally covered by a continuous lean-to roof. The presence of these low lean-to roofs on the north and south sides of the building contrasting with the tall main part accounts for the basilican character of the exterior. Add to this all-stone construction, with a white marble Romanesque portal and window frames, and the building betrays the work of artisans trained in the Western tradition. It is noteworthy that even eighty years later, when the large open exonarthex with an axially located belfry was added, the same basic conceptual and design characteristics prevailed. The model once again was the church of the Ascension at Žiča, and the execution was again by artisans whose choice of materials and method of work closely resembled that of their thirteenth-century predecessors (fig. 571). As was the case with the churches at Žiča and Mileševa, the exterior of the church of the oly Trinity at Sopoćani was also plastered. Traces of the original plaster that had survived, however, were insufficient to indicate whether the plaster coating was additionally painted or not. The present, austere appearance of the building most certainly does not correspond to its original one.



570 Sopoćani Monastery, Church of the Trinity; axonometric

* * *

The swift rise of monumental architecture in Serbia toward the end of the twelfth century and during the first half of the thir-

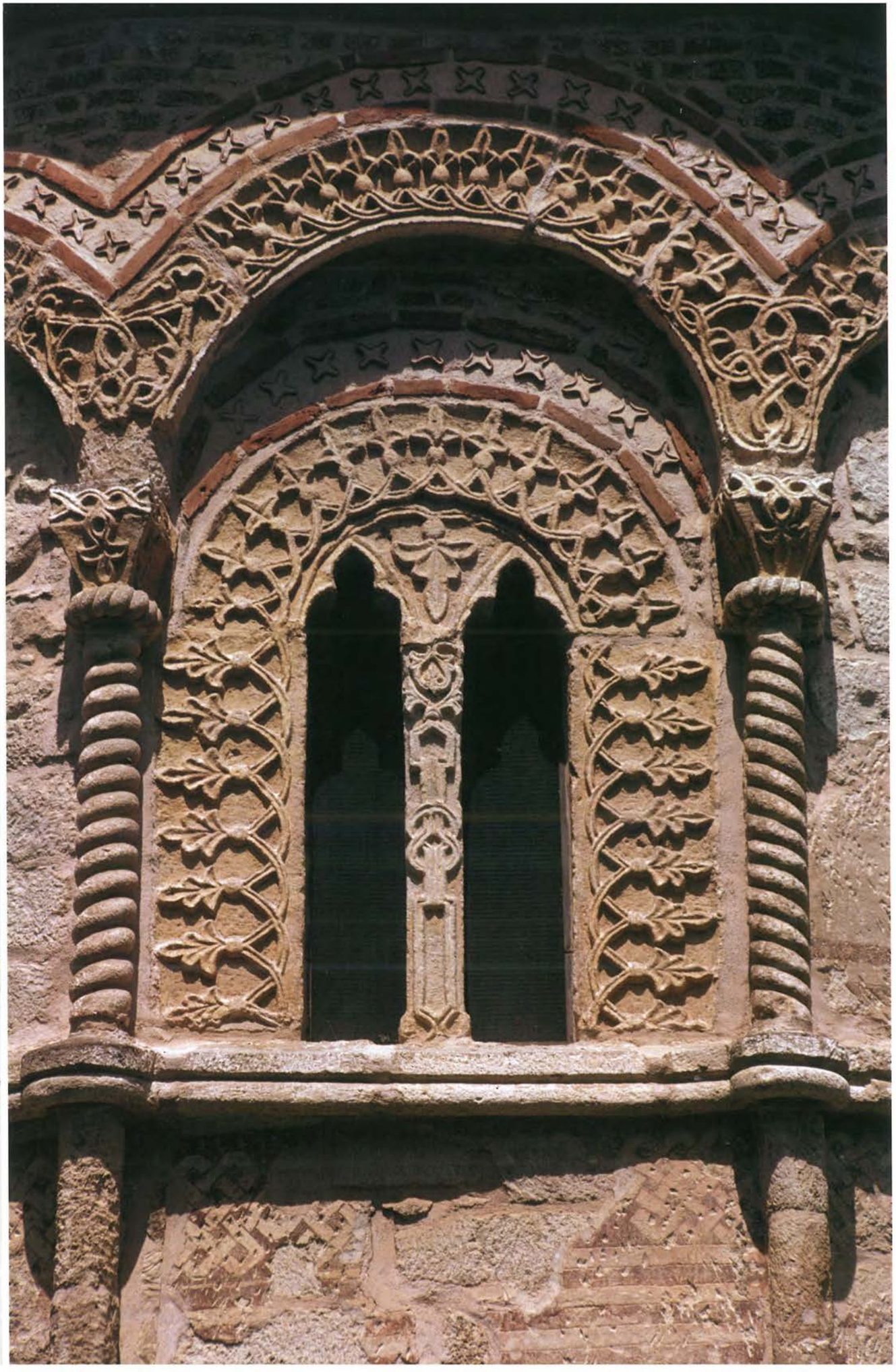
571 Sopoćani Monastery, Church of the Trinity; general view from SW

teenth has captured the attention of scholars since the beginning of studies of Serbian architecture. It was the term "Raška School" ("L'École de Rascie"), coined by Gabriel Millet some nine decades ago, that has stuck and is still persistently used. The term is unfortunate in several ways and should be abandoned. Invented with the idea of identifying certain architectural characteristics of buildings associated with the state of Serbia in its formative decades, and centered largely on the region of Ras, it has been used without critical reflection. Subsequent attempts to apply the characteristics of this "school" as defined by Millet have resulted in many inconsistencies, anachronisms, and geographic deviations. Even the "classic" monuments of the thirteenth century, as we have seen, display great varieties in building design, in choice of style, and ultimately in the choice of builders. Some of the builders came directly from Byzantium, possibly even from Constantinople itself. Others – among them some truly outstanding ones – came from southern Italy, while yet others, in all likelihood, came from the eastern Adriatic littoral. It is only after the initial major building efforts of Stefan Nemanja and his son Stefan Prvovenčani that the first evidence of work by local masons, probably trained by the initial generation of imported builders, becomes apparent. Their work may be identified in the preserved buildings such as Žiča, the exonarthex of the Studenica katholikon, the church of Sv. Apostoli at Peć, and the church of the Vaznesenje at Mileševa. The greatest sense of coherence that we are left with in these buildings has to do with their plans, which in turn, reflect the role of their patrons.[309] Patronage during the period in question was almost exclusively in the hands of the ruling dynasty, whose members left an unmistakable stamp on the emerging building tradition, which will be tracked in the following chapter. The creative interaction between the world of the Romanesque and that of the Byzantine architectural tradition has left its most remarkable results in the architecture of late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Serbia.

Serbian architecture of this period defies common classification methods. While it may be said to belong to both worlds, general studies of architecture have preferred to ascribe it to one or the other, or most commonly, to ignore it completely.

In a nutshell, the negative intellectual syndrome just referred to sheds light on the larger issue of medieval architecture in the Balkans. Due to its geographical position, between the worlds of East and West, the architecture in the Balkans all too often has been avoided as not fitting into either of the two established stylistic entities. While geographically defined in fairly precise terms, a large area of the central Balkans, far from being a linear frontier, became extremely unstable, frequently changing its political, ecclesiastical, and cultural orientation. This chapter has aimed at addressing a crucial epoch during which the process of the so-called "Balkanization" of the area may be said to have begun. After 1054 some of its relevant manifestations, ever so slowly, became palpable. A century and a half later, by 1204, the process of polarization between the two worlds became fully tangible. Architecture, in many ways more clearly than any of the other cultural domains, bespeaks these phenomena. Building activity throughout this period was on the rise throughout the Balkans. In part, this reflects improved economic conditions, but just as commonly this was a reflection of various agendas that ignored the realistically available means. As various new political boundaries arose, and cultural territories began to be defined and claimed, builders and artisans continued to cross these lines freely, contributing to a picture that from the rigid point of view of stylistic developments would best be described as an "eclectic collage."

In this chapter we have attempted to portray these newly emerging patterns. One of the striking by-products of this analytical approach is the realization that typological methods of investigation in this context are almost completely useless, if not outright misleading. "Subregional" and local building activities emerge as far more fruitful ways of gauging certain patterns of development. Architectural types, at the same time, appear to have become an established syntax, common to most of the regional "dialects," to extend this linguistic analogy further. The degree of complexity, as well as its intrinsic richness and value derived from these emerging subregional "dialects," but also from their mutual interaction – it is my hope – has been clearly demonstrated. Looking at the architectural heritage in the Balkans through conventional glasses, therefore, is not possible, but not to look at it at all is certain to leave, as has been the case thus far, a seriously large "blind spot" in our field of vision.



8

Period of Turmoil

circa 1250–*circa* 1450

In this chapter we will consider developments during the two centuries spanning *circa* 1250 and *circa* 1450. The unsettled conditions that marked the first half of the thirteenth century in the Balkans prevailed until the middle of the fifteenth, though their causes varied considerably over time, as did their results.[1] The Byzantine Empire, vanquished by the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, managed to stage a comeback in 1261. Little more than a shadow of its former self in its reincarnated form, the "empire" became but one of several players on the Balkan stage. Byzantium's immediate neighbors – Bulgaria and Serbia – having taken full advantage of the empire's disintegration in the course of the first half of the thirteenth century, were hardly deterred by its feeble revival. Byzantine success in keeping its northern adversaries at bay depended, not on its own strength, but on their internal problems. Bulgaria experienced a series of civil wars, conflicts with Hungary, and a prolonged threat from the Tatars, all of which worked in Byzantium's favor. Serbia, on the other hand, having recovered from its own difficulties in the first half of the thirteenth century, underwent a period of steady economic growth, remaining at peace for several decades. Consolidating its strength, King Uroš I (1243–76) was preparing the ground for Serbia's future territorial expansion at the expense of Byzantium and, eventually, Bulgaria. That took place under King Milutin (1282–1321), and especially under his grandson Stefan Dušan (1331–55). Dušan's conquest of Byzantine Macedonia, Epiros, and Thessaly, though brief, was combined with his adoption of the title of emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks in 1346. This brief demonstration of Serbia's strength was the last consequential exercise of political authority by any of the Balkan Christian states before their total political disintegration set in, opening the way for the ultimate Ottoman takeover. Byzantium, weak to begin with, was made continually weaker by a string of civil wars and constant skirmishes with its neighbors. Local conflicts continued well into the second half of the fourteenth century, their complexities steadily mounting.[2] While their stakes grew smaller, the number of eager participants in the various divisive enterprises was steadily on the rise. Many petty opportunists were drawn into local conflicts by the invitation of one or another of the Balkan adversaries, thus escalating the level of complexity in a situation already sufficiently complicated. Some of the perceived military expedients aimed at solving a particular problem at a particular difficult moment proved to be major logistical miscalculations with lasting consequences. One need only recall the role of the so-called Catalan Company, invited by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II in 1303 to help in a local conflict with the Turks. Dissatisfied with the initial

572 (*facing page*) Ljubostinja Monastery, Church of Dormition, S. façade; detail (see fig. 793)

LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
SARAJEVO
BELGRADE
PODGORICA
TIRANA
PRIŠTINA
SKOPJE
SOFIA
BUCHAREST
ATHENS
Sava
Danube
Drina
Morava
Neretva
Vardar
Maritsa
Struma
Axios
Evros
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SEA OF MARMARA
0
100
200
300km

Map 8

Key to Map 8

Amphipolis	8	Holy Archangels Monastery	94	Naupara Monastery	104	Serres	11
Anaktoroupolis	9	Hum	118	Nesseb'r	68	Shkodra	122
Andreaš Monastery	84	Kalenić Monastery	107	Nicaea	32	Shumen	66
Anevsko Kale	63	Karytaina	27	Nir	80	Skopje	76
Arača	121	Kolitsou	26	Novo Brdo	86	Smederevo	72
Arilje Monastery	90	Komotinē	60	Ohrid	37	Sobri	4
Arta	35	Kostanianē	51	Omorphoklēsia	54	Sozopol	57
Banja Monastery	92	Kotor	113	Palatizia-Vergina	45	Split	115
Banjska Monastery	91	Kratovo	29	Panagia Eleousa Monastery	46	St. Basil	20
Belgrade	87	Kruševac	71	Peć	99	Stari Bar	114
Berat	36	Kučevište	78	Penakton	41	Staro Nagoričino	95
Bobovac	110	Kypselē	52	Peritheorion	10	Štip	100
Chandaka	22	Leondari	58	Petrelë	14	Ston	111
Cherven	67	Lesnovo Monastery	101	Platamonas	16	Studenica Monastery	97
Chrysopolis	7	Ljubostinja Monastery	108	Podi	124	Syderokastro	6
Çonstantinople	30	Ljuboten	79	Pološko Monastery	102	Thessaloniki	31
Čučer	77	Loutra Evrou	61	Poreč	117	Tower of King Milutin	21
Dečani Monastery	93	Maglič	69	Preventza	49	Tower of Phonias	28
Didymoteichon	39	Manasija (Resava) Monastery	75	Prilep	2	Trogir	116
Dubrovnik	112	Mariana	25	Prilep – Varoš	48	Užice	70
Edirne	40	Markov Manastir	82	Prizren	85	Uzunköprü	62
Elasson	55	Markovo Kale	3	Prosek	1	Vau Dejës	123
Evkarpia	23	Matejić Monastery	83	Psača	103	Veluće Monastery	105
Ezeva	19	Matka	81	Pylē (Trikala)	50	Verria	34
Galatista	17	Matochina	13	Pylē	56	Vidin	65
Geraki	42	Mborje	47	Pythion	12	Vonitsa	53
Golubac	73	Melnik	64	Ratac Monastery	120	Vraćevšnica Monastery	109
Gračanica Monastery	96	Mistra	43	Ravanica Monastery	74	Zagreb	119
Gradac	89	Monastery of Timios Prodromos	44	Redina	33	Zaum Monastery	38
Gynaikokastro	5	Mušutište	98	Rila Monastery	24		
H. Vassileios	18			Rogoi	15		
Hayrabolu	59			Rudenica Monastery	106		
Hilandar Monastery	88						

agreement, the Catalans became a terror in their own right. Systematically ravaging what remained of the Byzantine countryside in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, they finally settled in Attica, where they established a quasi-colonial principality with the center in Athens that was to last from 1311 to 1388. Meanwhile, the Turks, already settled in Asia Minor, became increasingly involved in Balkan affairs. Initially also invited by the Byzantines as a matter of expedience, their crossing into the Balkans proved to have even more lasting effects. The century between the first Ottoman military victory on Balkan soil, at Didymoteichon, in 1352 and the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 saw major transformations in the Balkans under their increasingly dominant presence. In 1369 the Ottomans established their first capital on Balkan soil, following their conquest of Edirne (Adrianople). They captured Thessaloniki for the first time in 1387, and by 1396 they had eliminated the state of Bulgaria, reaching the Danube by 1400. By then the steady, unchecked Ottoman expansion across the Balkans had become a major concern to the European powers. A surprising Ottoman setback following their defeat at the Battle of Angora in 1402 merely provided the remaining Balkan states with temporary relief that lasted barely three decades. Several attempts by Western powers at mounting a successful military operation against the Ottomans in the Balkans ended in complete failure. Best remembered among these failed enterprises was the so-called Varna Crusade of 1443–44, which mobilized a coalition of Western forces under the leadership of Poland and Hungary. Preliminary successes were made possible by the Ottoman engagement in Asia Minor, but the final confrontation at Varna dealt a crushing blow to the coalition forces, whose army was practically annihilated, and whose casualties included the Polish-Hungarian king Vladislav. The "Varna Crusade" was the last common enterprise of the Western powers aimed at stopping Ottoman expansion. The dreaded larger consequences of the defeat at Varna were now only a matter of time. The major symbolic event, dramatizing the inevitable, was the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and the consequent final disappearance of the Byzantine Empire. Pursuing its own poli-

cies and economic interests, Venice, having settled its long-standing rivalries with the kingdom of Hungary over Dalmatia, had established itself as the undisputed master of the Adriatic and the Ionian seas by *circa* 1420. Control of the sea routes implied the control of the main port cities from Istria in the north along the entire Adriatic and Ionian eastern coasts to the tip of the Peloponnēsos in the south. Its maritime empire stretched as far as the island of Crete, as well as to a number of crucial islands in the Aegean. The presence of new power players on the Balkan stage, needless to say, exercised a major role in the processes of cultural transformation, whose effects on architectural developments concern us here. They will be explored in part in this, as well as in the following chapter.

The ravages of wars were but one category of disasters affecting the Balkans during the period in question. The first half of the fourteenth century was also marked by scores of natural disasters – from earthquakes, drought, and famine to outbreaks of bubonic plague – that brought further miseries to the ill-fated region. The political disintegration of the medieval states, combined with the natural disasters, yielded thoroughly unsettled conditions that resulted in the collapse of economic systems, the disruption of trade, demographic shifts, and a major general depopulation of the region as a whole.[3] Under these circumstances it would seem unlikely that any architectural activity could occur at all. Paradoxically, though, the period witnessed a building boom that finds few parallels in the earlier history of the region.[4] Needless to say, a large component of the general building production was related to military needs. Thus, construction of fortifications, as well as the renewal of older ones, constituted a significant percentage of the total building output. As in an earlier phase of Balkan history – during the fourth century – and under similar conditions of imminent external threat, fortification architecture once again assumed a dominant presence throughout the Balkans.

As in the previous chapter, our analysis will be presented under three separate subheadings: "The Eastern Sphere," "The Lands Between," and "The Western Sphere." "The Eastern Sphere" comprises the developments in the Balkans that reflect the last aspects of Byzantine architectural production and, at the same time, significantly overlapping with it, the evidence of the first Ottoman architectural input in the region. Each of the sections will examine development in fortification architecture and urban developments and will end with an examination of the architecture of individual complexes and buildings. Consideration of military architecture before urban developments is a deliberate choice, reflecting its growing importance during this period.

THE EASTERN SPHERE

The rapidly changing political map of the Balkan peninsula during the period under investigation brought about many new needs and resulting architectural responses. Despite the drastic decline in the economic power of all the Balkan states, the volume of construction continued to be surprisingly high to the very end. Rulers, noblemen, and clergy in all of the Orthodox Christian Balkan states under increasing threat from the Ottomans continued to invest in a major way in architectural projects of considerable range. Despite the priority given to fortifications, other building types continued to be built, some of them of considerable size and intrinsic interest. From *circa* 1370 the first buildings built under direct Ottoman patronage also began to appear in the Balkans. Although these do not constitute a coherent trend, they signal the beginning of an important new direction in the development of architecture in the Balkans, whose full maturity will be examined in the next chapter. The focus here will, of necessity, be on the architectural developments in the remaining territories of the Byzantine Empire. Chronologically, this period coincides with the reign of the Palaeologan dynasty in Byzantium. Consequently, the architectural development in the Byzantine Empire is commonly, if mistakenly, referred to as "Palaeologan architecture." The subject is dealt with summarily in most general books on Byzantine architecture.[5] In general, modern scholarship has not been favorably disposed to architecture of this period, though a few scholars have looked at the material in sufficient breadth and depth. Variously labeled as an "epilogue" or as "nostalgic eclecticism," Byzantine architecture of this period has commonly been reduced to oversimplified clichés pertaining to its "decorative" and "picturesque" qualities, almost exclusively associated with church buildings.[6]

Fortification Architecture

Inasmuch as fortification architecture in the Balkans had a long-standing history, the significantly intensified construction around 1300 provided a new milestone in this development. A growing sense of vulnerability and insecurity after *circa* 1300 was the main factor contributing to this development. In addition to the construction of new fortresses and smaller forts, our investigation will also consider the processes of repairs, modifications, and modernization of older ones. Large-scale projects, as vain and at times as useless as they may have ultimately proven to be, were pursued with zeal and at great cost. The case of the rebuilding of the Hexamilion, south of the Isthmus of Corinth, in the spring of 1415 at the order of Emperor Manuel II is one of the more glaring of such enterprises.[7] Causing a local uprising in the

summer of that year, the project was clearly too great a burden on the local population. Its military usefulness was rendered worthless in the winter of 1446, when the Ottoman troops under Murad II broke through its walls without significant effort with the help of a new weapon – the cannon. While large-scale fortification projects did occur, we should note the growing need for the fortification of progressively smaller entities, often without any military significance, as security provisions increasingly became the concern of the private realm. Our analysis will consider various types of fortifications, ranging from large fortresses, city fortifications, and citadels to individual towers, often constituting nothing more than a single-family dwelling.

Nowhere is the sense of the Balkans as a "fortified peninsula" portrayed more dramatically than on a curious, hand-painted map dating from the first half of the fifteenth century (fig. 573).[8] The map, most likely the product of an anonymous Venetian cartographer, was probably made for military purposes. On it are depicted almost exclusively fortified sites. On the basis of the fortresses shown and the standards depicted flying above their highest towers, historians have attempted to date this interesting map. The most relevant dating arguments involve the presence of the small fort at Smederevo (here identified as "Smedrico"), built on a virgin site by the Serbs between 1428 and 1430, and the fact that Constantinople is still depicted with a Christian standard, that is, before 1453. Despite its obvious distortions in the manner of representation, this map is a graphic indicator of the overwhelming importance attached to military architecture in the Balkans during the first stages of the Ottoman conquest, from *circa* 1350 until the beginning of the second reign of Mehmed II in 1451. Likewise, it is notable for relying on an ancient Roman geographic convention according to which the Balkan peninsula was bisected by a single mountain range stretching from east to west – the "Catena Mundi" of Strabo – subsequently renamed Balkan ("the mountain") by the Ottomans, eventually lending that name to the peninsula as a whole.

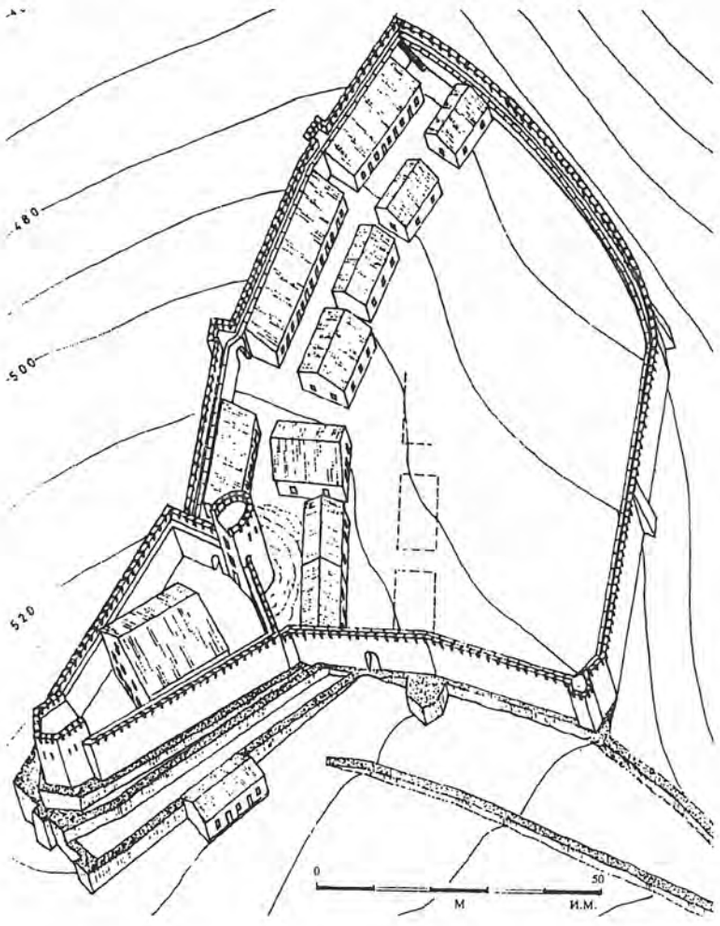
573 Map of the Balkan Peninsula, mid 15th century; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Codex Latinus Parisinus 7239, 113v and 114r

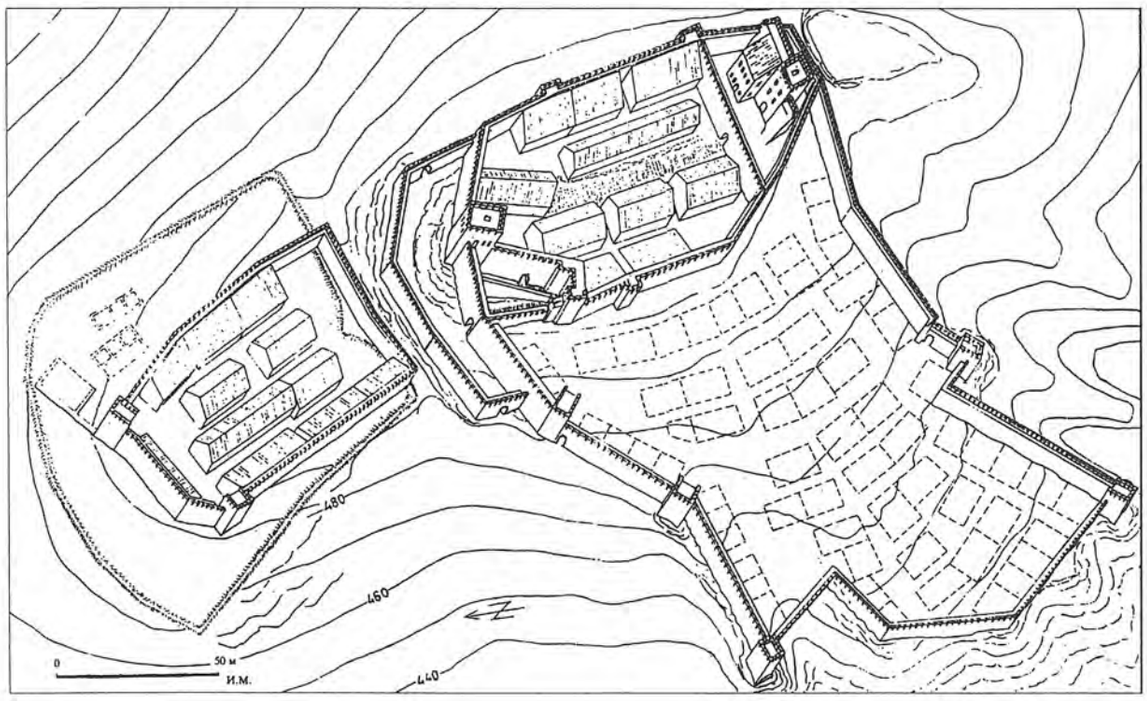
BYZANTINE FORTRESSES

Despite its drastically weakened condition, the restored Byzantine Empire, as a state, put the restoration of old fortifications and the construction of new ones extremely high on its list of priorities. The focus of this activity appears to have been the heartland of the province of Macedonia, stretching from the city of Thessaloniki in the south to the city of Skopia (modern Skopje) in the north, linked by a major land route.[9] Stretching naturally along the north–south axis of the River Axios (Vardar) valley, the protection of this route appears to have been paramount in the minds of the Byzantine military planners. The reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire in 1261 was followed by a period of intensive confrontations with the kingdom of Serbia to the north. It was during the first three decades of the fourteenth century, before most of Byzantine Macedonia became part of the Serbian state, that a large number of fortresses were constructed with the aim of protecting Byzantine interests in the region.[10] A number of these, as for example Prosek and Prilep, both in FYROM, were built over late antique or Middle Byzantine remains. Both were large complexes that included settlements, as well as heavily fortified citadels. Smaller complexes, far more numerous included forts also built on older foundations, most of which had been built in late antiquity for strategic reasons, especially to protect nearby mines, though a few of them were built *ex novo*. In this context we will refer only to two of these fortifications, with the aim of providing merely an indication of the ideas employed and the types of construction that took place in the region around 1300. The first is the so-called Markovo Kale, between the villages of Sušica and Malčište, in the vicinity of Skopje, FYROM. One of the many fortresses associated in popular lore with the fourteenth-century Prince Marko, this one is actually located in the proximity of Markov Manastir, a monastery that he co-founded with his father, Vukašin. Elevated on an irregular plateau rising some 100 meters above Markova Reka ("Marko's River"), the fourteenth-century fort was built on the remains of a late antique fort of comparable shape (fig. 574). Measuring roughly 105 × 85 meters, this fort consists of a main enclosure and a more heavily fortified elevated citadel. Separated from the main part of the fort by an internal wall, the citadel was the most heavily guarded component of the complex. Its elevated position and separation from the rest of the fort by means of a "cross wall" (*diateichisma*), itself fortified by a cylindrical tower, follows certain general principles, which, as we will see, were commonly employed in fortification architecture of this period. Also characteristic is the emulation of certain late antique fortification forms, such as the pentagonal tower at the apex of the citadel. The interior of the fort contained a number of buildings, probably barracks for the accommodation of troops. Similar in certain general principles, but considerably larger, is the fortress of Sobri, near the modern village of Oraše, FYROM, on the highest point of a projecting narrow spur of Mount Šara, overlooking the River Vardar (fig. 575). Also built on ancient foundations, initially constructed to protect the nearby iron and silver mines, this fort appears to have been revived around 1190 by the Serbs, and became an important strategic stronghold in the area contested by the Byzantines and the Serbs around 1300. Very characteristically, the fortress of Sobri consists of multiple enclosures, among which one can recognize the elevated main fort with its crowning citadel. Below the fort, on the less steep side of the hill, reaching as far as the River Vardar, was the settlement, itself enclosed by a fortified wall. It is noteworthy that most fortresses belonging to the same group as these two occupy irregular hilltops, with the less steep sides of the hill generally enclosed by secondary walls accommodating the actual settlement. Such practices, as we have seen, began already during the sixth century, and became standard in Byzantine practice, especially during the twelfth century.

Farther south, in the vicinity of modern Kilkis, Greece, within the lower stretch of the Axios (Vardar) valley, rise the impressive

574 Sušica (near), "Markovo Kale"; axonometric





575 Oraše, Sobri, fortress; axonometric

remains of the Byzantine fortress of Gynaikokastro.[11] Built by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III (1328–41) shortly after 1328, Gynaikokastro is one of the finest securely datable Late Byzantine fortresses. Situated, as was customary, atop a prominently shaped hill, it dominates the relatively flat surrounding countryside (figs. 576 and 577). Despite its ruinous state, the fortress preserves several important features that enable us to understand the main characteristics of fortification architecture of this period. The main fortification wall, 614 meters long, encloses an area roughly oval in shape and covering approximately 2.5 hectares. This area, in all likelihood, was inhabited, as the sporadic remains of still-visible walls indicate. The main

576 Ginaikokastro, fortress; general view from S

577 Ginaikokastro, fortress; plan

gate of this fortified settlement appears to have been on the south side. A strategically placed citadel occupied the very top of the hill, on the opposite, north side. Roughly trapezoidal in plan, the citadel was enclosed by the main wall circuit and by two of its own walls, on the southwest and southeast sides. The standing portion of the southwest wall indicates that it was reinforced along its interior by a system of projecting spurs topped by brick arches. This blind arcade would have added to the width of the wall at its top, providing a walkway for use by defenders at times of siege. The system, commonly employed in Byzantine fortifications of this time, matches exactly that used in the late antique period, illustrating the highly conservative nature of fortification architecture still favored in the Balkans during the third decade of the fourteenth century. At the highest natural peak stood a large tower, its remains still dominating the general skyline. Measuring 13.5 × 9.4 meters in plan, the tower must have risen to a height approximately twice that of its standing remains (7.5 m). Situated in the southern corner of the citadel, it appears to have been additionally enclosed by walls facing the interior enclosure. The tower must have had at least two, and possibly three or more stories. Its ground floor was vaulted by a pair of brick barrel vaults; its upper stories, as was customary, probably had wooden floors. The floors of the tower were built of an irregular mixture of brick and fieldstone with periodic bands consisting of four brick courses visible externally. These bands probably conceal internal timber frames, commonly used for the reinforcement of masonry buildings of this type. Below the ground floor of the tower a pair of deep brick-vaulted cisterns came to light, their walls lined with thick coats of hydraulic cement. Surviving water channels within the rising walls of the tower indicate clearly that rainwater must have been carefully collected and stored for use in times of siege. The tower must have constituted a type of a donjon that could be used for residential purposes in the case of need. Such solutions, as we will see, were quite common in the Balkans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while following principles already established in previous centuries. The tower must have been built in relationship to other residential buildings that, most probably, occupied the citadel enclosure, though their remains are not visible above ground. The residential function of such citadels, as we will see, was standard practice. One may further speculate that a local strongman, in charge of the fortress and the surrounding area, together with his family, may have resided here within what may be tentatively called his "fortified palace." The case of Gynaikokastro, built under direct imperial auspices, may be viewed as a paradigm of Byzantine fortification design during the first half of the fourteenth century. Andronikos III is remembered as an avid builder of fortresses. In addition to Gynaikokastro, he is credited with at least two other major fortresses in the region of present-day East Macedonia and Western Thrace in northern Greece – Siderokastro, northwest of Serres, and Chrysopolis, in the delta of the River Strymon. Neither of these two complexes, however, has faired as well as Gynaikokastro: only relatively low remains of their walls and towers have survived. According to the written sources, Andronikos III was also responsible for the repairs of the walls of the city of Amphipolis, fallen into ruin long before.[12] Clearly, the Byzantines were aware of the threat that the empire was facing from the north – from the Bulgarians and the Serbs. Only four years after the death of Andronikos III in 1341, in fact, the Serbs conquered most of the Byzantine territories west of Christoupolis (Kavala), including all of the mentioned fortresses built during the preceding two decades.

578 Anaktoroupolis, fortress; distant view from SW

Along with Macedonia, Byzantine Thrace was a region of vital importance for the survival of the empire. Efforts to retain control over this region and to maintain the main road linking Constantinople with Thessaloniki – the Via Egnatia – were among the top priorities of all Byzantine emperors. Therefore, it is not surprising that a large number of surviving fortresses from this period are to be found precisely in this region. Some of these were older fortifications that underwent reconstruction, while others were built *ex novo*. Among the preserved fortresses the most impressive ones are Anaktoroupolis and Peritheorion. Of these, Anaktoroupolis was a new foundation guarding an important harbor (fig. 578), while Peritheorion was essentially a rebuilding of the late antique Anastasioupolis. Strategically located on the north shore of Lake Bistonis, Peritheorion was linked to a long wall that bisected the Via Egnatia, providing a means of controlling traffic along this route.[13] While the size of Peritheorion matched that of its ancient predecessor, many other cities were refortified during this period, but on a much smaller scale that reflects their shrunken size. Middle and Late Byzan-

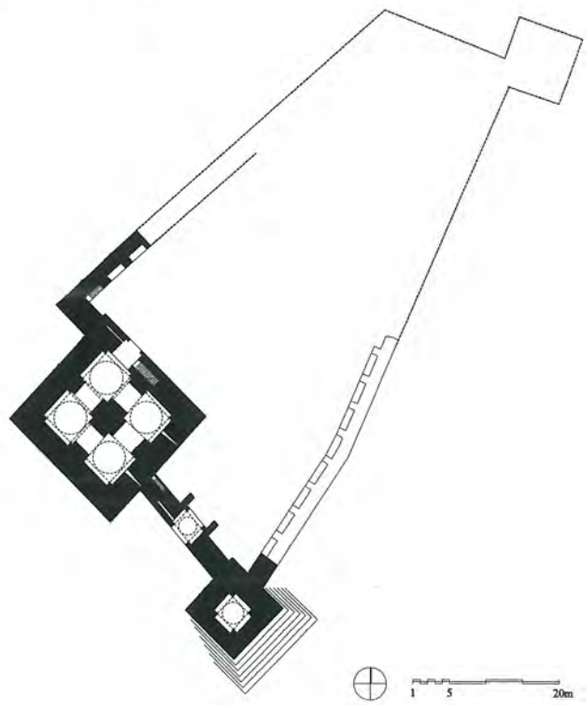
579 Serres, Tower of Orestes; general view from SW

580 Serres, Tower of Orestes; west façade; detail, inscription

tine Serres, as was the case with several Byzantine towns, moved to a higher location, away from the insecure plain, where the ancient settlement had been located.[14] Its acropolis, situated on the highest ridge of a hill, is dominated on the west side by the so-called Tower of Orestes, the largest and best preserved of the medieval towers, which must have functioned as a type of a donjon in its day (fig. 579). The tower was enlarged on several occasions by increasing the thickness of its walls. The last of these interventions, commemorated by a large inscription and various symbols all executed in brick on the west face of the tower, was due to one Orestes, *kastrophylax* (keeper of the fort) at the time when Serres was in Serbian hands (1345–71).[15] The remodeling of the tower under Orestes is dated to *circa* 1345–50. The elaborate display of heraldic and other symbols combined with monumental inscriptions, as seen on the tower's west face, became an important characteristic of Late Byzantine fortifications in general (fig. 580). The exact function of this tower and the area within the walls in its immediate vicinity is not clear. It is possible that the residence of the *kastrophylax* may have been situated there. As we will see below, the custom of building residences of high-ranking officials within the most fortified parts of a fortress was a virtual norm during the Late Byzantine era.

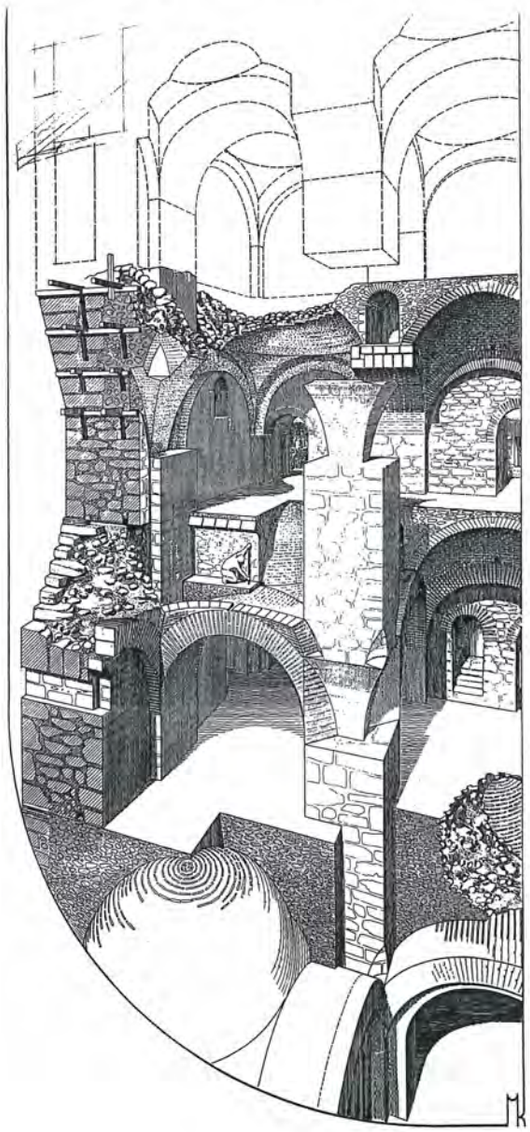
The Byzantine practice of building defensive fortifications continued even after their major territorial losses to the Serbs around the middle of the fourteenth century. Emperor John VI Kantakouzēnos (1347–54) built a fortified complex at Pythion, 16 kilometers north of Didymotheichon, Greece, overlooking the River Evros, the modern border between Greece and Turkey.[16] Although the precise reasons for its construction are unknown, Pythion gives the impression of an imperial stronghold, with strongly fortified walls. John VI, who had to face not only foreign adversaries, but also domestic opposition, could have built the complex as a personal fortified residence. The fortress, considerably smaller than Gynaikokastro, is not likely to have contained an urban settlement within its walls. Nonetheless, the two display some significant similarities. Situated on an elevated plateau, an elongated oval in plan, the Pythion fortress consisted of an outer western enclosure – now mostly gone – and a heavily fortified citadel at its eastern end. The roughly triangular citadel once also had an eastern tower, but this has been lost along with most of the enclosing walls (fig. 581). What remains of these indicates clearly that on their interiors they dis-

581 Pythion, fortress; plan



582 Pythion, fortress; principal towers and gate

583 Pythion, fortress, main tower; analytical perspective-section



played a system of blind arcades, very much like the ones in the Gynaikokastro citadel. Two massive towers and an intervening section of a wall with a monumental gate within it are the only standing remains of this magnificent complex (fig. 582). The tall gate, whose actual frame has been removed, once had a small domed chamber, in all likelihood a small chapel, directly above it. The appearance of such chapels above gates is known in Byzantine architecture – in fortification, palatine, and monastic contexts. The two towers, obviously crucial components of the citadel, were strategically situated so as to create a dividing wall between the main fortification enclosure and the citadel. The topographical function of the main tower, then, corresponds closely to that of the Gynaikokastro citadel. The designs of the two towers, however, also display significant differences. The Pythion tower is a massive square structure, measuring 15 × 15 meters in plan. It still has three surviving stories, and it is very likely that it had a fourth one as well. The individual stories, unlike most of the preserved towers of this type, are divided by brick vaulting on all levels. The choice of vaulting, likewise, reveals a unique solution – a system of four saucer domes supported by a massive central pier that rises through the entire building (fig. 583). Such a spatial arrangement is unknown in contemporary Byzantine fortification architecture. The sophistication of both the design solution and the construction indicates the probable employment of the best builders versed in the construction of church or palace buildings, underscoring the patronage of the Byzantine emperor. The use of an irregular mixture of stone and brick, with an occasional band consisting of several courses of brick within the walls recalls the manner of construction at the tower at Gynaikokastro. Likewise, the use of timber grill internal wall reinforcements is a constructional method of long standing in Byzantine architecture. The further sophistication of the Pythion tower is observable in the massive system of machicolations. The strongly projecting corbels that once supported small arches and a gallery for the defenders above are made up of multiple tiers of massive corbelled and chamfered stone blocks (fig. 584). The solution implies considerable technical skill in elevating large blocks to such a height.

Less than 30 kilometers by air from Pythion are situated the remains of yet another Late Byzantine fortress, known by the name of a nearby Bulgarian village as Matochina. Matochina is situated near the point where the present state borders of Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey meet.[17] Much like Pythion, the fortress here was situated atop a relatively flat plateau, overlooking the rolling landscape and the nearby River Tundzha (ancient Tonzos). What seems to remain here is the central feature dividing the citadel from the main enclosure (fig. 585). As at Pythion, the main element is a large, multistoried tower. Unlike at Pythion, however, this tower is not connected to a curtain wall,

but to a type of double wall, accommodating spaces of ambiguous purpose on several different levels, but unrelated to the levels in the main tower. The longer of these two projecting wings, on the west side, accommodated a gate through which, as in the case of Pythion, one must have entered the citadel proper. Also as at Pythion, the interior spaces were vaulted on all levels. Finally, the building technique, consisting of an irregular mixture of stone and brick with an occasional horizontal brick band, likewise recalls the building technique at Pythion. The historical circumstances under which the fortress of Matochina was built are uncertain, but its proposed associations with either the Bulgarian tsar Mikhail Shishman (1323–30) or with the Byzantine nobleman Manuel Apokaukos, mentioned in conjunction with the fortress in 1344, seem equally plausible. The fortresses of Pythion and Matochina reveal the degree of experimentation to which the best Byzantine fortress builders were committed within the basic framework of standard military planning, as illustrated by Gynaikokastro.

Links to the late antique heritage seen in the fortresses of Gynaikokastro, Pythion, and Matochina occurred either in the form of isolated ideas deliberately borrowed from the past, or as part of absorbed common knowledge among fourteenth-century fortress builders. In all three investigated examples these phenomena were integral parts of totally new constructions. On the other hand, there were many instances in the Balkans of older fortresses – late antique or Middle Byzantine – being refurbished or integrated into new design schemes. Most often this approach was taken as a matter of expedience, recognizing in the process the strategic advantages of the initial choices. This was particularly relevant in areas historically known for repeated patterns of confrontations and destruction, irrespective of who the adversaries may have been. We have already referred to this briefly in conjunction with the intensive building and rebuilding of fortifications in the heart of Byzantine Macedonia. Comparable, albeit more isolated instances did occur also in other areas of the Balkans. A good example is the fortress of Petrelë in Albania (fig. 586).[18] Perched atop a steep hill, the fortress overlooks a major road leading toward the plain of Tirana. The strategic importance of this road – the only viable link between the coast and the hinterlands in this region – had been recognized since antiquity. Historical sources and, to an even greater extent, archaeology reveal Petrelë (medieval Petrula, or Betrula) as a locus of great military relevance. Mentioned by Anna Komnēnē in the eleventh century, by the Arab historian al-Idrisi in 1153, and by one Barletius in the fifteenth century, the fortress is known to have continuously played a significant role in the various wars between the Byzantines and the Normans, and later on between the Ottomans and the Albanians under Skanderbeg. Archaeological investigations have revealed as many as six distinctive

584 Pythion, fortress, main tower; upper part from SW

585 Matochina, fortress; main block from S

586 Petrelë, fortress; aerial view

phases of construction. Most surprisingly, they have shown that the interior of the main round tower of the fortress contains a late antique round tower. This tower, presumably constructed during the reign of Emperor Anastasios I (491–518), was subsequently fully encased on two separate occasions during the medieval repairs of the fortress. The late antique tower, according to the evidence now available, was initially a freestanding structure on the site. If that were the case, it would be a unique example in that respect as well.

Examples comparable in principle to the development of the fortress at Petrelë exist throughout the Balkans in large numbers. Rather than enumerate other individual cases of this kind, we will shift our attention to city fortifications. City walls, by definition, constitute a category of fortification architecture that, on account of the size of the individual complexes and their long-term urban and strategic importance, almost invariably reveals processes of additions, repairs, alteration, etc. Among the coastal towns in Byzantine Epiros (modern Albania and western Greece) several have long histories that also include important medieval developments. One of these, the town of Rogoi, some 25 kilometers from Preveza, Greece, owes its layout atop a low hill to ancient planners.[19] Its substantially preserved ancient walls were heightened and partially modified in the ninth century, and again in the fourteenth, when the town changed hands several times and played a significant role in local power struggles. Among the features of the overall plan of Rogoi stand out the multiple enclosures, inherited for the most part from the ancient fortification system. The main Late Byzantine additions appear to be partition walls within the uppermost, elongated enclosure. These "cross-walls" (*diateichismata*), each strengthened by a projecting tower, effectively separated the triangular citadel from the rest of the enclosure. Clearly, the fourteenth-century military planners of Rogoi were thoroughly familiar with the current principles of fortification construction.

On the east coast of the Greek mainland, at the foot of Mount Olympos, a rocky promontory of considerable strategic significance may have been occupied already in antiquity. Controlling the main coastal road that links Macedonia with Thessaly, the site accommodated by a medieval settlement already by the tenth century. First mentioned as Platamonas in a document dated 1198, it was occupied and possibly fortified by the Franks during the first half of the thirteenth century.[20] Platamonas returned to the Byzantines after 1259 and later still passed to the Ottomans, who may have contributed to its fortified appearance. The fortress consists of an irregular enclosure, measuring 140 × 200 meters at the extreme points (fig. 587). The enclosure wall is crowned by a gangway with a system of regular crenelations, and has six projecting towers of differing sizes and irregular spacing. The walls were built of fieldstone in an irregular building technique with an admixture of brick. The most heavily fortified, western angle of the enclosure is internally segregated from the rest by an internal dividing wall (*diateichisma*), at the midpoint of which rises a massive octagonal tower (the donjon), itself enclosed by a concentric wall built for additional security. In terms of its position and presumed function, this tower could be compared to a number of examples from the late Byzantine period, as, for example, those at Gynaikokastro and Rogoi. The octagonal form of the tower and its setting within a concentric enclosure, however, do not find parallels in contemporary Byzantine or Frankish thirteenth-century fortifications in the Balkans. The closest parallel would seem to be the so-called Castello da Mare at Methoni, Greece, constructed by the Venetians and modified by the Ottomans, just prior to and immediately after 1500 (see Chapter 9). The fortifications of Platamonas continue to present major dilemmas as to their exact origins and dating. While these issues cannot be resolved here, the existence of the main part of the fort during the period in question cannot be in doubt. As such, Platamonas must be considered to belong to an age during which the importance of fortifications had reached a new high level.

BYZANTINE TOWERS

In an age preoccupied with issues of safety and security, the responsibilities for protection against enemy attacks increasingly passed into private hands. The powerful and the very wealthy protected themselves by building fortified residential complexes. The monasteries approached their problems in a related manner. The less wealthy, but still of sufficient means, resorted to constructing individual towers that became their primary places of residence. Such is the predominant evidence from the southeastern two-thirds of the Balkans. Along the Dalmatian coast, in parts of Bosnia, and in the areas of the northern and western Balkans under the control of Hungary, and later Venice, conditions were a little more secure. Even there, however, a degree of emphasis on fortifications as a reflection of security-related issues was apparent, but it never became as all-consuming as in the parts of the Balkans that faced an imminent Ottoman threat. In dealing with these issues, it should be borne in mind that regional instabilities in the southeastern Balkans began long before the onset of the Ottoman expansion. Thus, virtually throughout the period under consideration here conditions of insecurity may be said to have been prevalent, giving rise to a "fortified approach" in the design of a much broader range of buildings than those strictly associated with military functions. Towers constitute a conspicuous group in this general category. They varied considerably not only in size but also in their context and function. In addition to their distinctive military

587 Platamonas, fortress; aerial view

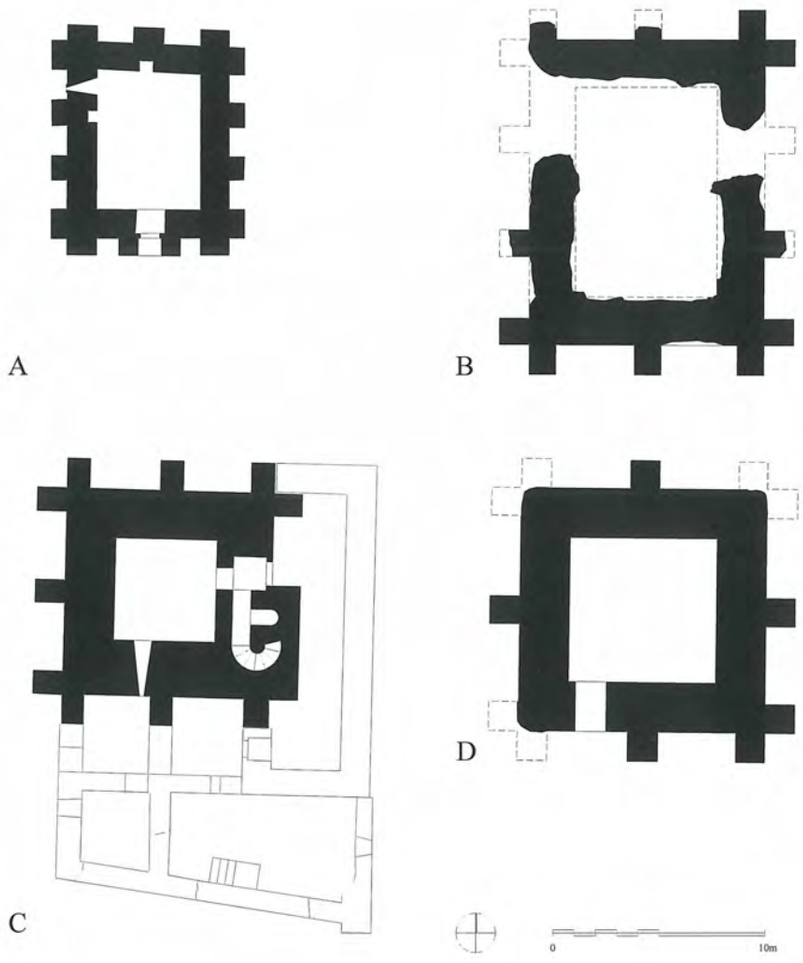
role, used either individually or in sequences, towers served a variety of monastic and private functions. They could be built as independent, freestanding structures; at times they could be accompanied by a cluster of related, low buildings; or they could be distinctive individual structures within larger complexes.[21] Our analysis will consider a few characteristic examples in each category. The aim will not be any form of comprehensive coverage, but the demonstration of certain distinctive phenomena.

In terms of their exterior articulation, towers built during this period generally fall into two basic groups: those articulated by external buttresses and those whose exterior walls are smooth. Generally, the interiors of the two types are similar, thus the principal distinction appears to be in their external articulation. This, in turn, would seem to reflect workshop practices, rather than any other structural or functional concerns. Dozens of towers, apparently mostly dating from the fourteenth century, have survived. Of different sizes and functions, they were apparently much in demand as makeshift military outposts within monastic and private sectors, as well as residences in times of considerable insecurity. In order to gain some understanding of this important phenomenon, we will examine a few examples in each of the two main groups. Our attention will turn first to towers marked by the presence of exterior buttresses. These could vary from the relatively shallow, appearing more as pilaster strips,

588 Galatista, tower; general view from SW

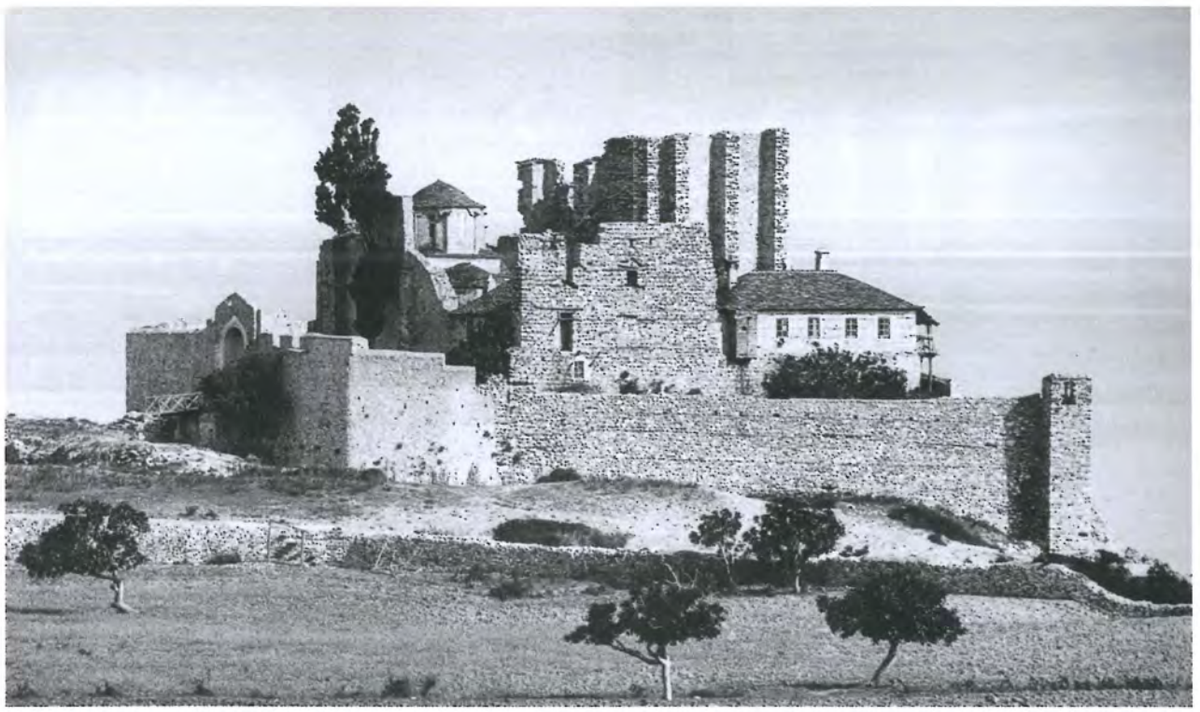
to the extremely massive, usually providing for large arcades at the top, where additional space especially useful for defense was located. The tower of Galatista in the Chalkidikē peninsula in northern Greece is thought to be one of the oldest, but in all likelihood it was built during the fourteenth century, when most of these towers were constructed (fig. 588). The tower is rectangular in plan, measuring 10 × 12 meters (fig. 589A).[22] Originally it had five stories, of which only four are now visible, with a total height of 14.5 meters. The top floor evidently had a chapel, often associated with monastic towers of this type, though there are no other indications that a monastery existed in the area. The exact function of the tower is unknown, though the presence of a lavatory and a washbasin suggest that originally it must have been inhabited. In the fourteenth century the tower was part of a settlement known from the sources as Galatissa. The construction technique, using rough fieldstones and occasional bricks with large quantities of mortar for the main building mass, and bricks exclusively for arches, is common for all towers belonging to this group. The attenuated proportions of the arched niche above the main entrance door of this tower also match those on several other towers of this group. In fact, this suggests a date close to the middle of the fourteenth century. Towers of comparable size and possibly function are preserved at the village of Hagios Vassileios on Lake Volvi, north of Thessaloniki, and at the village of Ezeva, near Amphipolis. The tower of Hagia Marina at Ezeva is one of the largest of the type (fig. 589A).[23] Its dating is also problematic, though the association of an eleventh-century *metochion* of Iviron Monastery mentioned in a source may not necessarily apply to the tower itself. The tower's presence in this area of Macedonia, along with its typological and constructional characteristics, suggest that it belongs to a closely related, coherent group of towers in the region, all dating probably to several decades before and after the middle of the fourteenth century.

Towers of the type just described appear in the area of Byzantine Macedonia, an area hotly contested between the Byzantines and the Serbs during the period in question. It is of little surprise, then, that most surviving towers belonging to this group were actually built under the patronage of both sides. This may be one of our most important instances illustrating the fact that master builders and artisans were employed by the party that had the means to finance a building project, regardless of that party's religious, cultural, or political affiliations. The main focus of tower-building activity appears to have been on Mount Athos, a vulnerable monastic enclave that suffered in a major way during the Catalan raids during the first decade of the fourteenth century.[24] It was here, and in the larger context of the Serbian monastery of Hilandar in particular, that the business connections between the builders and the new patrons may have been forged. It is not without significance that within the area under the jurisdiction of Hilandar Monastery as many as four towers appear to have been built or remodeled during the first three decades of the fourteenth century.[25] Without going into details and the controversial aspects of interpretation of this development, we will examine two of these built in the vicinity of the monastery and with a certain type of affiliation to it. According to the recent investigations, the small coastal monastic outpost of St. Basil, known as Hrusija in the medieval sources, had its tower built possibly just before 1300.[26] According to a charter issued to this small monastic establishment by King Milutin in 1308, it is clear that the king built a church dedicated to the Ascension atop the tower. The tower, measuring 11.5 × 14 meters in plan, had been preserved as high as 15 meters in the early part of the twentieth century (fig. 590). Now, considerably more ruined, its lower part lies buried in rubble.



589 (*left*) Buttressed towers: (A) Galatista; (B) Ezeva, H. Marina; (C)"Tower of King Milutin": (D) Chandaka; plans

590 (*below*) Hrusija, Tower of St. Basil; photo ca. 1900

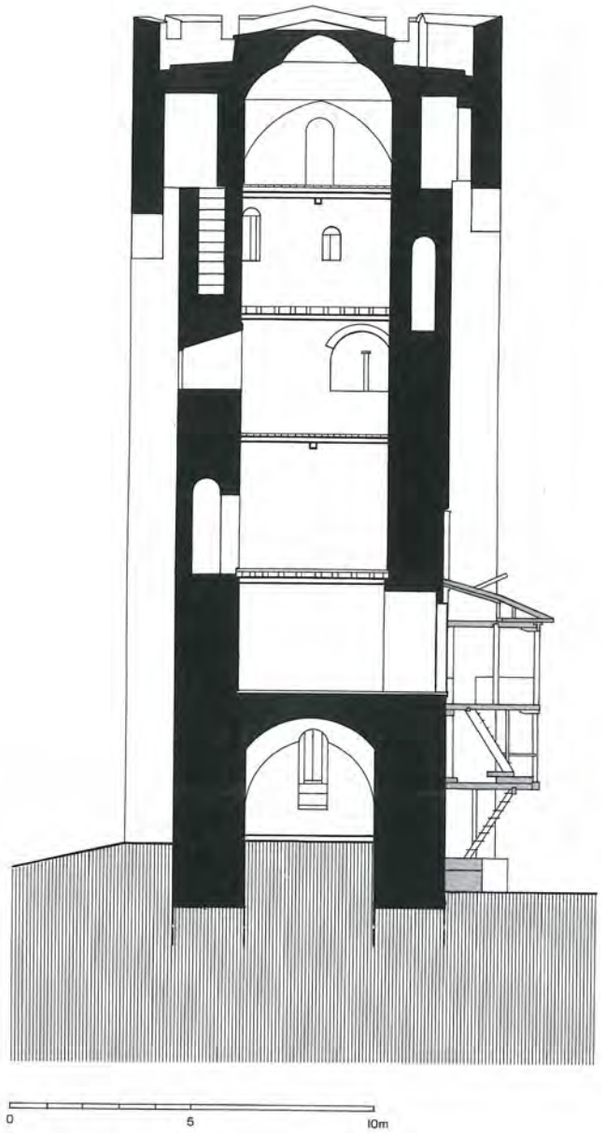


591 "Tower of King Milutin"; general view from NW

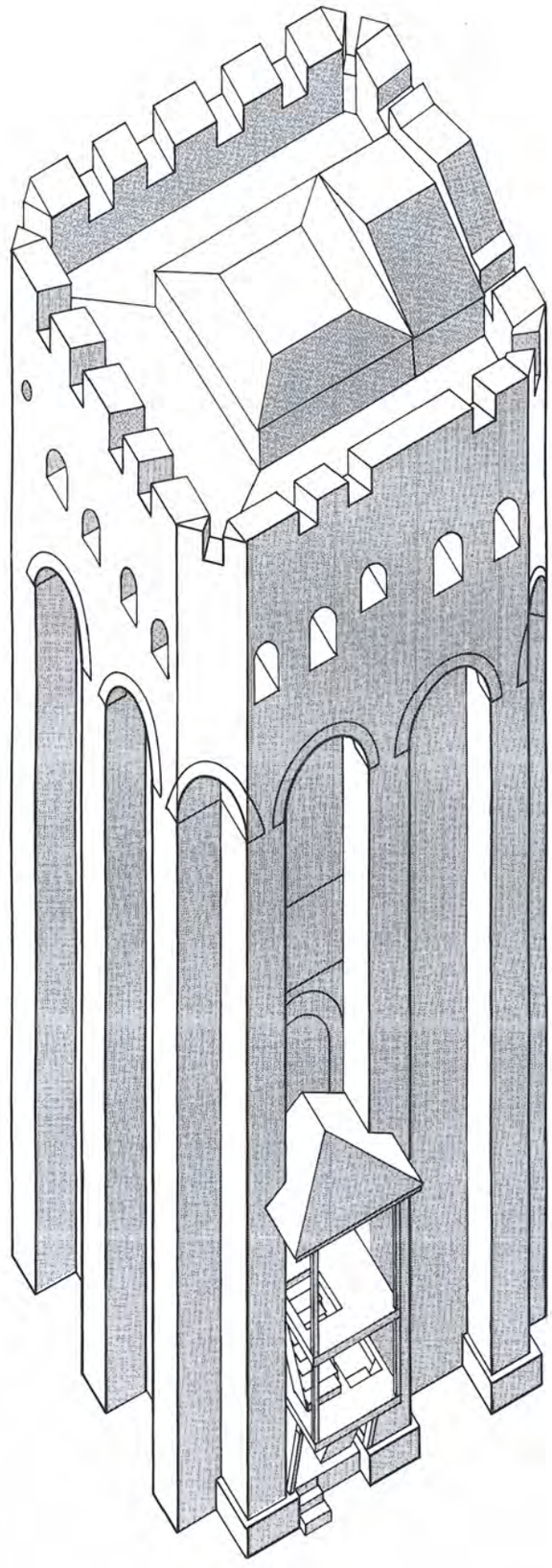
A few hundred meters away from Hrusija on a small plain stands the so-called "Tower of King Milutin," also associated with Hilandar Monastery, probably built sometime after 1300 (figs. 591 and 589c).[27] The tower, notwithstanding its partially restored top, preserves most of its architectural characteristics. Measuring 12.5 × 12.5 meters in plan, the tower rose through six stories, of which only the ground floor was vaulted, while the other floors were made of wood. In its present form it is lacking its final story with a crenelated gallery, which would have rested atop an arcade supported by 21-meter-high spurs projecting from the tower mass itself. Built of a mixture of stone and brick, with an internal spiral staircase, the tower may be considered a paradigm of Byzantine tower construction during this period. It differs from the other towers that we have examined on account of its symmetrically disposed system of spurs on each of its faces, which originally would have been capped by arches. As was the case at Hrusija, the "Tower of King Milutin" was accompanied by a low enclosure, in this case quite small, including a workshop and other utilitarian spaces. The tower itself was probably used for residential purposes, though in some form related to the general monastic context within which it was located. A hypothesis that, as a type, it may have been imported from the West, most notably from France, where numerous twelfth- and thirteenth-century donjons show virtually identical characteristics, has recently been challenged.[28]

Slightly larger, but typologically identical are the two poorly preserved towers at Chandaka (fig. 590d) and Evkarpia near Koutzē in the lower stretch of the River Strymon.[29] They measure approximately 14.5 × 14.5 and 14 × 14 meters in plan, respectively, and display close similarities in building technique with the "Tower of King Milutin," suggesting the possibility that they were the work of the same builder. The exact function of these two towers is not known, but in all probability these were private, residential towers, situated on privately owned estates.

The best-preserved and the most impressive among the towers of similar type to that of King Milutin is the so-called Khrelio's Tower at Rila Monastery in Bulgaria (figs. 592 and 593).[30] Built in 1335, according to a brick inscription above its entrance door, Khrelio's Tower is the only preserved component of the medieval monastery of Rila. Measuring 10.5 × 10.5 meters in plan, the tower is slightly smaller than the other examples we have discussed, but it is preserved to its full height of 23.6 meters. As in the case of the "Tower of King Milutin," Khrelio's Tower had a vaulted ground floor and five wooden floors above (fig. 594). The tower is significant also for a number of other reasons, not the least of which is our knowledge about its patron and the historical circumstances of its erection. It was commissioned by one Protosevast Khrelio, subsequently a high-ranking figure in the Serbo-Greek empire of Stefan Dušan. The tower, built in the best tradition of Byzantine construction, preserves many features not found anywhere else. This is particularly true of its top, where the original domed chapel with most of its contemporary fresco decoration survives. Surrounding the chapel is a gallery with wooden benches around its periphery. Below each of these benches are the fully preserved original machicolation openings. Thus, this gallery served a double function. Generally, as an enveloping narthex, it accommodated the monks, who could gather and sit before or after services in the chapel. At times of attack, on the other hand, the gallery would become a major line of defense for the monks, now boarded up within the donjon tower. The exterior wall of the upper part of the tower has elaborate patterns executed in brick. The south side also features a



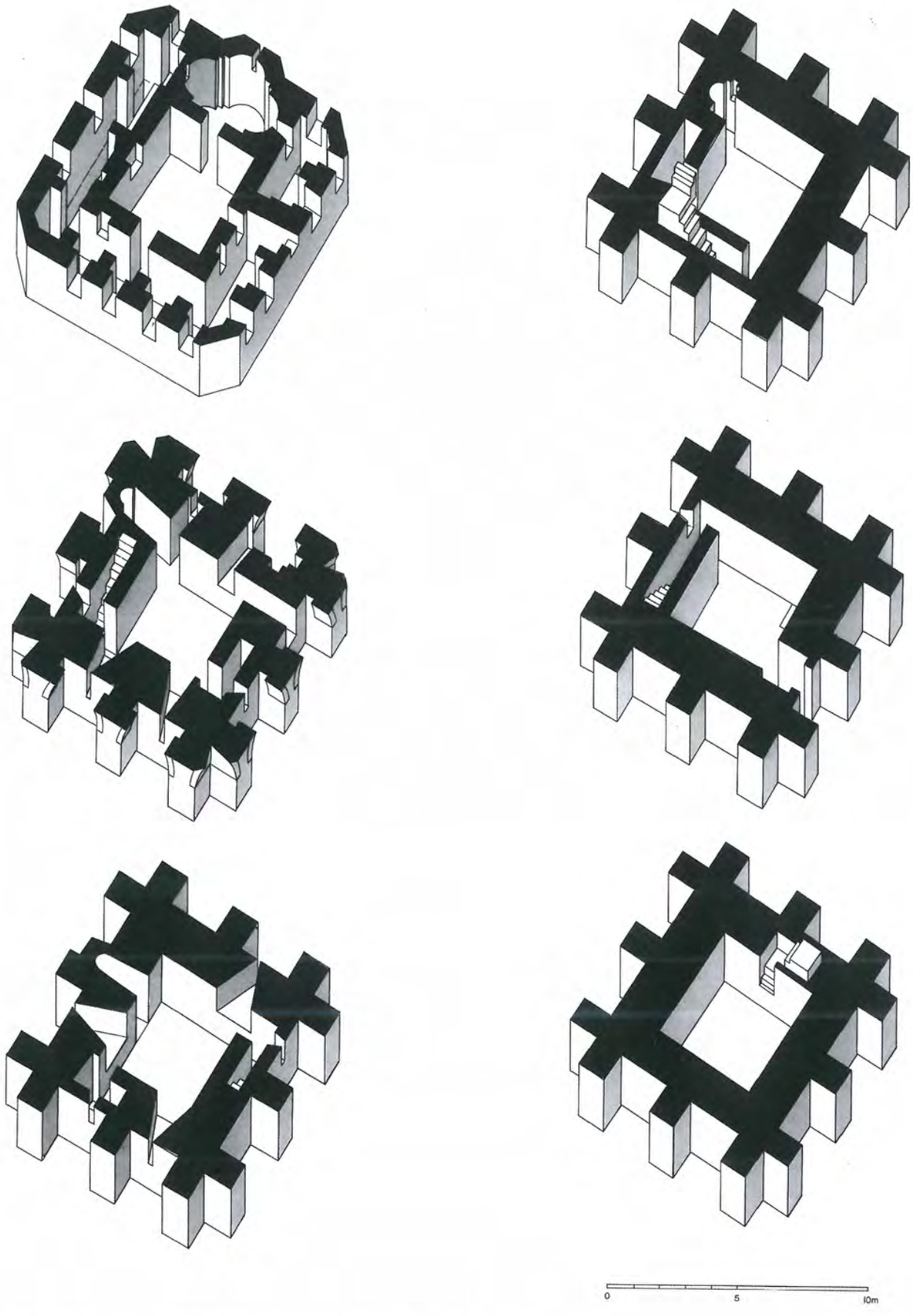
592 Rila Monastery, Khrelio's Tower; section



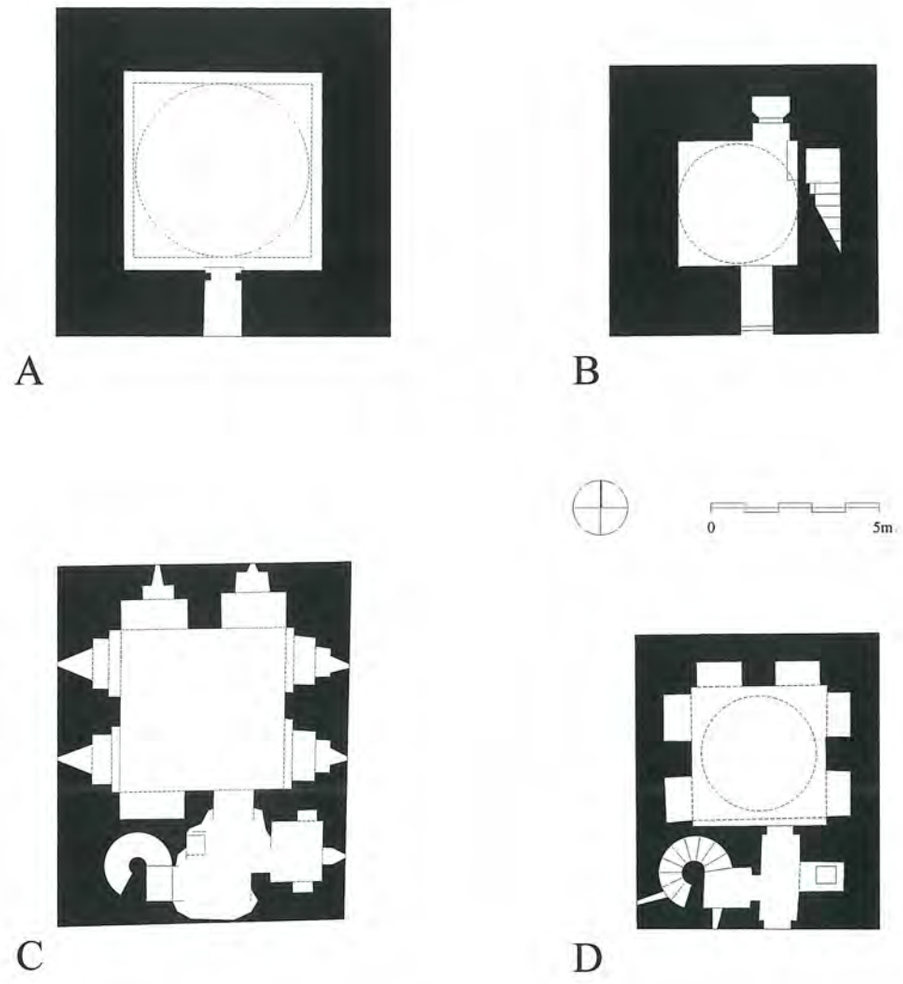
593 Rila Monastery, Khrelio's Tower; axon. drawing

dedicatory inscription executed in brick, directly above the elevated doorway through which one entered the tower. Such inscriptions, along with decorative and symbolic elements, became common in fortification architecture, as noted in the case of the Orestes Tower in Serres.

The second group of Byzantine towers to be considered is characterized by smooth exterior walls. Otherwise similar to the buttressed towers, this type became even more popular, as may be judged by their numbers and geographic spread. It is also important to note that, as with the preceding type, these towers also fulfilled a range of functional needs, residential and monastic, as well as military. One of the largest in this group is the so-called Tower of Mara (Pyrgos tēs Marōs) at Ezeva (modern



594 Rila Monastery, Khrelio's Tower; axonometric plans of six tower floors



595 Towers without buttresses: (A) Ezeva, "Tower of Mara"; (B) Kratovo, Simic's Tower; (C) Kolitsou, tower; (D) Olynthos (near), Tower of Mariana; plans

village of Daphni), within the lower Strymon valley, Greece.[31] Preserved in a ruinous state, this tower measures 12.5 × 12.7 meters in plan and has massive walls 2.5 meters thick (fig. 595A). In terms of its sheer physical mass, this tower is in a class of its own. Its exact function is not known, but judging from its location, in all likelihood it was a private residential tower. This, of course, brings its oversized dimensions into question. A possible explanation may lie in its great height although the precise vertical dimension of the tower is not known. Tradition attributes this tower to Princess Mara, daughter of the Serbian despot Djuradj Branković, and erstwhile wife of the Turkish sultan Murad II. Sometime after Murad's death in 1451, his successor Mehmed II gave his stepmother Mara an estate at a place known as Ježevo in Serbian (Ezeva in Greek), where she remained until her death in 1487. Whether this tower may be associated with her residence, or even with her estate, is a moot point. The construction technique, involving the use of rough fieldstone and brick with large quantities of mortar, as well as large ashlars as quoins, finds its parallel in several fourteenth-century towers in the region. Even if the tower can be shown to have been associated with Princess Mara and her estate, there is no reason why she would necessarily have to be the one to have undertaken its construction. In fact, the building of such a massive tower in the second half of the fifteenth century would have been totally anachronistic.

Another impressive, albeit partially ruined example, is the Tower of Mariana, near the site of ancient Olynthos on the Chalkidiki peninsula, Greece (figs. 595D and 596).[32] The tower, standing in splendid isolation, dominates the surrounding countryside. In this case we are fortunate in the sense that its iden-

596 Olynthos (near), Tower of Mariana; general view from E

597 Olynthos (near), Tower of Mariana; monogram in bricks

tity is confirmed by a document of 1373 linking it to Docheiariou Monastery on Mount Athos, and by a brick monogram on the tower itself that spells out the name of the Docheiariou Monastery (fig. 597). It was probably intended to house the caretaker of monastic land upon which it was built. Its rectangular plan measures 7.3 × 8.8 meters. Its present preserved height of 17 meters is one story (about 3 m) lower than its original full height. The building was still fully preserved at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its partial collapse has resulted in its base being partially buried in debris. The tower was entered, as was typical of most towers of this type, at the second level, to make access in times of attack more difficult. Presumably, its main door would have been equipped with a rope ladder that could be pulled in at will. The principal room at the entrance-floor level was covered by a brick saucer dome. The floor below and at least three other floors above it were made of wood. The tower displays a number of distinctive features that may be associated with Byzantine construction. In addition to the position of its main entrance, the most notable among these is the fine spiral staircase, entirely made of brick and accommodated within the wall mass in the northwest corner of the building, starting immediately to the left of the main entrance. The tower was built in a technique consisting of an irregular mixture of rough fieldstone and brick. Several marble architectural fragments, used as spoils, are visible in its walls. The walls are also externally decorated by decorative brick panels, sun-burst disks, and the monogram. All of these features are characteristic of Byzantine construction toward the middle of the fourteenth century and beyond. The

stilted proportions of the shallow arched niche above the main door (for the fresco of the patron saint) likewise suggest a later construction date.

The association of the Mariana Tower with Docheiariou Monastery and Mount Athos has an important corollary. A tower known as Kolitsou (Kaletzē) belongs to Vatopedi Monastery, and is located only a few kilometers to the south, on the Athos peninsula, Greece.[33] The tower, measuring 10.3 × 13.10 meters in plan, though somewhat larger, is closely related to that of Mariana (fig. 595c). In this case, monastic use of the tower is not in doubt, though the question of its patron continues to be debated. The currently prevalent opinion ascribes its reconstruction to the Emperor John VI Kantakouzēnos, who is believed to have remodeled a ruined mid-eleventh-century tower sometime before 1354. The tower features a brick-constructed spiral stair to the left of the entrance – a solution identical to that at Mariana. The same may be said for the system of interior engaged arches on each floor level. The intervention appears to have included the introduction of a large saucer dome on the top floor. This is of some interest if we also consider the unusual system of vaulting used at the main tower of the citadel at Pythion, built under the auspices of the same emperor, John VI.

Though their concentration was the greatest in Byzantine Macedonia, comparable towers have survived in other parts of present-day Greece and the FYROM. Despite their relatively wide geographic spread – from the Peloponnēsos to the easternmost parts of Thrace – they display remarkable consistencies of design, including stairs accommodated within wall thicknesses, vaulted lower floors, and wooden floors on upper levels. Towers at Karytaina in the Peloponnēsos and that of Phonias on the island of Samothrace may be cited as the farthest-flung among the many other examples.[34]

In an age given over to anxieties because the state could no longer protect its citizens, the initiative for protection was commonly relegated to the private domain. Especially in settlements that had no walls to hide behind, the incidence of private fortifications, mostly towers, appears to have fulfilled this need. One of the more instructive cases in this context is provided by the six freestanding family towers, of a total of at least twice that many, that have survived in the small mining town of Kratovo, in the eastern part of the FYROM. None of these towers is securely dated; their dating largely rests on the evidence of certain internal Ottoman details executed in stucco and the shape of their windows. Because this area was in Ottoman hands already before the end of the fourteenth century, it is possible that at least some of these towers may have been built even before 1400. The so-called Simić's Tower is the largest of the surviving group. Measuring 8 × 8 meters in plan, and rising to a height of 21.9 meters, it dominates the town's skyline (figs. 598 and 595b). In addition to some of its overtly Ottoman stylistic details, one should also note that its four interior stories are connected by means of a staircase built within the thickness of the walls. This, as has been mentioned, was a distinctly Byzantine building detail. The possibility of the overlapping of the two traditions in this particular region at this time is very real. It is important to bear in mind, however, that towers of this type did not become standard in Ottoman urban contexts. Thus, they should be seen as the last vestiges of the Byzantine architectural tradition in this area, despite the Ottoman stylistic veneer that they may have acquired.

598 Kratovo, Simic's Tower; general view

Urban Developments

OLD CITIES

Although fortification building must have been the most conspicuous construction activity in the Balkan lands during the two centuries from *circa* 1250 to *circa* 1450, this did not preclude other forms of architectural creations. Equally important and surprising is the concentration of these activities in cities. Despite the processes of political turmoil and economic decline, the Balkans did witness, albeit on a modest scale, a form of the urban revival vaguely reminiscent of dominating western European developments in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[35] Urban revival in the Balkans manifested itself in two distinctive ways: in a marked increase of building activity in old and established cities and – to a lesser, but no less significant degree – in the creation of new towns. A process of urban renewal was clearly under way, the progress of which was drastically altered by the major crises and changes brought about by the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans during the fifteenth century. That development will be explored extensively in the next chapter.

Constantinople

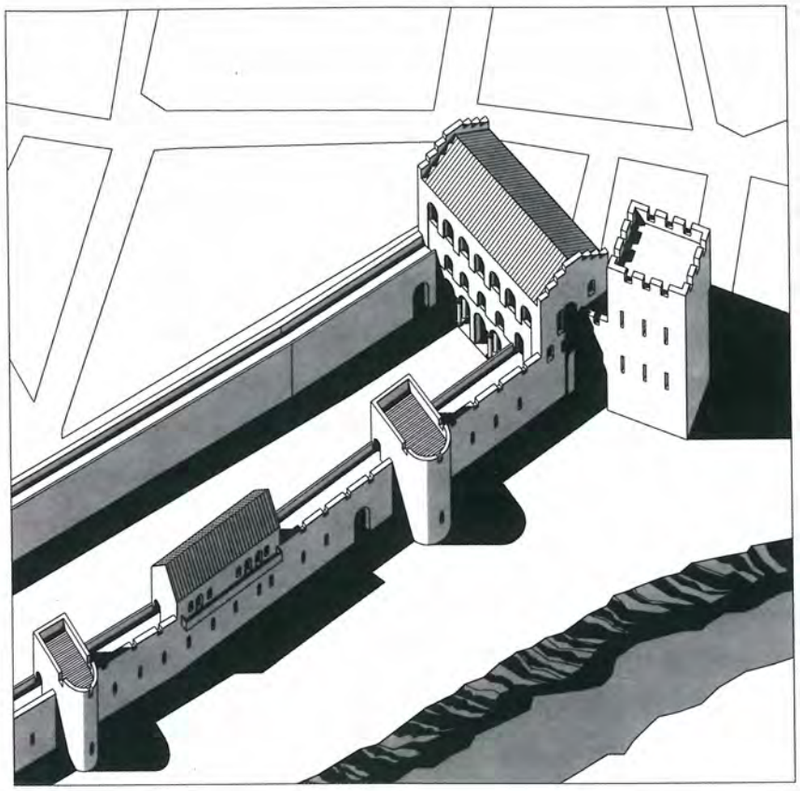
The urban development of Constantinople in the context of the present discussion is chronologically framed by two important historical events: its recapture by the Byzantines on 15 August 1261 and its conquest by the Ottoman forces on 29 May 1453. Although the days of glory of this great city had long since been eclipsed, and the days of its prosperity under the Ottoman sultans still lay far ahead, the period under consideration here was marked by a considerable amount of building. Admittedly, much of that building activity took the form of repair work, limited rebuilding, and additions to existing structures, yet the creative input cannot be denied. Much of this intensive architectural production has been noted in earlier scholarship, as has been the fact that most of it took place during the first six decades after the Byzantine reconquest, that is, during the reigns of Michael VIII (1261–82) and Andronikos II (1282–1328).[36]

Michael VIII entered the city of Constantinople in 1261 as an emperor that had not seen his own capital before. Born and raised in exile during the years of the Latin occupation (1204–61), his perception of the extent of the devastation suffered by the city may not have been as great as it might otherwise have been. Even if that were the case, it would not have made his task of restoration either smaller or easier. The city had suffered enormously, on account of looting, physical abuse, and neglect.[37] It is estimated that as many as one-third of the its buildings may have been completely destroyed. Furthermore, the city was greatly depopulated, its population numbering not more than 40,000, a fraction of the number in earlier centuries. This must have significantly reduced the workforce and negatively affected the economy. Highest on the list of the emperor's priorities must have been the restoration of the city walls as a means of providing a sense of safety and security. The investment proved wise, ensuring the survival of the city – if not the empire – for nearly another two centuries. Written sources highlight the emperor's broad approach to the restoration of the city – the long list includes one of the city's harbors (Kontoskalion), public buildings, streets, stoas, baths, hospices, hospitals, etc., but few specifics are given. Among the major interventions specifically referred to by the sources was the extensive restoration of the imperial palace of Blachernae. The project lasted as long as ten years, requiring the emperor to set up temporary residence in the Great Palace. Virtually nothing of either of these two imperial residences survives, making any comments on their architecture out of the question. The fact that the emperor used the Great Palace is revealing, however. The imperial court had substantially abandoned the Great Palace in the twelfth century, at the time when the Blachernae Palace was built. That parts of the old palace could still be used two centuries later suggests that it must have been maintained and kept to some degree in working order, despite the loss of its primary function.

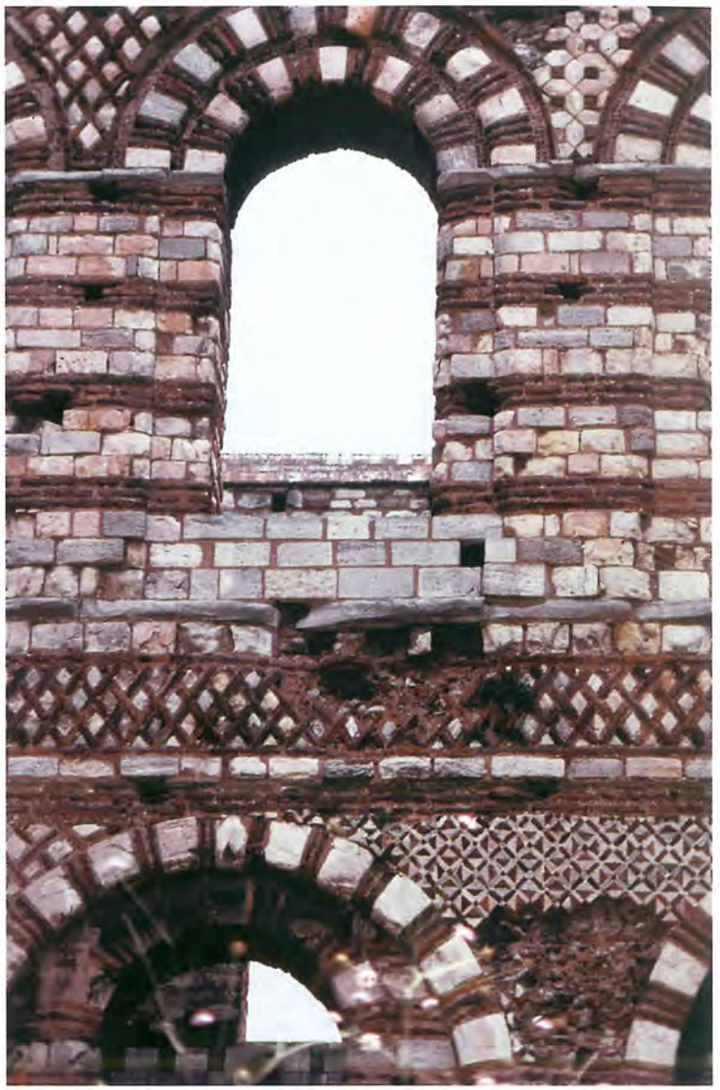
Possibly the only partially preserved building from the time of Michael VIII is the so-called Tekfur Saray (fig. 599).[38] Labeled "Palatium imperatoris" on an early fifteenth-century plan of Constantinople by Buondelmonti (fig. 618), its history and even its real name remain shrouded in mystery. Renowned for its splendid façade, the building is of great importance for a number of reasons, yet its date, and therefore its true significance, has been a subject of an ongoing debate among architectural historians. The association with Constantine Palaeologos, the youngest son of Michael VIII, and a date in the last decades of the thirteenth century stand out as the most convincing among several proposed hypotheses.[39] Built on a hill overlooking the Blachernae Palace, Tekfur Saray may have been physically linked to it. Its main wing is sandwiched between the main city wall and the parallel outer wall (*proteichisma*), as built in the fifth century (fig. 600). The location of the palace and its inward orientation toward the space between the walls signal an increased need for both external and internal security. Such a notion is consistent with what is known about the restless behavior of urban mobs in Constantinople and elsewhere during the period. The security needs of this palace complex were additionally augmented by the incorporation of a tower, originally belonging to the outer line of the city walls. Heightened and linked to the upper story of the main wing, this tower was clearly intended to function as the palace "donjon," a feature common in many fortified palaces built in the Balkans during the period.[40]

599 Constantinople, Tekfur Saray; north façade

The main wing of the palace had three stories. Its ground floor, open through four large arches toward a central court, was internally vaulted by light brick vaults supported on six marble columns and on the perimeter walls. The two stories that rose above this level had wooden ceilings. The external articulation of the main, north façade, with its system of three tiers of superimposed arched openings, has received the greatest amount of attention. Yet, for all our desire to understand Byzantine palace architecture and its potential sources better, few real answers are possible. One need only be reminded of the sobering truth that the shell of the Tekfur Saray is not merely the sole remnant of any palace, but actually the *only* residential building to survive



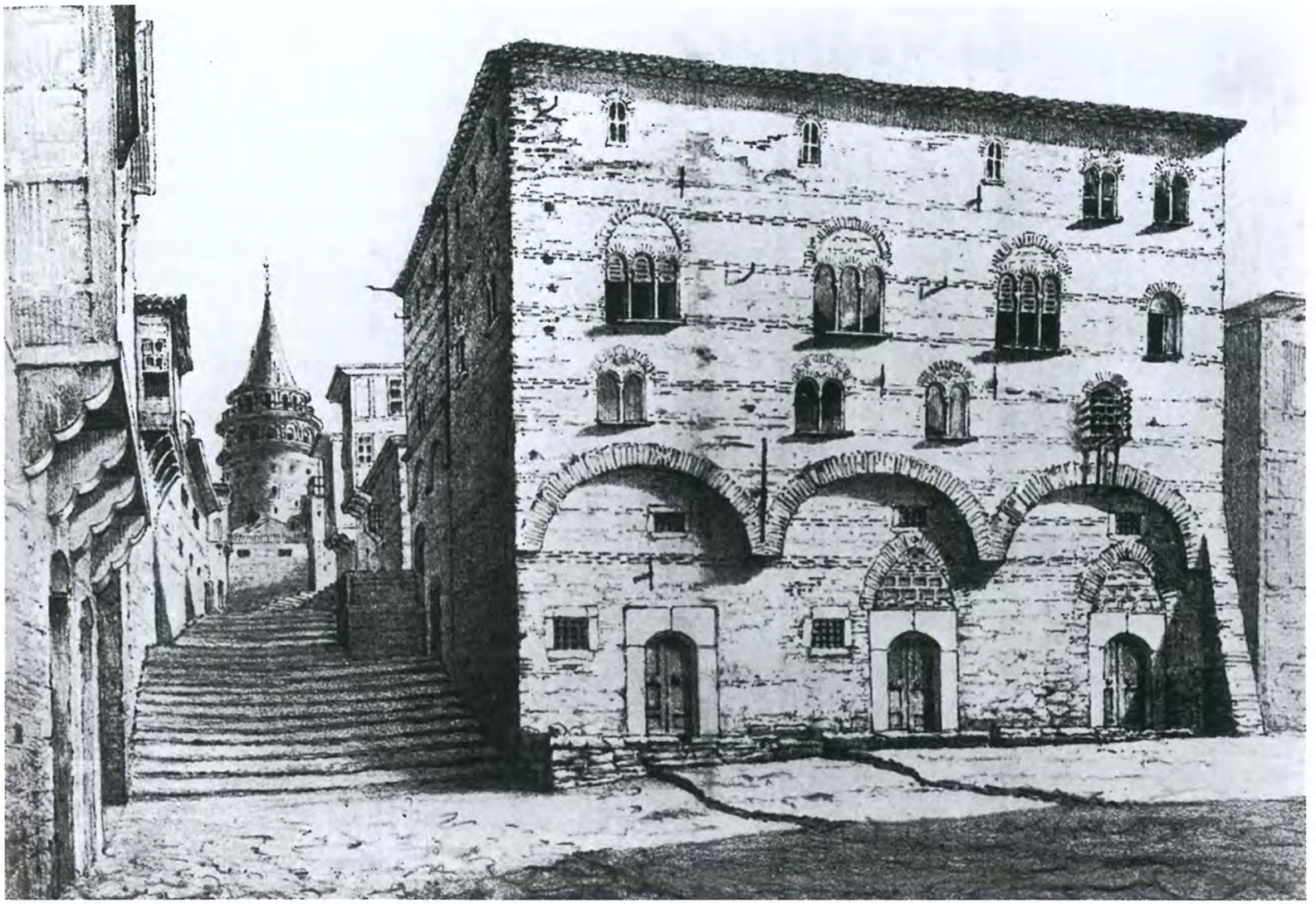
600 Constantinople, Tekfur Saray; axonometric reconstruction of complex



601 Constantinople, Tekfur Saray; north façade, detail

from Byzantine Constantinople. Its polychromatic façade has been analyzed from different points of view. The lack of vertical alignment among its openings can be viewed as belonging to an anti-classical trend in the otherwise strongly classicizing architectural tradition of Constantinople. The decorative banding of its arches and the use of brick and tiles in a variety of patterns in the window spandrels and in horizontal bands reveal an aesthetic generally uncommon among the surviving monuments of the Byzantine capital, but with pronounced affinities with the architecture of Mesembria (modern Nessebur, Bulgaria) (fig. 601).

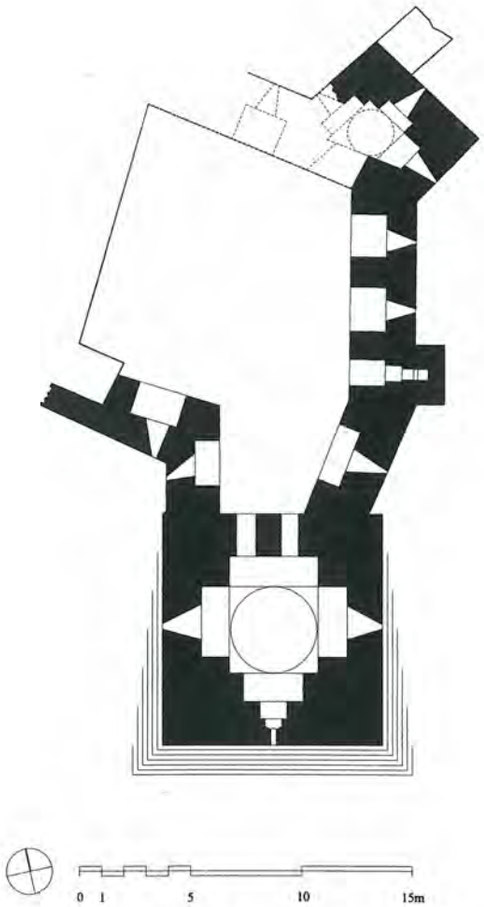
The architecture of the main wing of Tekfur Saray has frequently been loosely compared to Venetian palaces of this period. This comparison is problematic for a number of reasons, as continuing work on the Venetian material indicates.[41] Even so, certain general architectural affinities between Tekfur Saray and monumental "palace" architecture in Italy should not be overlooked. Here it is necessary to stress first of all the appearance of the palace as a multistoried block. More important, perhaps, is the fact that this block was open to the exterior on the ground-floor level through a series of monumental arches. Such a concept was common in public palaces – notably town halls – in many north Italian towns of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. What makes this comparison especially relevant is that such architecture once did exist in Constantinople. The building in question was the Palatium Comunis, built by the Genoese in Pera (Galata) in the last decades of the thirteenth century (fig. 602).[42] Burned and seriously damaged in the fire of 1315, it was rebuilt the following year. A lithograph of the building as it still appeared in the early nineteenth century shows it with a public square in front. It is also discernible that the originally open large arches of the ground floor were enclosed at a later time. While the masonry of the enclosing wall shows similarities with the building walls above, the character of the openings, especially the appearance of two pointed arches, suggests the possibility that this may have been the result of the rebuilding of 1316. In other words, the fire of 1315 may have seri-



602 Constantinople / Pera, Palatium Comunis, 19th-century lithograph

ously damaged large columns that would have been holding up the large arches and the vaults behind them as originally built. In its open, pre-1315 state the Palatium Comunis could have been a building whose architecture may have influenced the design of the Tekfur Saray. Be that as it may, the Palatium Comunis has to be recognized as an important piece of evidence illustrating Western architectural presence in Constantinople. This should come as no surprise. From its inception as a capital city – as we have seen time and again – Constantinople was a major magnet attracting the best builders, artisans, and artists with their new ideas from everywhere. Thus anything *but* stylistic consistency at a given moment, or continuity over time, should be expected as a Constantinopolitan norm. The presence of an Italian town hall, much like the work of Armenian or Persian builders in earlier times, contributed to the sense of opulence and variety that must have marked the great imperial metropolis. Even in its waning days, the sense of this richness was evidently not lost. Because of the extreme paucity of preserved evidence, the temptation among scholars has been to create intellectual paradigms that can be distorting in the "logic" of their approach. We must consciously resist that temptation, and allow for the unexpected variety to make its historically plausible case.

The phenomenon of building a highly fortified palace adjacent to the line of city walls, witnessed in the case of Tekfur Saray, was not an isolated case. During the reign of Emperor John VI Kantakouzēnos (1347–54), and as a result of the bitter civil war during the preceding years, a citadel (*frourion*) was constructed at the Golden Gate.[43] Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about



603 Constantinople, Mermerkule, fortified residence; plan

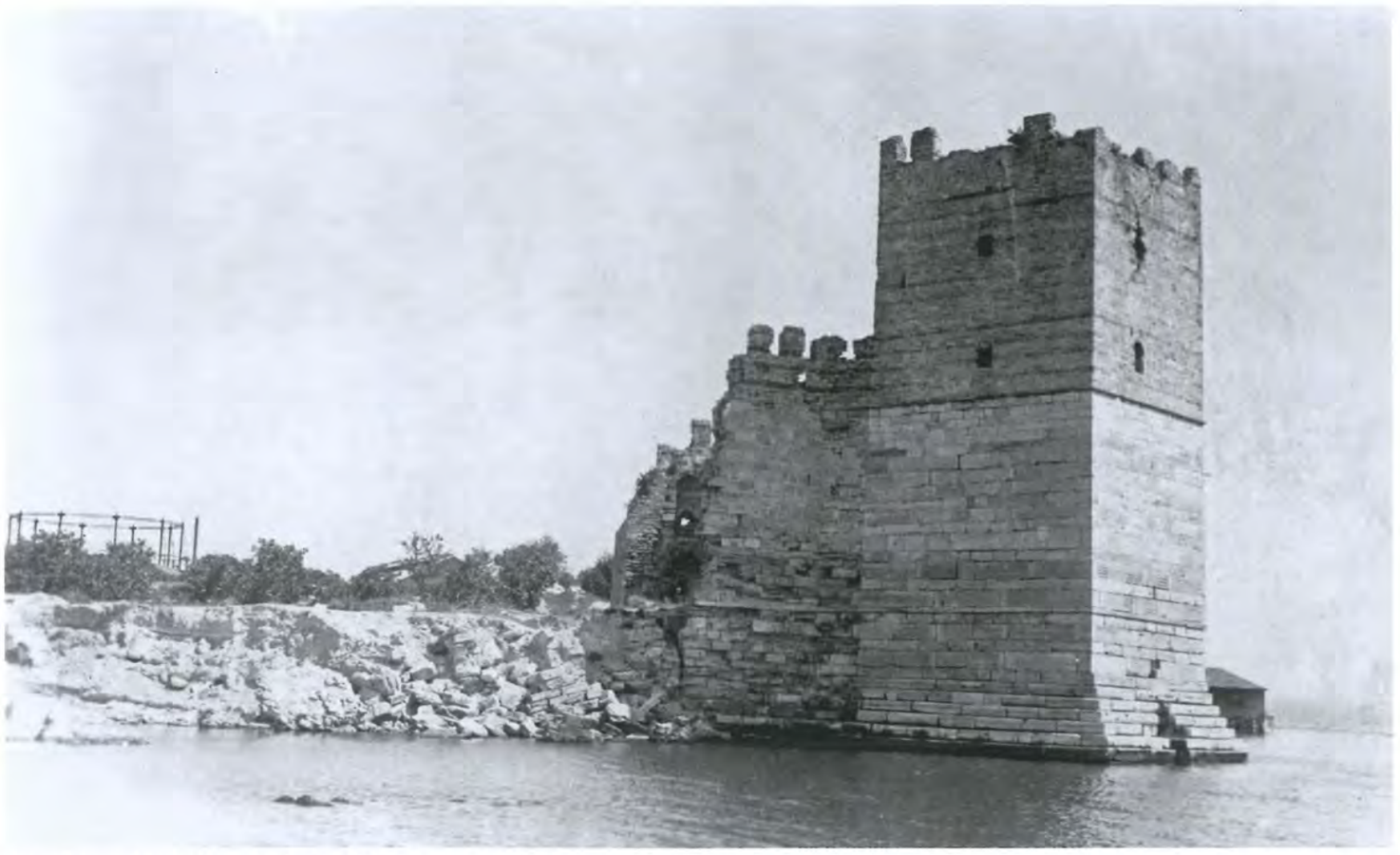
its appearance. What is known is that by March 1390 Emperor John V Palaeologos was living in the citadel at the Golden Gate, referred to by this time as "Kastellion tēs Chryseias," the appearance of which is also a mystery. In fact, we do not even know whether it and the earlier *frourion* constituted one and the same thing. From the written sources we learn about the dismantling of the *kastellion* under threats of Sultan Bayezid I, carried out by February 1391. Thus, in the case of the Golden Gate citadel, we can be sure only that it was used for a period of time as a residence of Emperor John V and that it was subsequently destroyed.

The last documented case of such a late fortified residence appears to be that situated in the vicinity of the Golden Gate and known by the popular name of its main tower as Mermerkule (figs. 603 and 604).[44] Recent research indicates that this fortified residence may have belonged to one Theodoros Palaeologos Kantakouzēnos, and therefore ought to be dated to the first decade of the fifteenth century. Its remains are even more meager than those of Tekfur Saray, suggesting only that it had several stories and a small central courtyard with three cisterns, possibly of a slightly later date, beneath its floor.

The Genoese, in their colonial settlement of Galata, no less than the Byzantines across the Golden Horn, felt the need to protect their possessions by resorting to fortification construction. One of the most impressive testimonies of their investment in fortification architecture is the imposing Galata Tower, still one of the most recognizable symbols on the town's skyline.[45] Possibly begun as early as 1316, this cylindrical tower has changed its overall appearance several times through its history. With a base diameter of 16.45 meters and a present height of 40 meters (without its conical roof and finial), the tower is one of the largest such constructions to have survived from the late Middle Ages in the Balkans. Its walls, 3.5 meters thick, contain a system of stairs that provide access to the upper stories and contain small rooms at certain levels. Built almost exclusively of stone, the Galata Tower was modified in its appearance on a number of occasions. Bands of brick courses at heights of 13.2 and 17 meters, may indicate levels at which past interventions occurred. While this remains a hypothetical possibility, the erstwhile presence of an enclosing wall at a distance of some 18 meters from the exterior of the Galata Tower is a certainty. This wall formed a semicircular arc that linked the tower, situated at the highest point of the Galata city walls, with the rest of the fortification system. Isolated as it is today, the Galata Tower is the only substantial remnant of the Genoese fortifications system of Galata.

Although Michael VIII is known to have restored Hagia Sophia and two churches with specific older family ties, practically nothing that survives can be said to belong to his direct patronage of ecclesiastical architecture in the capital. An unusual intervention involved the restoration of the church of the Holy Apostles, which at this time acquired a large column in front of it, with a sculptural group depicting the Archangel Michael with the emperor at his feet. This column has rightly been perceived as a conscious emulation of the earlier honorific columns that marked the capital. A deliberate looking back at the city's late antique past was undoubtedly one of the cultural characteristics of the age. In connection with the church of the Holy Apostles, and the placement of the new column in front of it, the similarity with the church of San Marco in Venice and its nearby pair of columns should be noted as a particularly relevant, roughly contemporary solution.[46] One of the Venetian columns has a sculptural group depicting St. Theodore slaying a dragon on its top.

If the reign of Michael VIII may be said to be marked predominantly by the secular character of architectural undertakings, that of Andronikos II, by contrast, had an overwhelmingly ecclesiastical character.[47] Here we must be cautious not to give this emperor too much credit for being either a pious individual or a great church builder. In fact, no surviving church building that can be associated with the chronological parameters of

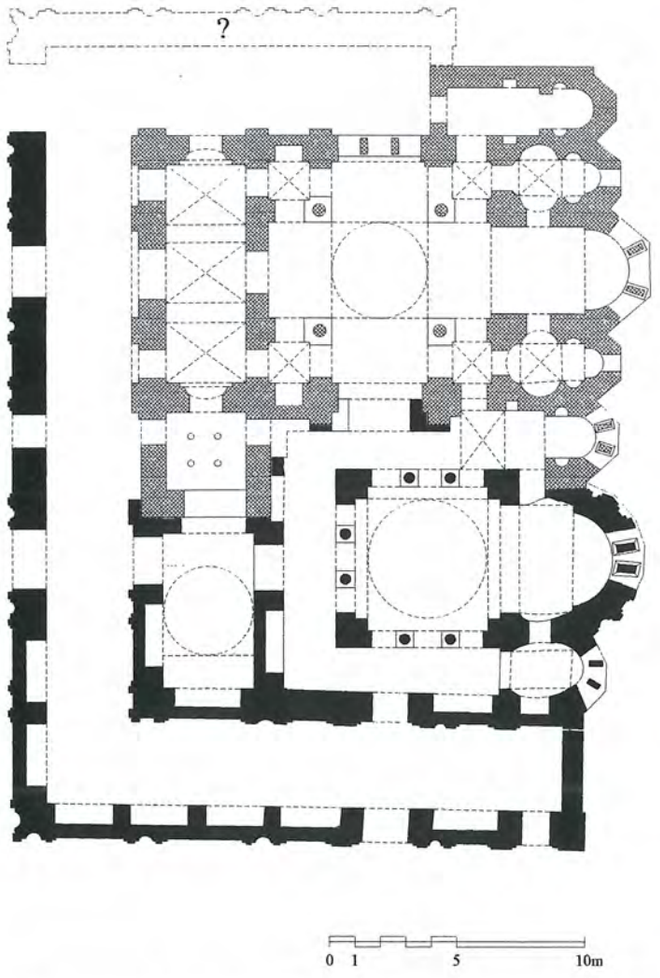


604 Constantinople, Mermerkule, fortified residence; general view from W (19th-century)

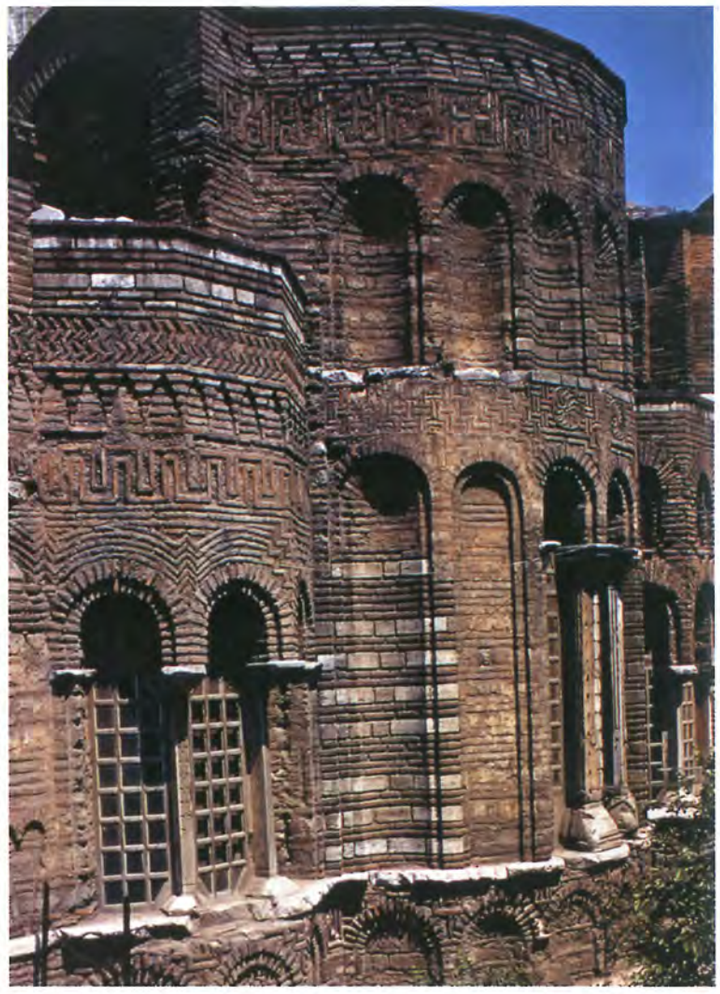
his reign can be linked directly to his patronage. Most of the projects undertaken in Constantinople from the 1280s to the 1320s were actually private foundations. The only known imperial foundation, and the oldest among the surviving church buildings, is the church of H. Ioannes Prodromos (also known as the South Church) in the Monastery of Lips (present-day Fenarî Isa Camii), finished by the emperor's wife, Theodora, after her husband's death in 1282 and before her own death in 1303 (figs. 655 and 656).[48] The new church, measuring 13 × 20 meters, was built as an addition to the much older church of the Theotokos within the Lips Monastery. Both conceptually and in its functional intent, the plan followed the example of the great Pantokrator Monastery that housed the mausoleum of the Komnenian dynasty. Theodora's intention to make the south church into a mausoleum of the Palaeologan dynasty was fully materialized. Just over a century following her own burial, the last member of the family was buried there in 1406 (?). By the years 1460–80, however, the church was converted into a mosque, all of its furnishings, including the numerous tomb markers, destroyed, and its interior architecture significantly altered. The church, as originally built, was physically directly related to the older, North Church. A projecting stair tower and a lateral chapel along the southeast flank of the North Church were retained and incorporated into the new building. The new church adopted an "ambulatory church plan." This involved a central, square cross-domed bay defined by four massive piers supporting a large dome over the naos. Its naos, much more spacious than that of the North Church, is related to a sanctuary also correspondingly wider than that of the neighboring church. The ambulatory that envelops the naos on its north, south, and west sides was separated from the core by triple arcades on each of the three sides, supported on pairs of columns set between the main piers. The ambulatory was clearly intended to accommodate individual tombs, as their uncovered remains illustrate. The focal point of the entire funerary ensemble was the tomb of the patroness situated within a broad archway at the point of junction between the two churches, so that the tomb was visible from both sides. This may have been an emulation of an arrangement that apparently existed between the south and the central church of the Pantokrator Monastery, with the tomb of Emperor

605 Constantinople, Monastery of Lips, complex of churches; from SE

Manuel I visually framed by an archway connecting the south church with the central church dedicated to Archangel Michael. At the South Church of the Lips Monastery, more tombs were situated in the asymmetrically disposed, domed narthex, and more yet, within large arcosolia, provided for when a huge enveloping exonarthex was added on the south and west sides sometime later in the fourteenth century, binding the two churches into a monumental whole. The architecture of the South Church does display certain affinities with the older architecture of the capital. Its plan, and even its basic building technique, can be meaningfully compared with some earlier trends. However, should that lead us to assume that the building was the work of local artisans? For several decades prior to 1261 Constantinople was deprived of any Byzantine building patronage. Are we to take it for granted that building workshops, such as may have existed in a major center of this magnitude, would have been able to survive without adequate work during that time? The Latins, notwithstanding a certain amount of adaptive work that they carried out, actually built very little. The key to this important issue seems to lie in Nicaea, the capital of the Byzantine emperors in exile. Their needs in the new capital surely would have attracted some, if not most of the builders from Constantinople. Their work, combined with the traditional working practices in Nicaea and the surrounding area, in all likelihood yielded a new style. This style was marked by the underlying tectonic firmness of the wall and its classicizing features (e.g., engaged pilasters, blind arcades), juxtaposed with a highly decorative veneer of multiple patterns executed mostly in brick. The decorative vocabulary that appears on the east side of the South Church consists of multiple motifs that articulate the individual fields or run as bands across large expanses of wall (fig. 607).[49] The apparent discipline of this "mannerist" style of architecture finds its closest parallels in the tradition of building associated with Nicaea.[50]



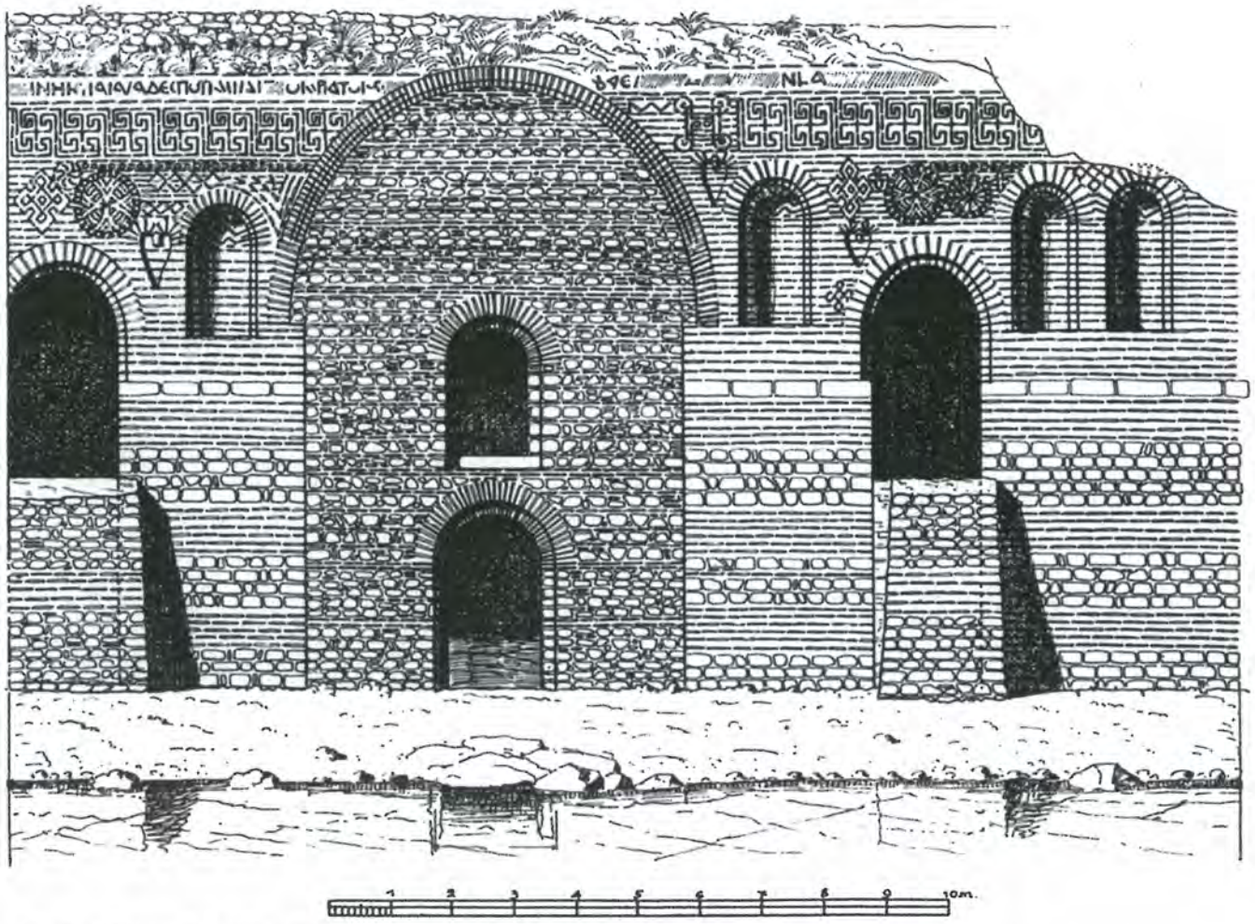
606 Constantinople, Monastery of Lips, complex of churches; plan



607 Constantinople, Monastery of Lips, South Church; east end, from SE

The only other monument in Constantinople that shares practically all of the decorative vocabulary with the South Church of Constantine Lips is the surviving façade of the substructure of the former church of Christos Philanthropos (fig. 608).[51] Situated along the Sea Walls, and adjacent to the monastery of Hagios Georgios of Mangana, this building is thought to have been built *circa* 1308 by Eirene Choumnos, widow of John Palaeologos (son of Emperor Andronikos II). The surviving portion of the façade is a monumental structure in its own right. The actual church is believed to have stood on a platform directly above, but all traces of it have been lost. Its substructure, consisting of three massive parallel barrel vaults carried on a system of piers, originally opened toward the exterior in a manner recalling a type of triple city gate. The placement of churches and chapels above city gates would have been no new phenomenon in the Byzantine world at the outset of the fourteenth century. The decorative handling of the façade, however, revealed a preference for the new aesthetic alluded to above. The substructure façade was originally topped by a long inscription executed in brick, whose text already at the beginning of the twentieth century was too damaged to be read. Other brick patterns, including a complex meander, "sun-bursts," the so-called heart motifs, and a number of other patterns all appear also on the east façade of the South Church of Constantine Lips. If the proposed dating is correct, the substructure façade of Christos Philanthropos may have been built by the same workshop as the South Church of the Lips Monastery, completed before Empress Theodora's death in 1303.

Two other large church complexes in Constantinople have many characteristics in common with the Lips Monastery in its final Byzantine form. Both of these were private, rather than imperial commissions. The first – the monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos (present-day Fethiye Camii) – was a foundation of the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes and his wife,



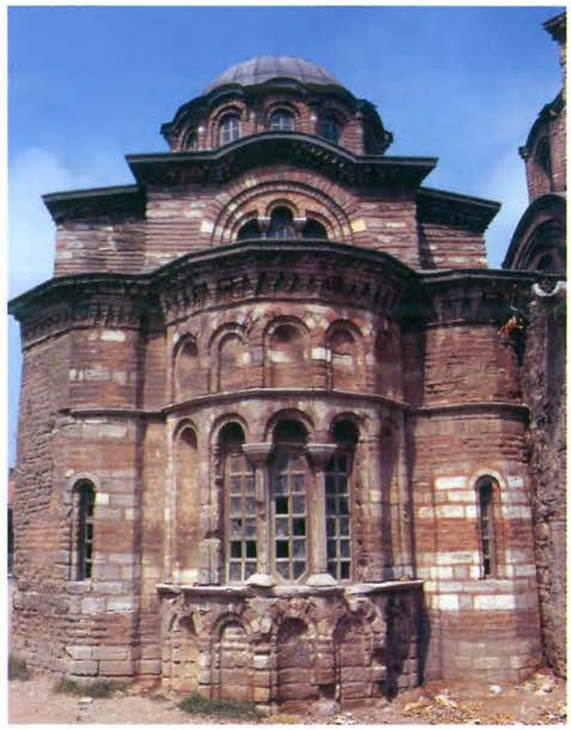
608 Constantinople, Christos Philanthropos, substructure; E. façade

Maria Dukaena Branaena. The main monastery church, dating from the early twelfth century, had evidently been substantially damaged, requiring repairs that were begun by Tarchaniotes in the 1290s. The restoration work also involved the expansion of the church complex in stages.[52] The first addition to be built was a small domed chapel in the northeast corner and an enclosed aisle-like space that led to it along the northern flank of the building. After the founder's death, *circa* 1310–15, his widow supervised the building of a splendid parekklesion (lateral chapel) against the southeast corner of the main church. This was followed by the addition of an exonarthex that wrapped around the south and west sides of the original church and connected with the northern "aisle" built earlier. In the middle of the west façade originally rose a belfry. After the Ottoman conquest of 1453, the monastery continued to function, shortly afterwards becoming the seat of the patriarchate, a function it retained until the years 1574–95, at which time it was converted into a mosque. It must have been at this time that the belfry was dismantled and eventually replaced by the present minaret at the southwest corner of the complex. The parekklesion, intended as a family mausoleum, has all the characteristics of an independent church, and is not only the most important addition to the complex, but one of the finest preserved buildings of fourteenth-century Constantinople (figs. 609 and 610). Two inscriptions on its south façade, one carved on a marble string-course, and the other one in brick below the roof line, provide the relevant historical information.[53]

A cross-in-square in plan, measuring 8 × 14.5 meters, the parekklesion has a regular narthex with a small gallery above it, crowned by a pair of domes elevated on drums and therefore visible externally. The gallery was made accessible via a narrow stair embedded in the building's western wall. The presence of a gallery, with a central internal opening overlooking the naos, affected the overall height of the building. This is made manifest in the expression of the cross arms under the main dome. Unlike the usual solutions, the eastern cross arm is not only significantly higher than the main apse, but it also contains a triple window in its tympanum that matches those on the north and south sides (fig. 611). The exterior of this chapel displays alternating bands of several courses of brick and several courses of small ashlars – a technique at home in Constantinople since at least the fifth century. As opposed to the conservative building

609 Constantinople, Theotokos Pammakaristos, parekklesion; general view from SW

technique, the façades of the building are enlivened by tympana with triple and single windows, blind arches, narrow and deep wall niches, and marble corbels, organized so that the vertical and horizontal compositional divisions compete with each other without a clear sense of balance. All of this reveals a new approach to architectural design in the capital. In addition, the appearance of checkerboard patterns, sun-bursts, a brick inscription band, and a single ogival arch on the south façade illustrate the highly decorative approach to design that, though considerably more restrained, has much in common with the South Church of the Monastery of Lips. Our conclusion must be that several related, but different smaller workshops were busy working independently in Constantinople in the decades after 1261. Their arrival in the capital, possibly from different centers, put them into the position of sharing their experiences and technical knowledge, thus contributing to the making of a new style of architecture. The dearth of surviving buildings, or possibly a general lack of patronage, from the second quarter of the fourteenth century on makes the question of what constituted the "real" Late Byzantine style in the capital a moot point. Closely affiliated architectural developments in Bulgaria and especially in Serbia after *circa* 1340 suggest that the



610 Constantinople, Theotokos Pammakaristos, parekklesion; general view from E

612 Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora, katholikon; general view from SE

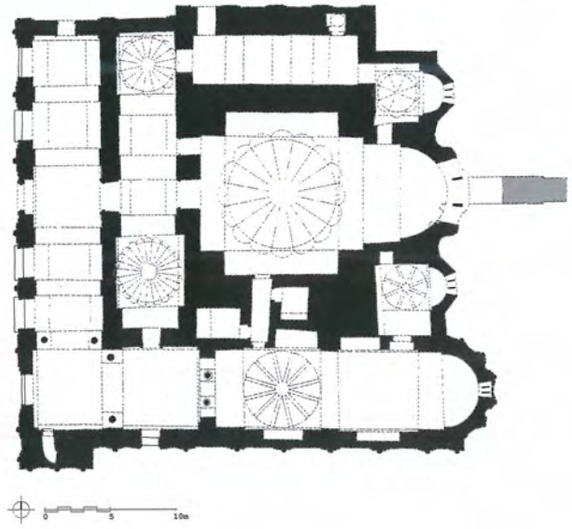
decline in patronage in Constantinople after *circa* 1320 may have spurred another exodus of builders and artisans. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter.

The second among the distinguished private foundations of this period was the famous monastery of Christ of the Chora (presently better known by its Turkish name Kariye Camii), the creation of the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites, one of the most influential people at the court of Andronikos II (fig. 612).[54] On account of its well-preserved superb mosaics and frescoes, cleaned from 1948 to 1952, the main church – the only preserved component of this monastery – is second in perceived importance only to Hagia Sophia among the surviving monuments of Byzantine Constantinople. The manner by which the present church came into being, sometime between 1316 and 1320–21, reveals great similarities with the monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos. As in that case, the core of the main church has a much older history – its eleventh- and twelfth-century phases being of particular importance and still partially visible in the present building (fig. 613). In the present church, the core consists of a cross-domed naos, measuring 12 × 12 meters, enclosed by walls on three sides and originally by an iconostasis on the fourth side. Enveloping the core is a two-storied annex on the north side, a long funerary parekklesion on the south side, and a pair of narthexes on the west side (fig. 614). Of these, the inner narthex is covered by an asymmetrical pair of domes elevated on drums, while the outer one originally had the form of an open porch whose arcades were subsequently, but still in Byzantine times, enclosed for the purpose of accommodating additional tombs. At the southwest corner of the cluster originally rose a belfry, accessible by a preserved spiral staircase. The dismantling of the belfry must have been one of the priorities at the time of the conversion of the church into a mosque in 1453. In its place arose the present minaret. The overall plan, as in the churches of the monastery of the Lips and the monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos, is marked by a decided asymmetry. That characteristic on the one hand under-

611 (*facing page*) Constantinople, Theotokos Pammakaristos, parekklesion; interior, view into the main dome

613A Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora, katholikon, naos interior: view into the main dome

614 Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora; katholikon, plan



scores the importance attached to functional considerations, but at the same time it points to certain fundamental changes in aesthetic outlook that characterize the architecture of this period and distinguish it – at least in the context of the capital – from the predominant earlier tradition. In many respects the architecture reveals strong conservative traits, most notably in the building technique, consisting of rigorously regular bands of several courses of brick alternating with bands of several courses of small, neatly cut ashlars. Elegantly cut string-courses and engaged colonnettes mark the exterior façades, introducing an air of classical ordering (fig. 615). The fundamental lack of classical principles, however, could not be concealed by merely a few "correct" details. The impression of the whole remains thoroughly anti-classical. As in the case of the parekklesion of Theotokos Pammakaristos, the decorative vocabulary of the new

613B Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora, katholikon, naos interior: view into the sanctuary

style is restrained. It is apparent only in a few ogival arches that frame blind niches, and in the monograms of Theodore Metochites executed in brick, contained in some of those niches. While an "anti-classical" attitude may be said to prevail in the architectural design of the new building and its façades, many aspects of the interior reveal a very different, classicizing spirit. This is evident in the grand space of the naos, refurbished in its entirety by Metochites with splendid wall revetments that rise to the springing points of the arches and vaults in this fourteenth-century building as in the finest interiors of the age of Justinian I. A superb arched panel forms a canopy over the *Hodegetria* mosaic, once an integral part of the iconostasis screen that was removed at the time of the conversion of the church into a mosque. Though brutalized at the same time, the canopy panel reveals the virtuosity of the art of classicizing sculpture in Con-

615 Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora; parekklesion, south façade

616 Constantinople, Monastery of Christ in the Chora, katholikon; proskynetarion canopy panel

stantinople at the time (fig. 616). On account of its extraordinary quality the piece was assigned to the eleventh or early twelfth century, but its fourteenth-century dating has now been established.[55] A great emphasis in the planning of the new church complex was given to the single-aisled, domed parekklesion, whose walls were lined with richly decorated arcosolia intended for the accommodation of the burials of the founder and the members of his family. The tombs were all destroyed at the time of the conversion of the building into a mosque, but the splendid spandrel sculpture framing the arcosolia survives as a testament to the one-time opulence of this private monastic foundation and the wealth of its patron. Toward the end of his life, Theodore Metochites himself became the beneficiary of the monastic splendor he had created. Having fallen from power in 1328, and having witnessed his private palace destroyed by a mob, he retired as a monk in his own monastery, where he died in 1332. Decoration associated with several subsequent burials proves that the monastery continued to prosper well into the fifteenth century, apparently suffering an abrupt end during the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453.

617 Constantinople, Kilise Camii, exonarthex exterior; from NW

One other related monastic church complex, comparable to the three already discussed, survives. Known only by its Turkish name of Kilise Camii, its original Byzantine dedicatory name, as well as its patron, remain unknown.[56] Despite these historical uncertainties, the church deserves mention in this context. Its well-preserved original core, probably dating from the early eleventh century, was partially enveloped in the fourteenth. The enclosing structures included a two-storied annex against the northwest corner, a long three-domed exonarthex, a massive substructure (probably of a belfry) at the southwest corner, and a no-longer-extant open portico with a small chapel, along the south flank of the church. Among the components added in the last Byzantine phase, the exonarthex – in this case – stands out as the finest (fig. 617). The long structure, measuring 20 × 4.8 meters in plan, is internally subdivided into five square bays. Three of these – at the extreme ends of the exonarthex and the central one – are covered by domes elevated on low drums. The central dome is axially related to the naos of the church with its dome. The other two domes sit over the bays that project beyond the width of the original building and are linked to the additions along the north and south flanks of the church. The façade of the exonarthex, for all of its monumentality and overall symmetry, reveals fundamental departures from the classicizing principles respected in earlier Byzantine architecture in the capital and an adherence to the new decorative style that we have already defined. The façade is subdivided horizontally by a delicate stone string-course into two fundamentally different zones. The lowest, in addition to the centrally located portal, has two clusters of triple windows supported on Early Byzantine columns reused as mullions. Each of these triple windows is framed by a pair of slender semicircular niches, somewhat taller than the arches of the windows. Above the horizontal string-course, five arched tympana, each containing windows that correspond internally to the bays mentioned earlier, articulate the façade. The upper and the lower façades use completely different systems of formal articulation in total disregard not only of visual, but of basic structural principles as well. Thus the heavy pier masses between two arched tympana on the upper level may be seen resting directly over the small arch of a triple window on the lower level. The lower part of the façade gives an impression of a light portico, especially on account of the Early Byzantine columns that support the arcades. The lower parts of these

triple openings are enclosed by reused Early Byzantine parapet slabs. In addition to the four columns in the triple windows on the façade, there are four more reused Early Byzantine columns within the exonarthex. They are engaged against the original church façade and support stilted arches that define the central three bays of the narthex. A nineteenth-century drawing by Charles Texier indicates that the lateral portico on the south side may have had another four reused columns incorporated in it. A massive Byzantine structure, square in plan and projecting south beyond the width of the narthex, has been interpreted as the remaining base of a belfry. The minaret in part rests on this structure. The extensive reuse of older architectural sculpture suggests that remains of an Early Byzantine building, or buildings, may have existed in the vicinity. Although the general character of the architecture of this exonarthex appears to point away from late antique principles, some of its details suggest the opposite. Thus, the preserved mosaic decoration in the southern exonarthex dome reveals the use of decorative bands so as to underscore the physical presence of ribs in the dome. In other words, decoration in this case helps to emphasize the tectonic and structural aspects of the architectural form very much in the spirit of late antique architectural principles. The same trend appears in the frescoes of the parekklesion dome at the monastery of the Chora. All of this is in contrast to the Middle Byzantine tendency to treat the dome background as a continuous, usually gold surface, thus downplaying the tectonic properties of the dome shell.

The complex multicultural scene characteristic of Constantinople over the centuries is evident in its last medieval phases as well. In its predominantly Genoese suburb of Pera (Galata), the very active religious life of the Catholic community can be noted. Especially important was the activity of the various monastic and religious orders. Among these, stood out the Dominicans, who, around 1325, erected an enormous church dedicated to SS. Paul and Dominic (presently Arap Camii).[57] The substantially preserved three-aisled, wooden-roofed basilica measures nearly 50 meters in length and is 23 meters wide. Its simple rectangular plan that encloses a rectangular sanctuary, once flanked by rectangular chapels, adheres closely to the tradition of mendicant architecture in Italy. Many of its architectural forms, such as the belfry and the pointed arches, likewise reveal an imported scheme. Its execution, however, was local: brick and stone construction and many smaller details betray Byzantine craftsmanship. The church was built by the wealthy Genoese local community. Many members of this community were buried in the building, possibly in separate side chapels that have since disappeared. This church shared the fate of most of the Orthodox churches since it, too, was converted into a mosque in 1475–76.

The case of combining technical and artistic resources of very different backgrounds in a common project, as illustrated by the church of SS. Paul and Dominic, was not unique in Late Byzantine Constantinople. In some ways far more impressive, in this context, was the rebuilding of the dome of Hagia Sophia itself, following its collapse after an earthquake in May 1346. A project of this magnitude required not only substantial resources, but also technical know-how and a skilled working force. The work lasted until 1352–53 and was supervised by two men – a Byzantine by the name of Georgios Synadenos Astras and a Catalan, Giovanni Peralta, while the funding came from the Grand Duke of Moscow.[58] Such "international" undertakings were not uncommon in the world of the late Middle Ages, hence the episode involving the dome of Hagia Sophia must not be misread simply as evidence of current Byzantine technical inferiority.[59]

From the point of view of the local building tradition in Constantinople, the small church of St. Bênoit, built in an eastern suburb of Pera in 1427, is particularly revealing.[60] Originally a Benedictine monastic establishment, it was constructed over the ruins of an abandoned Byzantine church, whose remains were pilfered for materials, and even sold in part. Several of the architectural aspects of the new church, especially its belfry and a domed chapel, reveal characteristics of Late Byzantine architecture in the capital a hundred years after the last documented Byzantine building was presumably built. The evidence of St. Bênoit suggests that the Byzantine building tradition in Constantinople may have endured much longer than the information presented to us by the documents and the surviving monuments suggests.[61]

From the foregoing discussion of Constantinople during its last two centuries as the capital of the Byzantine Empire, it is clear that its urban presence continued, albeit substantially shrunken and more modest than it had been before the Latin occupation began in 1204. The rebuilding efforts of Michael VIII, and the new building activity by Andronikos II and his wealthy aristocracy, give us a clear indication that the city still projected a sense of its urban being that it had never lost throughout its more than a millennium-long existence. At the same time, it is clear that the volume of what was achieved could hardly make up what had been lost. In other words, we cannot speak of any real urban growth. Having suffered among other losses also from the effects of the Black Death in the 1340s, the city was greatly depopulated. As a result, large areas of land within the Theodosian walls were uninhabited, used for farming, or simply unused. An urban image of the city that one has to conjure during this time is very different from the grand metropolis of old, crossed by wide colonnaded avenues linking great public squares with their honorific monuments, and streets and squares

Pera ciuitas
37
73
argonens
S. demetrius
S. Georgius de mangana
apostoli
S. maria
hippodromus
S. lazarus
74
porta crestea
S. adreas
S. iohes de studio

lined with colonnaded porticoes. The late medieval city must have looked much more like what a mid-fifteenth-century drawing attributed to Buondelmonti depicts (fig. 618). Within the great walled enclosure, amidst much open space, one sees individual buildings, or groups of buildings, some of them also walled in their own, insular micro-worlds. Random paths, rather than structured streets, are depicted criss-crossing the cityscape. This image, as we will see below, matches images of other medieval cities in the Balkans, as sparsely as these have been preserved.

Thessaloniki

The fate of the second city of the Byzantine Empire differed from the capital in several distinct ways during the period in question.[62] Unlike Constantinople, Thessaloniki remained under Latin rule for only two decades. Subsequently, it found itself in the center of a dispute between the claimants to the Byzantine throne – the despot of Epiros and the emperor of Nicaea. Having initially passed into the hands of Theodore, despot of Epiros, Thessaloniki was chosen as his capital, where he also proclaimed himself the Byzantine emperor. Ultimately it was taken over by John III Vatatzes in 1246, and remained in the hands of the emperor of Nicaea until the restoration of the empire, when once more it became its "second city." Initially sharing with Constantinople a comparable pattern of restoration, Thessaloniki experienced much more intensive growth during the first half of the fourteenth century. At this time its population rose to approximately 40,000, matching that of the capital. Thessaloniki suffered an early Ottoman conquest – in 1387, under Murad I. The Ottoman military fortunes and the rapid expansion of their state, however, were temporarily halted and even reversed in 1402, following the Battle of Angora (modern Ankara), in which Bayezid I was defeated and captured. This course of events led to the Byzantine recapture of Thessaloniki in 1403. We have but limited amount of information about life in the city during the first three decades of the fifteenth century. When the Ottomans captured the city for the second time, in 1430–31, under Murad II, the event was devastating. Having resisted the Ottoman siege, in accordance with Islamic law, Thessaloniki was plundered and its population massacred or dispersed. Murad II, recognizing the futility of having a major city without its population, quickly sought to reverse the situation. Ordering the return of some of the original inhabitants, and bringing some new settlers, Murad II – even before 1450 – had set the stage for Thessaloniki's new growth, now as a major Ottoman city.

The tumultuous history of Thessaloniki between 1250 and 1450 has left its imprint in its architecture.[63] The prevailing general perception is that its architectural production was revived toward the end of the thirteenth century, when it became a center marked by a distinctive local style of architecture. There is no doubt that Thessaloniki did become a major center of architectural production under the specific conditions of the restored empire. At the same time, our understanding of what constitutes the "local style" of Thessaloniki has been fortuitous at best. Much of this rests on the nature of questions that have, or have not, been asked. The specific mechanisms that led to the increase in the volume of building have not been adequately understood or explored. Likewise, we have never questioned how Thessaloniki may have developed its own "local style" of architecture, having had practically no building activity during the entire thirteenth century, as is now generally believed. At this point it is essential to be reminded of Thessaloniki's historical development during the thirteenth century. Unlike Constantinople, Thessaloniki did not endure prolonged Latin occupation. Instead, it became a bone of contention between the imperial aspirants in Arta and in Nicaea. Both of these centers had developed strong independent architectural traditions of their own. In Arta that tradition reached back to the twelfth century; in Nicaea it was related to the arrival of the Byzantine court after 1204. The architecture of Nicaea, in other words, could be viewed as the architecture of Constantinople "in exile," having inherited much of its character from late twelfth-century Constantinople.[64] Given the historical conditions, Thessaloniki, apparently deprived of its own workshops during the first half of the thirteenth century, found itself in a peripheral situation, seen from both perspectives: that of Arta and that of Nicaea. Under the changing conditions toward the end of the thirteenth century, Thessaloniki became a powerful magnet, replacing in its role the two previously dominant centers. Under these new circumstances builders from Arta and from Nicaea may have found their way to Thessaloniki. This would explain why a blending of the two distinctly local traditions – that of Epiros and that of Nicaea – may have eventually been responsible for the emergence of certain idiosyncratic architectural features that we commonly associate with Thessalonikan architecture.

Finally, we need to bear in mind that the city of Thessaloniki benefited not only from the conditions arising from the restoration of the empire and, geographically speaking, its central place within it. In the emerging political situation in the Balkans toward the end of the thirteenth century, Thessaloniki, and the entire area of Macedonia, became the focus of intensive building activity in response to the mounting threat from the north. Confronted with the expansionist ambitions of the Serbian king Milutin, the Byzantines began, as we have seen, a massive program of fortification construction.[65] This alone must have made the northern part of Macedonia into a macro-regional construction site, in sharp contrast to the twelfth and

618 (*facing page*) Constantinople, drawing by C. Buondelmonti (Bibliothèque National Paris)

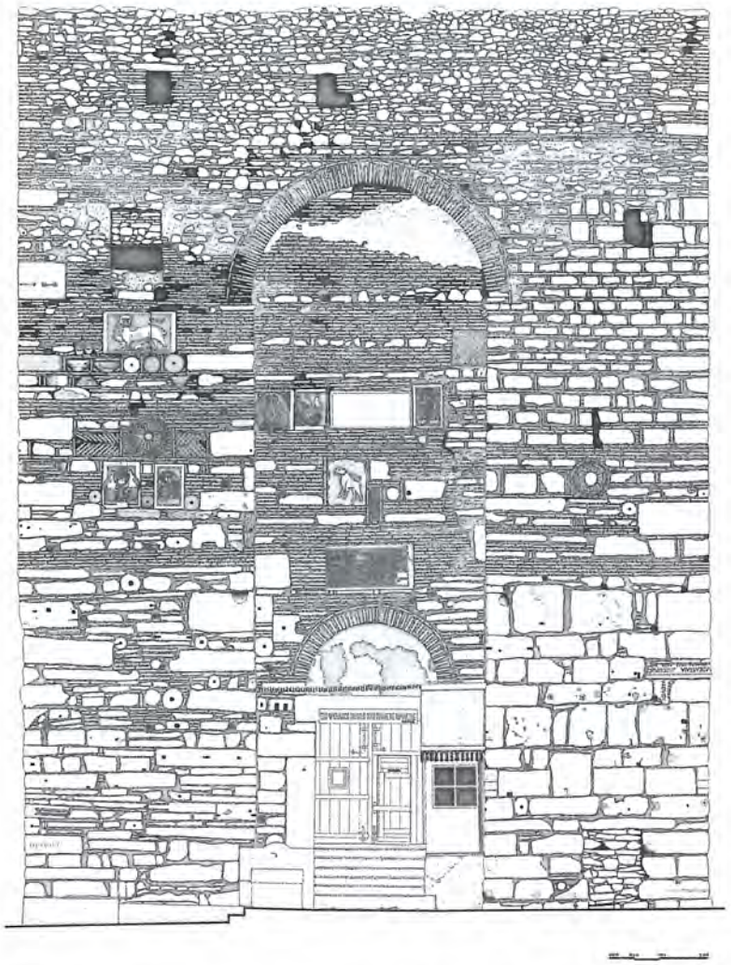
619 Thessaloniki, Heptapyrgion; aerial view from N

early thirteenth centuries, when building activity in the area was practically at a standstill.[66]

A major indicator of intensified building activity in Thessaloniki comes from its fortification walls. Built in the late antique era, they continued to function throughout the medieval period with limited periodic modifications. At no time in the medieval history of the city, however, were these modifications more extensive than in the period under consideration here. Numerous towers were restored, completely rebuilt, or added; new gates were opened, and some of the old ones repaired. At the top of the acropolis enclosure arose a new citadel, whose own complex history seems to parallel closely that of the city itself during this tumultuous period. Many of the new creations bear lengthy inscriptions, commemorating their founders and making the reading of at least some of the history of the walls more intelligible.[67]

Certainly the most impressive of all late medieval fortifications in Thessaloniki is the so-called Heptapyrgion, built at the highest point of the acropolis enclosure (fig. 619).[68] Despite its apparent excellent state of preservation, the actual history of this monument is far from clear. Its present form appears to be substantially the result of the efforts of the Ottoman sultan Murad II, as commemorated in an inscription on a marble slab directly above its main gate.[69] The date given in the inscription – 1430–31 – is the date of the second Ottoman conquest of the city. Clearly, the heavily fortified citadel was the first order of business for the sultan in the newly conquered city. As a citadel, comparable to other such enclosures within late medieval fortresses throughout the Balkans, the Heptapyrgion may have contained a palace, an official residence for the Ottoman governor of the city. We have essentially no information of the actual physical contents of the Heptapyrgion. Presently its inte-

rior is largely occupied by buildings associated with a prison built within its walls at the end of the nineteenth century. The Heptapyrgion – literally "the Seven Towers" – is an enclosure heavily fortified by at least ten relatively closely spaced towers. Five larger ones, on the north side, belong to the exterior circuit of the original acropolis wall. Three of these are rectangular, while the intervening two are triangular. In their upper parts all five of these towers display evidence of multiple rebuildings, whose precise historical sequencing is yet to be understood. To some degree, indication of rebuilding and adding is apparent in the inner, southern circuit of the citadel. Thus, with reason, one must think of the origins of the complex as antedating 1430–31, the date recorded on the inscription. Tentative confirmation comes from Konstantin Kostenichki (also known as Konstantin Filozof), a fifteenth-century author who, describing a visit of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II to Thessaloniki in 1415, says that during this time a *kula*, built in the upper part of town by the Turkish sultan Bayezid I, was demolished.[70] This passing remark is of considerable consequence for a number of different reasons. First of all, the term *kula* in its fifteenth-century Old Slavic use implies a fortified enclosure. Second, the fact that the upper part of the town is mentioned suggests the acropolis as the probable location. Third, it implies that Bayezid I, probably after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, may have constructed a citadel as a means of consolidating his power in this part of the Balkans, before turning his attention to an insurrection against him in Asia Minor. Whether Bayezid's citadel was the first such construction on the site cannot be gleaned from Konstantin's text, but clearly it was demolished by Manuel II. Whether Emperor Manuel actually engaged in replacing the Ottoman citadel by one of his own is also unclear. Because the text implies that the destruction was done in haste, since the emperor was on his way to Achaia in order to rebuild the Hexamilion, there may not have been an opportunity to undertake any rebuilding. If that is so, then only Murad II could have carried out the reconstruction, some fifteen years later. The building and demolishing of forts of this type had not only practical and symbolic roles, but also legal ones. Ownership of a strategic citadel within a city may have carried with it proprietary rights with broad implications, as the text of Konstantin Kostenichki also clearly implies. This episode needs to be related to that mentioned in conjunction with the *kastellion* at the Golden Gate in Constantinople, constructed by Manuel's father John V and destroyed at the orders of Bayezid I in 1391 (see pp. 531–32). Whoever the original builder of the Heptapyrgion may have been, the last medieval interventions, carried out under the auspices of Murad II, point to the participation of Byzantine master builders and Byzantine craftsmen in its execution. The main entrance gate, flanked by a pair of narrowly spaced towers, in its use of architectural elements (arches, vaulting, spiral staircases, etc.), its building technique, and in its reemployment of Byzantine spoils, most likely pilfered from the ruins of a nearby basilica, suggest the work of a native team of craftsmen (fig. 620). If this proves to be the case, this would become another important instance confirming that the employment of Byzantine craftsmen by the Ottoman conquerors was a common practice.



620 Thessaloniki, Heptapyrgion, main gate; elevation, drawing

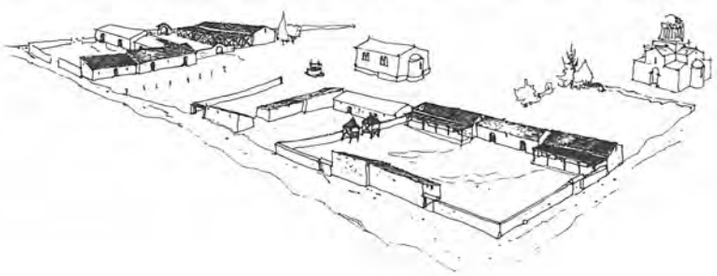
Although we have some information from the written sources regarding palaces and other residential buildings in Thessaloniki, physical traces of these buildings do not survive.[71] Consequently, as was the case with Constantinople, any sense of the urban fabric of the medieval city is completely lacking. Excavations carried out within the last two or three decades have brought to light bits and pieces of evidence about the late medieval residential quarters, but this evidence is insufficient to produce a coherent sense of any architectural, let alone urban entities.[72]

Intensive studies of legal documents preserved in various Athonite monasteries have yielded much new information about monastic real estate holdings within Thessaloniki.[73] These documents provide useful information, but do not go beyond the shape of the plot, the types and sizes of buildings on any given plot, the names of owners of the neighboring property, etc. The form and the character of the architecture of individual buildings are never the subjects of discussion in any of these documents. Nonetheless, the relatively small houses and service buildings, often made of ephemeral materials, situated within large open courtyards, leave an impression of a rural environment, as is gleaned from the properties belonging to Hilandar Monastery in Thessaloniki, associated with the *metochion* of St. George, according to the reconstruction by Kissas (fig. 621). Information on other average houses, as gleaned from the sources, combined with physical evidence preserved at other sites, provides us with an idea, as vague as it may be, of what the fabric of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki may have looked like.[74]

As in the case of Constantinople, Byzantine secular buildings in general have not fared well. The single surviving secular structure from Late Byzantine Thessaloniki, surprisingly, is a Byzantine bath.[75] Situated in the upper part of town, the building is a remarkable survival in many respects. This is not merely the only Byzantine bath in Thessaloniki that has survived standing, but one of the very few Byzantine baths to survive anywhere. Recent archaeology shows that such buildings were once far more common, and that they may have resembled their Ottoman successors, whose rate of survival is far more impressive. Judging on the basis of the Byzantine bath in Thessaloniki, these structures were vaulted and domed, had hypocaust heating systems, and a central basin for heating the water for the entire building (fig. 622). Built in a mixture of stone and brick, with exclusive use of brick in the vaulting, the bath resembles Byzantine church architecture in many respects. The builders of secular and ecclesiastical buildings in the Late Byzantine period, as in earlier times, undoubtedly came from the same workshops. The actual date of the original construction of the bath is unknown, but stylistically speaking many of its details belong to the early part of our period and certainly before the first Ottoman conquest of the city in 1387.

Major changes occurred in Thessaloniki, as well as in other Balkan cities, immediately after the Ottoman conquest. Significantly, these changes commonly occurred in the realm of secular and not, as is often assumed, religious architecture. In Thessaloniki, in addition to the Ottoman reconstruction of the Heptapyrgion, another major building from the period shortly after the conquest survives. Known as the Bey Hamam, the building was commissioned by Murad II and was completed in 1444.[76] The building was undoubtedly constructed with a political message in mind. The destruction and depopulation of the city after the conquest, and the subsequent efforts of Murad II to reverse the situation, must have been responsible for projects such as the construction of this bath. Whether the building of a public bath was simply intended to make up the loss of such a facility as a result of the destruction during the conquest, or whether it was intended to signal the introduction of the new social order, or possibly both, we do not know. Situated in the very heart of the ancient city, the Bey Hamam flanked the main ancient road traversing the city. Very characteristically, the southern flank of the building, once presumably lined with shops opening onto the street, displays a significant deviation from the east–west axis of the ancient street. Built on a level considerably higher than that of the ancient road, the Bey Hamam poses an important urban question. Was its layout and orientation related to the existing medieval urban fabric that already deviated from the ancient pattern, or did it deliberately try to impose a new matrix? Finally, we may wonder whether perhaps the center of the city was destroyed to such a degree that any new matrix could

621 Thessaloniki, Metochion of St. George; reconstruction drawing (S. Kissas)



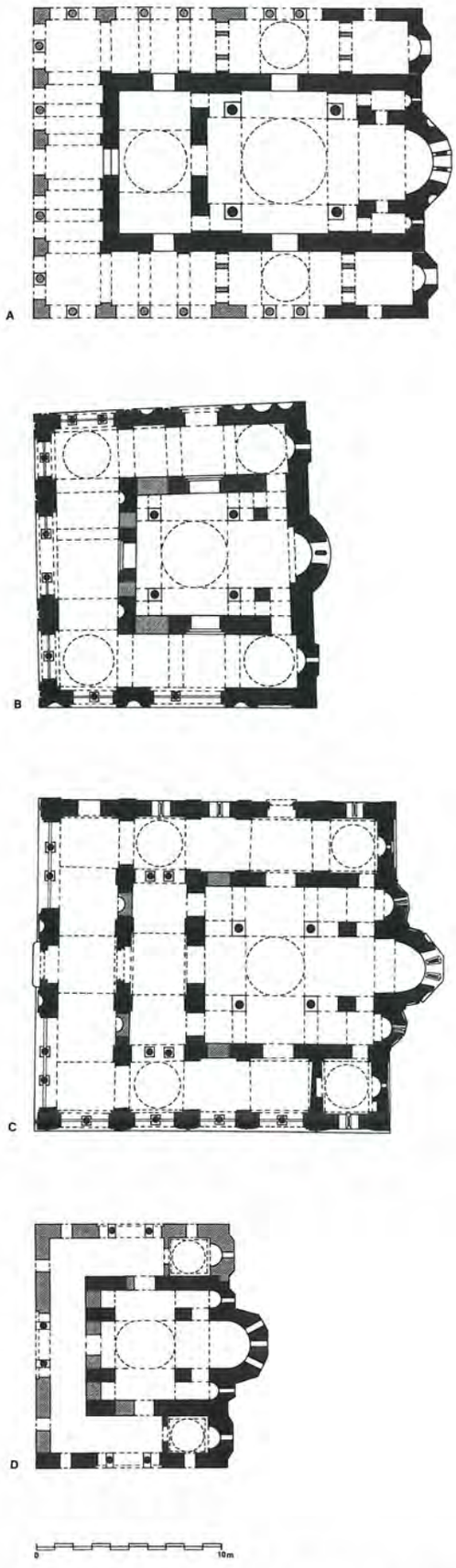
622 Thessaloniki, Byzantine bath; model

be started without any need to relate to preexisting features. At present these significant questions remain unanswered.[77] Only future archaeological explorations may be able to yield definitive clues to this critical problem of the urban transformation of late medieval Thessaloniki into an Ottoman city. The architecture of Bey Hamam reveals two significant general characteristics. Its planning and its interior decoration show the presence of an imported master builder; its building technique, on the other hand, suggests the possible participation of local masons. The layout of Bey Hamam belongs to the classical type of Ottoman double baths (fig. 623). It is divided, nearly symmetrically, into a men's and a women's bath, fully segregated and accessible through individual portals on opposite sides of the building. The men's half was entered from the main street, the women's from the opposite side, possibly from an alley. As in all Ottoman baths of this type, the men's half was given symbolic superiority in all respects, including the spatial dimensions of individual rooms and the opulence of their interior decoration. Each of the two sections consists of a domed entrance hall – functionally the cold antechamber – followed by a lukewarm room, and finally by a cluster of hot rooms, with special small steam rooms. At the back of both the men's and the women's hot rooms is a narrow, long vaulted chamber – a hot water reservoir with a central heating furnace attached to it. Despite the fact that the Bey Hamam continued in service until the 1950s, and that it had undergone several modifications during its 500 years of use, it has preserved much of its original stucco decoration and a large amount of its original furnishings. Many of the decorative elements betray a conservative link with the Seljuk tradition of Asia Minor, while others appear to be more up to date, and more consistent with the evolving Ottoman style of the later fifteenth century. Recently restored, the Bey Hamam gives an excellent idea of the architecture of a fine Ottoman mid-fifteenth-century bath.

Most of the surviving architecture in Thessaloniki associated with the period *circa* 1250–1450 belongs to the category of ecclesiastical buildings. At least eight, essentially fully preserved churches, and possibly more, constitute a body of evidence upon which the notion of the city as a prosperous center of the Late Byzantine period rests. Many of the churches figure prominently in histories of Byzantine architecture. Their collective presence has, as we have noted, given rise to the notion of a major local workshop with distinctive stylistic characteristics. This, as we have also noted, is a concept deserving of a more careful reassessment. Much as in the case of Constantinople, the increase in architectural production during the period came after a long period of stagnation. Consequently, the idea that the building trade and local building workshops could have endured in Thessaloniki without work over several decades needs to be challenged. It is far more likely, in our view, that the builders came

623 Thessaloniki, Bey Hamam; aerial view

to Thessaloniki after 1246, as the city passed into the hands of the "emperor of Nicaea," and became an important western outpost of the territory under his control. It is in this context, perhaps, that the church of Hagios Panteleimon may be best understood.[78] Its plan can be described as made up of a core consisting of a cross-in-square naos with a tripartite sanctuary and a single-domed narthex, enveloped by a continuous narthex on three sides, terminating in a symmetrical pair of chapels flanking the sanctuary (fig. 624A). The banded, barrel-vaulted narthex was externally treated as an open portico, comparable in character to the exonarthex of the Kilise Camii in Constantinople. With the exception of the eastern pair of chapels, nothing of this enveloping narthex survives. Several photographs taken at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, show the southern wing substantially in place. From these photographs, it has been possible to propose a visual reconstruction of the building that once also had domes elevated on tall drums situated on the north–south axis in alignment with the main dome and marking the lateral entrances into the naos. There is no evidence, however, for comparable domes elevated on drums and situated at the extreme western compartments of this enveloping arrangement, as has been proposed. The planning of Hagios Panteleimon reveals several important general characteristics. Its naos is a perfect square with the four columns widely



624 Thessaloniki, (A) H. Panteleimon; (B) H. Aikaterinē; (C) Holy Apostles; (D) Monē Vlatadon, church; plans

spaced in the center, so as to appear nearly tucked into the corners. Regular production of monolithic columns had long since ceased. Thus columns used here, as was customary in most Late Byzantine buildings, were late antique spoils. It is worth noting that churches featuring columns as supporting members were generally situated in areas where spoils were readily available. The cities of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, needless to say, were abundantly supplied with such material from abandoned ancient buildings.

The presence of a single narthex dome raised on a drum is an idiosyncratic feature of Hagios Panteleimon, and may point to the actual source of its architecture. Churches with single-domed narthexes appear to have had strong links with Constantinople from the eleventh century. Their appearance elsewhere, as in Byzantine Macedonia or on Chios, has generally been understood as reflecting Constantinopolitan input. It is conceivable that the architecture of Hagios Panteleimon should be understood in those terms. Its other formal characteristics, such as the use of shallow niches as a means of articulating its façades, point in the same direction. The same holds true of the use of materials, in which brick predominates. Its exclusive use in the dome drums could be related to the local Middle Byzantine practice, but it shares the same characteristics with the architecture of the capital as well. The crucial, and the most perplexing aspect of Hagios Panteleimon, is the question of its date. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about the church or its original function. It seems to have been a monastic church of some significance, but all efforts to identify its founder, or even its name, have thus far not been successful.[79] If its tentative dating into the last decades of the thirteenth century proves correct, then, indeed, the church could be seen as a work of one of the initially imported groups of builders, in this case coming possibly from the domain of the "Empire of Nicaea."

If this line of thinking is permitted to continue, it may be possible to view another important, unidentified, and undated Thessalonikan church in a similar vein. The church in question is the so-called Hagia Aikatherinē, also probably a monastic church at the time of its construction.[80] Considerably smaller in scale, Hagia Aikatherinē shares some of the planning characteristics with Hagios Panteleimon, but built to a considerably more modest scheme (fig. 624B). The core again consists of a perfectly square naos, in this case deprived of a regular narthex and featuring only a tripartite sanctuary. The naos also displays similar proportional characteristics: its central domed bay being very wide, the four columns that define it are almost pushed into the corners with very little space left between them and the naos wall. The building core, in a manner also comparable to Hagios Panteleimon, is enveloped on three sides by a wide narthex, ending in two lateral chapels flanking the sanctuary. Unlike the

625 Thessaloniki, H. Aikaterinē; aerial view from NW

chapels at Hagios Panteleimon, these communicate directly with the sanctuary and are covered by domes elevated on drums. A similar pair of domes occurs at the northwest and the southwest corners of the building, thus giving it the characteristic five-domed form, on account of which it has been repeatedly noted in studies of Byzantine church architecture. Despite its apparent symmetry, Hagia Aikatherinē displays many deviations from a perfectly symmetrical scheme. In plan, it shows the enveloping space as being substantially open on the south and the west sides, while on the north it is fully enclosed, save for the westernmost bay. The seemingly symmetrical disposition of two double openings and a central triple one on the west façade does not match the internal structural arrangement – a pair of two very different cross vaults and a pair of corner domes.[81] The most significant architectural characteristics of Hagia Aikatherinē are those visible on its exterior (fig. 625). Despite its superficial similarities with Hagios Panteleimon and with the Holy Apostles, Hagia Aikatherinē displays fundamental differences, from the proportions of its dome drums to various architectural details on the façades and the building technique itself. Differences between the building technique visible on the east façade may not constitute a clear distinction between two phases, yet a recent investigation of the fabric suggests the possibility of an older church ruin having been incorporated into the new scheme.[82] When this reconstruction may have occurred, under whose auspices, and with what functional objectives, are still the subjects of scholarly debate. We cannot pursue these arguments here, but it is worth noting that many of the architectural details on the exterior reveal characteristics that show affinities with the thirteenth-century architecture of Epiros. Among other features, these

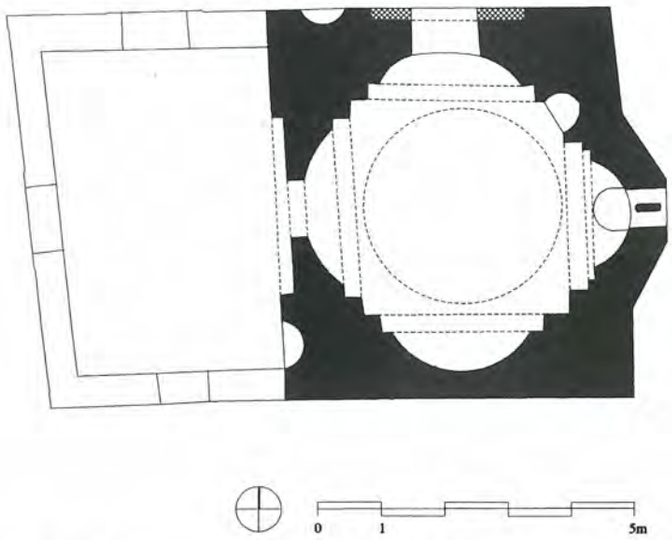
include the proportions and the formal characteristics of the four lesser domes. All four domes are broad and have relatively low drums, yet a closer examination reveals significant differences among them, suggesting that the same workshop did not build them.[83] All of the drums are octagonal with semicircular colonnettes at the angles, and each of their faces features a triple recess, the smallest one framing a window. In all four domes, cover tiles outline the window frames and the outermost of the arcades that frame them. The use of cover tiles is especially pronounced in the northwest dome, where they are visibly separated from the corner colonnettes, set into a deep recess of their own. This manner of treating corner colonnettes is unknown in other Thessalonikan churches. Along with the general low proportions of the drum, it reveals similarities with the design of domes in the thirteenth-century architecture of Epiros. The Epirote connection may be noted in another detail of Hagia Aikatherinē, not otherwise found on the churches of Thessaloniki. This is the recessed dogtooth frieze, used on façades for the purpose of outlining wall niches and openings. This very characteristic detail never appears in architecture of Constantinople or areas directly associated with it. While its appearance alone at Hagia Aikatherinē does not enable us to insist that it was the work of Epirote builders, it signals their presence in the city at the time of its sudden building boom around 1300. Thus, alongside builders who can be assumed to have come from the Nicaean realm, Thessaloniki would also have had its share of builders from Epiros. In the last decades of the thirteenth century, attracted by the new, favorable conditions in the city, and filling in the gap left by the decline of local construction after *circa* 1200, master builders and their crews must have flocked to the city from different directions. Working side by side, these teams may have forged a common style by the second decade of the fourteenth century, whose effect would be felt not only in Thessaloniki, but also in the large area that came under its influence during the next two to three decades. More will be said about this point later in this chapter.

Pride of place among the Late Byzantine churches of Thessaloniki undoubtedly belongs to the Holy Apostles. Long since recognized for its outstanding architecture, mosaics, and frescoes, the church has been the subject of a number of studies, though none comprehensive in nature.[84] The original name of the church, much like those of the two churches just discussed, remains a mystery. Most scholars agree that it must have been dedicated to the Virgin as a katholikon of a large, unidentified monastery, about which more below. Unlike the preceding two churches, in this case we know the original founder and therefore the date of construction. Inscriptions on the marble lintel above the main portal, monograms on marble imposts of the exonarthex columns, as well as monograms in brick, leave no doubt that the patron (*ktētor*) of the church was Patriarch Niphon (1310–14).[85] This introduces the element of possible Constantinopolitan input, which has been a subject of some debate among scholars. From the point of view of its plan, the Holy Apostles belongs in the same group as Hagios Panteleimon and Hagia Aikatherinē, and therefore reveals certain common functional intentions in local planning (fig. 624c).[86] This is particularly evident in the presence of the spacious narthexes that envelop the core of the church evenly on three sides. Although clearly related to a similar phenomenon in Constantinople during the same period, certain fundamental differences stand out. All of the Constantinopolitan churches, as we have seen, evolved over a period of time, and their overall form revealed a basic indifference to overall symmetry of planning and formal disposition. The Thessalonikan churches, by contrast, appear to have been conceived as unified schemes, with distinctive care given to symmetry and the overall formal appearance. The core of the Holy Apostles, much like that of Hagios Panteleimon, consists of a square naos with a tripartite sanctuary and a narthex. Here the similarity between the two stops. The central four columns supporting the main dome are spaced much more closely, so that the corner compartments of the cross-in-square scheme are more spacious. Two domed chapels flank the tripartite sanctuary, with which they communicate directly. The southern chapel was originally open by means of a door to the south narthex wing. The northern one, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, may be said, on account of the surviving frescoes, to have extended along the full length of the north side, terminating in a domed compartment at its west side. This domed compartment has its symmetrical counterpart on the south side, so that these two, and the eastern two domes, form a cluster that – as in the case of Hagia Aikatherinē – gives the church its characteristic five-domed appearance (fig. 626). The vertical proportions of the Holy Apostles are far more stressed, especially in its domes, giving it an elegant, unified appearance. Unlike Hagia Aikatherini, the western domed compartments were originally segregated from the narthex by means of small columnar arcades, traces of which are still clearly visible. At the same time, these same compartments – unlike at Hagios Panteleimon – were also separated by a wall from the outermost bays of the exonarthex. A separate door marked an entrance into these spaces, and, by extension, into the southern and northern long lateral rooms enveloping the naos. The entire northern room, functioning as a single chapel, as we have seen, was enclosed by a solid wall with windows and had a single door aligned with the main dome. The southern one, by contrast, was open in a series of four double-arched openings with central freestanding columns. All of these columns were removed and the arcades blocked at the time when the church was converted into a mosque in the

626 Thessaloniki, Holy Apostles; general view from NE

years 1520–30. Matching these double-arched openings were two triple-arched ones on the west façade of the exonarthex, whose disposition closely recalls the arrangement at the Kilise Camii in Constantinople. Unlike those, these triple openings originally did not feature intercolumnar parapets, but were instead open, as in a number of other comparable churches. All of the columns on the west façade, as well as the four carrying the main dome, are late antique spoils, as was the case with all of the columns in Hagios Panteleimon and Hagia Aikatherinē. This is also true of the marble frames of the church portals. The central main portal, framed by a pair of niches, bears the inscription mentioning the *ktētor*, Patriarch Niphon, on its lintel. Originally this door appears to have been accommodated within an open porch on piers, above which may have risen a belfry. The belfry must have been torn down at the time of the conversion of the church into a mosque, and the area above the main portal modified, so as to receive a rectangular marble slab with a Turkish inscription that has since also been removed.

The interior of the Holy Apostles preserves some of the finest fourteenth-century mosaics and frescoes. The mosaics are located in the area of the naos, and in its upper portions only. Characteristically, they appear above a projecting horizontal marble string-course that marks the springing point of the arches. Thus the mosaics – the only ones preserved in a fourteenth-century Thessalonikan church – occur in a manner that was consistent with Constantinopolitan practice. Below the string-course, consistent with that practice, a wall marble veneer should have been installed, but it appears never to have been delivered. This notion is further confirmed by the fact that the frescoes that were painted in its stead show no relationship – neither conceptual nor formal – with the mosaics above. The mosaics themselves were also not completed. The fact that they lack a gold background has generally been explained as a Turkish intervention at the time when the church was being converted into a mosque. A far more likely explanation is that the mosaics were never finished, and that the gold background cubes were



627 Thessaloniki, Christ Sotêr (Metamorphosis); plan

628 Thessaloniki, Christ Sotêr (Metamorphosis); general view from N

intended to be set last, after the figural compositions were completed. Since we know that the reign of Patriarch Niphon ended abruptly with his removal from office in disgrace, this could have preempted the completion of the church in accordance with his wishes and his financial support. Thus the lack of the marble wall veneer and the gold mosaic cubes may suggest that these elements and materials were awaiting importation from Constantinople that never took place.

As far as its exterior articulation is concerned, the church of the Holy Apostles displays a curious blend of structural rigor and decorative mannerism. Its eastern façade, one of the recognized masterpieces of Late Byzantine architecture, displays all the relevant characteristics (fig. 626). In its lower part it bears a system of shallow arched niches whose general character shows similarities with Constantinopolitan architecture. The same is true of the large triple window, the multifaceted form of the main apse, and the frieze of brick pendent triangles that crowns it. At the same time, the upper part of the main apse emphasizes flatness of wall surface. Not only are the characteristically Constantinopolitan niches in this position missing, but the wall surfaces are covered by continuous horizontal bands featuring a variety of brick patterns. The aesthetic of this approach and the decorative vocabulary of the patterns that appear here, as well as in other locations on the building, show affinities with the thirteenth-century architecture of Epiros. Thus, in the case of the Holy Apostles, we are in a position to identify a genuine blend of the traditions of Nicaea and of Arta, mentioned earlier in our discussion of Thessalonikan church architecture. Here, we may suggest, individual characteristics of two distinctive styles were molded into a new one, now associated with Thessaloniki as a major new center of architectural production. Last but not least, it should be noted that the domes of the Holy Apostles, made entirely of brick with semi-cylindrical corner colonnettes and triple recesses framing individual windows in the drum, show closest affinities with the domes of Hagios Panteleimon. Through the elongation of the drum proportions a new mode was created that became one of the true hallmarks of the new Thessalonikan style.

The three Thessalonikan churches discussed thus far – Hagios Panteleimon, Hagia Aikatherinē, and the Holy Apostles – display many significant similarities, particularly in their planning. The appearance of highly regularized lateral narthexes suggests, at least on the face of it, some common function or functions that would have yielded such a uniform architectural response. Unfortunately, what function or functions may have been involved we do not know. Burials, so characteristically present in the lateral narthexes of contemporary Constantinopolitan churches, do not visibly survive in any of the Thessalonikan ones. Only thorough archaeological investigations in all

of the monuments may supply the final answers to this important question.

Meanwhile, the information coming from some of the smaller Thessalonikan churches does provide some important clues.[87] Foremost among these is the church of Monē Vlatadon. Architecturally altered during its subsequent history, the katholikon of this urban monastery substantially survives in its original fourteenth-century form. Its four-piered cross-in-square building core was originally enveloped by an arrangement of narthexes including also, in all probability, a pair of eastern chapels (fig. 624D). A substantial portion of the building core, the southeastern chapel, and part of the southern narthex survive. In terms of its basic scheme, the church belongs to the same general type already discussed. Here, archaeological excavations have brought to light a number of graves under the floors of the lateral spaces, indicating quite clearly that burials may have been the primary function of these rooms in Thessaloniki as well. In terms of its architectural style the church displays many affinities with the Holy Apostles. This is particularly evident in the form of its dome. The same may be said of the smallest of the surviving Late Byzantine churches in Thessaloniki – the church of Christ Sotēr (Saviour), also known as the Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) (figs. 627 and 628). Thoroughly explored and well restored following the earthquake of 1978, this small church features a relatively large dome elevated on a drum.[88] The form and the manner of its execution are so close to the domes of the Holy Apostles that it is possible that it was the work of the same builders. The church has a miniscule cubical form, measuring roughly 5 × 5 meters in plan. The simple external square contains an inscribed tetraconch. The slightly smaller, but deeper eastern apse is roughly semicircular in plan; the other three conches are segmental. The church was originally preceded by a rectangular space, a type of a narthex, of which only foundations survive. There are indications that this small church may have been a chapel attached to a larger, lost church. Archaeological excavations have turned up a series of graves under the floor of the narthex, as well as a tomb in the southern conch of the main part of the church. This, undoubtedly, would have been the main burial, most likely that of the founder whose identity, unfortunately, remains a mystery.

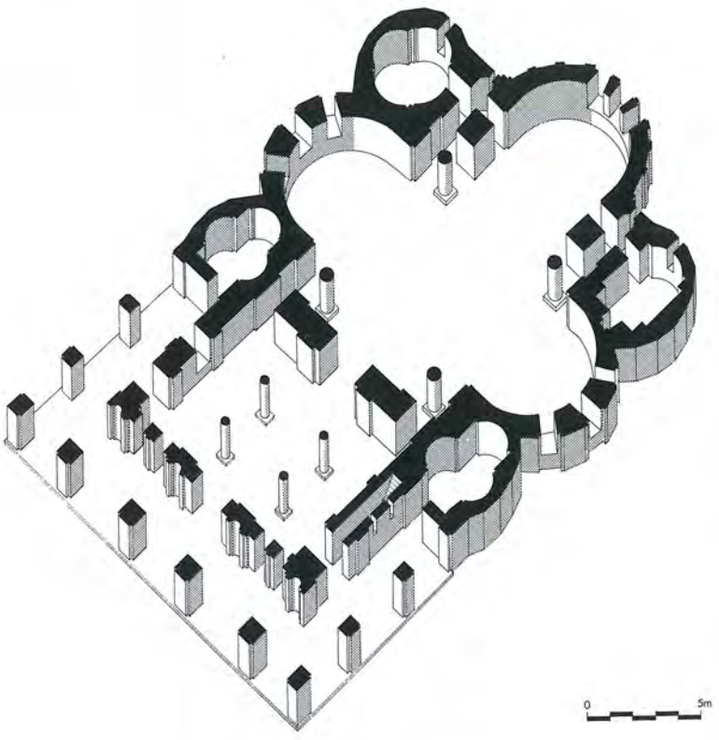
Two other small monastic churches, in their differing ways, provide valuable clues as to the importance of burials in churches of this period. The first of these is the small church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, the katholikon of a small urban monastery, dating from the second decade of the fourteenth century (fig. 629). The church, though partially damaged and restored in the course of its history, is still remarkably well preserved. Its core, in this case, is a miniscule basilica whose lateral walls open through a pair of arcades supported on a single column into the lateral spaces. These were originally large chapels, comparable in size to the building core, and connected, along with it, to a spacious narthex in front. The two chapels together with the narthex made the envelope that gave the building externally its characteristic blocky form, above which rose the building core with three small clerestory windows on the north and south sides, and with a pitched timber roof above. The building preserves some of the finest frescoes from this period in Thessaloniki, as well as the only original iconostasis preserved *in situ*. Archaeological exploration of the church revealed that below the floors of its two chapels and the narthex were carefully planned and constructed tombs, clearly intended for burials, presumably of the monastic *hegumenoi* (abbots). Another comparable small church was also planned with monastic burials in mind, though its arrangement, clearly shows a distinction of purpose. The church of the Taxiarchai (Archangels) also features a basilican core, in this case with piers separating it from the lateral spaces, continuously connected with the narthex. This arrangement rests, in this case, atop a massive three-aisled crypt, whose interior equipped with arcosolia was clearly intended to contain burials. The fact that the arrangement in this case involves a crypt suggests the type of burial church associated with many monasteries and used for burials and an ossuary for ordinary monks. Thus, the church of the Taxiarchai, most likely, was a special ossuary chapel of a larger monastery complex, all of whose other buildings have been lost.

The latest Byzantine church to survive in Thessaloniki is the church known by its modern name, Profētēs Ēlias (Prophet Elijah) (fig. 630). Situated on a prominent location atop the slope overlooking the basilica of Hagios Demetrios, the church must have been one of the most visible buildings in the city at the time of its construction. Its original name, function, and date

629 Thessaloniki, H. Nikolaos Orphanos; general view from E

630 Thessaloniki, Profētēs Ēlias; general view from NE

still continue to be debated.[89] Whatever the outcome of this debate, there can be little doubt about the general function and relative importance of the church. Profētēs Ēlias must have been the katholikon of a major urban monastery dating from the 1360s, or even the 1370s, that is, only a decade or so before the city passed into Ottoman hands for the first time. Immediately following the final taking of the city by the Ottomans in 1430, the church was converted into a mosque, at which time it lost many of the subsidiary spaces surrounding its core. It was as a result of a very extensive and bold reconstruction carried out after the Second World War, that the church regained its missing elements. While this may be considered helpful in terms of providing an essentially accurate picture of the original building form, all of the details associated with this undertaking must be considered irrelevant for our understanding of the building's history. In plan, the only aspect of the original building design we can be sure of, the church reveals a type commonly associated with katholika of the monasteries on Mount Athos (fig. 631). Its core consists of a large cross-in-square naos, extending into a spacious sanctuary and preceded by a very large narthex. The four massive late antique columns that carry the main dome are spaced very widely, so that they appear tucked into the corners of the square in an arrangement recalling that of Hagios Panteleimon. Unlike Hagios Panteleimon, the sides of the naos open into two huge lateral apses, whose dimensions match those of the main apse. This developed triconch arrangement is, of course, a formula by this time readily associated with the Athonite monastic building tradition. The narthex, whose vaults rest on four freestanding columns, likewise reveals Athonite planning characteristics. Crowned by two corner domes over its northwestern and southwestern bays, the solution brings to mind the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, built in the early years of the fourteenth century (fig. 632).[90] Over the easternmost bays of the narthex rises a gallery chamber overlooking the naos, and accessible via a narrow stair contained within the thickness of the southern wall of the narthex. Externally, the narthex is enveloped by an open portico, made up of large arches supported by massive piers that also carry a series of cross vaults over the portico. The portico was also a product of the reconstruction. Its eastern ends terminate in a pair of triconch domed chapels, accessible only from the portico and tucked tightly against the western walls of the large lateral apses.

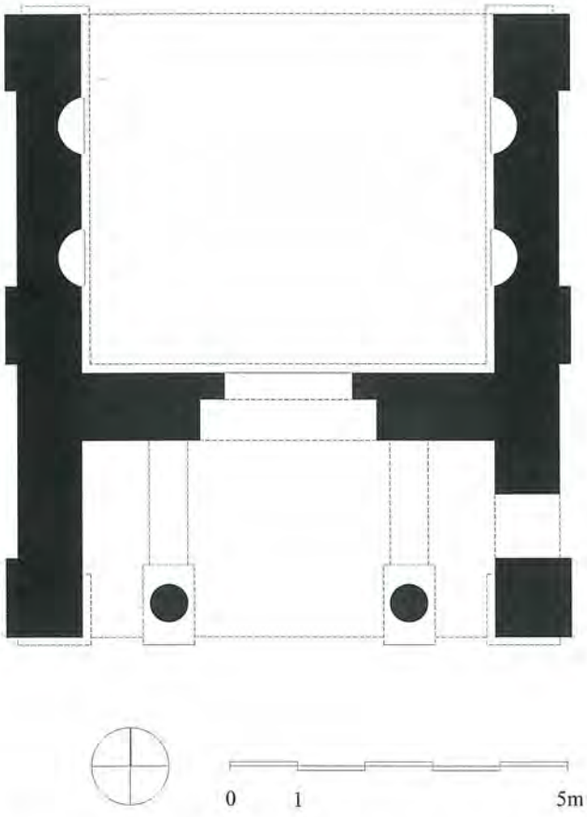


631 Thessaloniki, Profētēs Ēlias; axonometric

632 Thessaloniki, Profētēs Ēlias; aerial view from W

This pair of chapels is matched by a comparable eastern pair, squeezed in between the lateral apses and the sanctuary, with which they have the only communication links. The plans of the four chapels were ascertained in their foundations, while elements of their height and vaulting features were preserved on the outer walls of the building core. Their present appearance, however, is strictly the product of twentieth-century imagination. Notwithstanding its heavy-handed restoration, the church does provide us with some valuable information about its architecture. Its large twelve-sided dome has an interior span of 5.5 meters and rises to a height of 17 meters, much greater than any other Late Byzantine church in the city. The church's multifaceted apses with their row of decorative niches in the upper part, and a frieze of pendent triangles below the roof line, and even the alternating of brick and stone bands as a building technique, all point to Constantinople as a source. At the same time, the vocabulary of decorative brick patterns framed within niches displays distant affinities with the architecture of Epiros a century earlier. Thus, in Profētēs Ēlias we see once more the confirmation that the architecture of Thessaloniki, as important as it was in the fourteenth century, was ultimately a hybrid style. That style, as we have repeatedly seen, brought the vestiges of the thirteenth-century traditions of Arta and Nicaea together through a process of a major creative surge brought about by the new realities of the diminishing world of Byzantium after *circa* 1300.

Most of the churches that have been discussed once belonged to urban monasteries, only small vestiges of which remain. Notwithstanding the sparseness of this information, it provides us not only with a clearer idea of the structure of urban monasteries during the period, but it also sheds light on the urban form of the city at that time. The most helpful are the remains surrounding the church of the Holy Apostles. Some 100 meters or so southwest of the church stand the partially preserved remnants of a monumental gatehouse through which one would have entered the monastery (fig. 633).[91] The gatehouse, consisting of a large barrel-vaulted passage accommodating the actual gate in the middle, also featured a remarkable façade that recalls late antique *fastigia*. On the opposite side of the erstwhile monastery, some 50 meters northwest of the church, is a large underground cistern. Clearly intended as a source of water for the monastery, its capacity would have been quite large and may have served the outside community as well. Some monastic



633 Thessaloniki, Holy Apostles; monastery gatehouse

building of unknown function was probably located on top of the cistern. Following the excavations conducted in recent years to the west of the church, it is clear that the monastery extended as far as the city walls. Foundations of various monastic buildings and facilities have come to light, but the results of these

634 Thessaloniki, H. Sophia; gatehouse, 19th-century photograph

excavations remain essentially unpublished. Nonetheless, given our knowledge of the buildings that mark the parameters of the enclosure, it is clear that the monastery associated with the present church of the Holy Apostles was a large establishment, measuring at least 150 meters in the north–south direction and probably at least as much in the east–west direction. The monumental gate in what must have been the southwest corner of the original enclosure indicates quite clearly that the monastery was walled in. A comparable situation, albeit on a smaller scale, must have existed in conjunction with the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. The present church, never converted into a mosque, is still surrounded by a large serene walled garden containing some monastic buildings from the post-Byzantine era. Against the southwest corner of the walled enclosure were discovered the remains of a monastery gatehouse of a similar design, but smaller than the one at the Holy Apostles. Information about at least two more such gatehouses from Late Byzantine Thessaloniki has been preserved.[92] One of these, the gatehouse of the enclosure surrounding the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia, was still standing at the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 634). Its great walled complex, possibly also enclosing a monastery as was fairly common in conjunction with many cathedral churches, must have been the largest of these walled complexes in the city on the eve of the Ottoman conquest.

About other monasteries we know even less. Despite the important recent discoveries of two-storied building remains southeast of the church of Profētēs Ēlias, we cannot say much about their function or the extent of that monastery. It is clear, however, that the monastery, being on the side of the hill in the upper part of the city, was built on a series of terraces. The same appears to have been true of the monastery associated with the present church of Hagia Aikatherinē, where the information about the monastery is even more meagre. From the foregoing brief discussion of Late Byzantine urban monasteries, a fairly consistent general picture emerges. Most of them that we know anything about were walled. This fits with our general understanding of urban palaces. In both cases, it seems, the sense of insecurity vis-à-vis not only the potential foreign enemy, but also the restless urban population, may have led to such solutions. Fortifications during this period served many functions that often had little to do with military needs. All of this brings us to some concluding remarks regarding the urban image of Thessaloniki at the end of the Middle Ages. Much as we saw in the case of Constantinople, the city must have been substantially depopulated, losing much of its earlier urban fabric. Its late antique system of streets must have already lain buried below thick layers of building debris. How much of an urban framework may have emerged during this last period of prosperity, and what form it may have taken, are impossible to know. For

Thessaloniki, unfortunately, we do not have a drawing such as the one made by Buondelmonti of Constantinople. The information gleaned from our discussion of walled monasteries suggests, however, that the situation in the two cities may not have been too dissimilar. The territory defined by the ancient city walls must have had much unused open space within it.[93] This space continued to be dominated by the large, ancient, still-functioning churches – the Rotunda, Hagios Demetrios, Acheiropoietos, Hagia Sophia. How many other older buildings may have still been standing we do not know, but much of the available space was apparently not claimed by the living urban fabric. Within that space arose the new monastic establishments within their own walled enclosures – small cities within a city one might say. The mental image of Thessaloniki we can conjure, therefore, matches very well Buondelmonti's impression of Constantinople (fig. 618). The lively building activity witnessed in Thessaloniki between 1250 and 1450, during a period of considerable political upheavals, underscores the city's enduring importance at the end of the Middle Ages. Along with Constantinople, despite the changes in its formal appearance, Thessaloniki was the only city in the Balkans that effectively maintained continuity of urban life from late antiquity.

Redina

Our inability to grasp more firmly the urban texture of Late Byzantine Constantinople and Thessaloniki is made up in part by the archaeological results at sites such as Redina, in northern Greece, some 40 kilometers east of Thessaloniki.[94] Situated in the northeastern corner of the Chalkidikē peninsula, Redina may be considered the eastern geographic counterpoint of Thessaloniki. Located on the relatively flat top and southern slopes of a small hill, wedged within a tight natural gorge, Redina's site was clearly selected for strategic reasons. Overlooking the ancient Via Egnatia, much as it does the modern road linking Thessa-

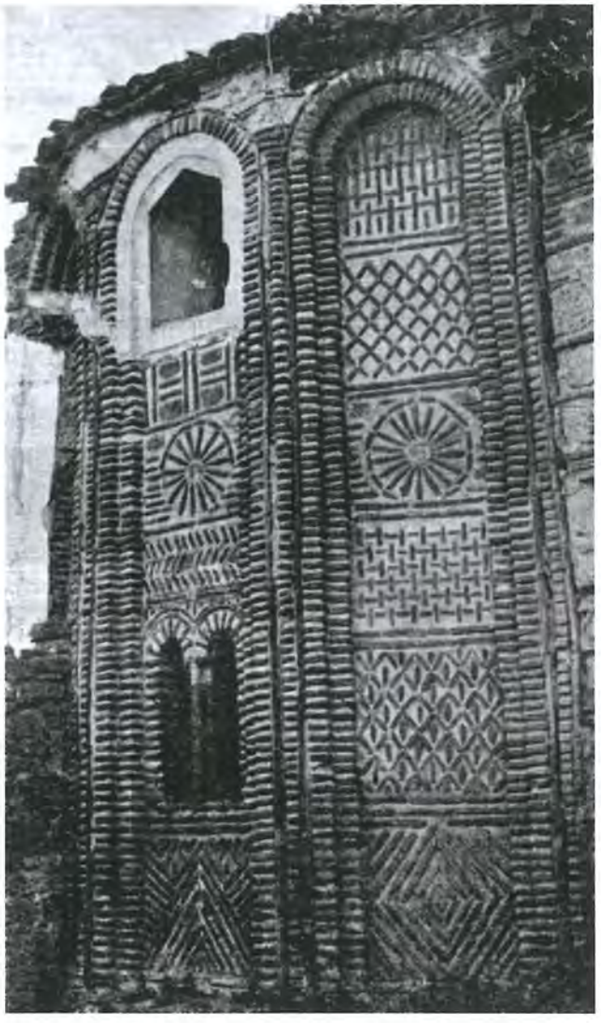
635 Redina; Town plan

636 Redina; Aerial view of remains

637 Verria, Part of the medieval city; plan

loniki with Amphipolis, and further on with Kavala, Redina, despite its small size, played an important military role throughout the medieval period. Excavations have revealed a continuity of life on the site from at least the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, one of the high points being precisely during the period under investigation in this chapter (fig. 635). The fortifications of Redina appear to have been strengthened at this time, following the irregular layout of the older walls based on the natural topography of the site. An important addition was the construction of a vaulted passage leading to a cistern at the foot of the steep southeastern slope of the hill, used for fetching water collected from a local stream during rainy seasons. The top of the hill, occupied since at least the sixth century by an acropolis, contained since the tenth century a three-aisled basilican cathedral church that also underwent restoration in the late period. Just beyond the eastern gate of the acropolis hill, on another walled-in terrace, at a lower level, stand the ruins of a small cruciform domed church.[95] Its stylistic characteristics unmistakably link it to the Thessalonikan workshops of the 1320s or 1330s. This is especially true of its dome, made entirely of brick and elevated on a tall drum, whose exterior is marked by eight semi-cylindrical corner colonnettes and triple window recesses. The presence of this church suggests, as we also know to have been true elsewhere, that building workshops of a major center served the needs of a much larger surrounding area. Archaeologically, the most important finds at Redina are those related to its workshops and houses. It is from a complex of these from a walled enclosure to the west of the acropolis that we gain a real sense of the urban makeup of the late medieval town (fig. 636). Buildings were planned irregularly, taking advantage of the fortification walls and of the natural topography of the site. Individual buildings were separated from each other by extremely narrow passages that could only have functioned as drains. Streets were irregular paths that ran through open spaces without planned architectural definition. Urban spaces, one might say, were leftover spaces between buildings. Their shape was not

638 Verria, H. Kyrikos and Ioulitta; general view from E



639 Verria, H. Nikolaos; view of the apse ca. 1900

planned, but was an outcome of the process of building accretion. Very characteristically, workrooms were situated at ground level. They were commonly enclosed by solid walls, their only source of light being the main door, open when the shop-owner ran his business. The discovery of several brick staircases indicates that shops had at least another story above this. Possibly made of wood, these upper stories would have probably been used for residential purposes. Traces of porticoes fronting some of the buildings have been uncovered, suggesting a more formal rapport with the exterior space and some of the buildings. Similar general urban characteristics have been noted in other locations, as we will see. Our picture of Late Byzantine urbanism, if any sense of a general picture is to be attained, must be a composite endeavor, taking into account the surviving monumental buildings in larger cities and the excavated remains of the city fabric from smaller settlements, such as Redina.

Verria

Verria (ancient Berroia), Greece, is a picturesque town on the edge of a plateau overlooking the western extent of a plain through which the River Heliakmon makes its way toward the Thermaic Gulf. Unaffected by political changes during the thirteenth century, it emerged as a major, prosperous provincial center in the course of the fourteenth, despite the frequent changing of hands between the Byzantines and the Serbs, who held the town in the years 1343–50 and again between 1358 and 1375. The Ottomans captured Verria on several occasions, but held onto it briefly, until the final conquest in 1430, but even that apparently did not bring about a complete halt in church construction and decoration. In this, as in various other ways, Verria seems to have been an exceptional case. The town had preserved much of its Late Byzantine and Ottoman flavor until a few decades ago, when the pace of modernization eradicated large tracts of the small private houses that had made up the town's fabric. Surviving amidst the increasingly modern building environment are still relatively numerous Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches that, together with the low, picturesque houses, irregular open spaces, and winding streets, once gave Verria its special flavor (fig. 637).[96] The small-scale churches of Verria betray the predominantly private patronage of local citizenry. Many were privately owned, while others belonged to small monasteries, themselves privately founded. One of the most interesting characteristics of the Verria churches is the overwhelming predominance of wooden-roofed buildings. The mid-fourteenth-century church of Hagioi Kyrikos and Ioulitta in its original form seems to have been the only domed church in town, but its dome is lost. The surviving east end of the church reveals elaborate brick patterns (fig. 638). Even more impressive was the decoration of the church of Hagios Nikolaos (St. Nicholas), now completely destroyed, but whose appearance is

640 Verria, Christos; general view from SE

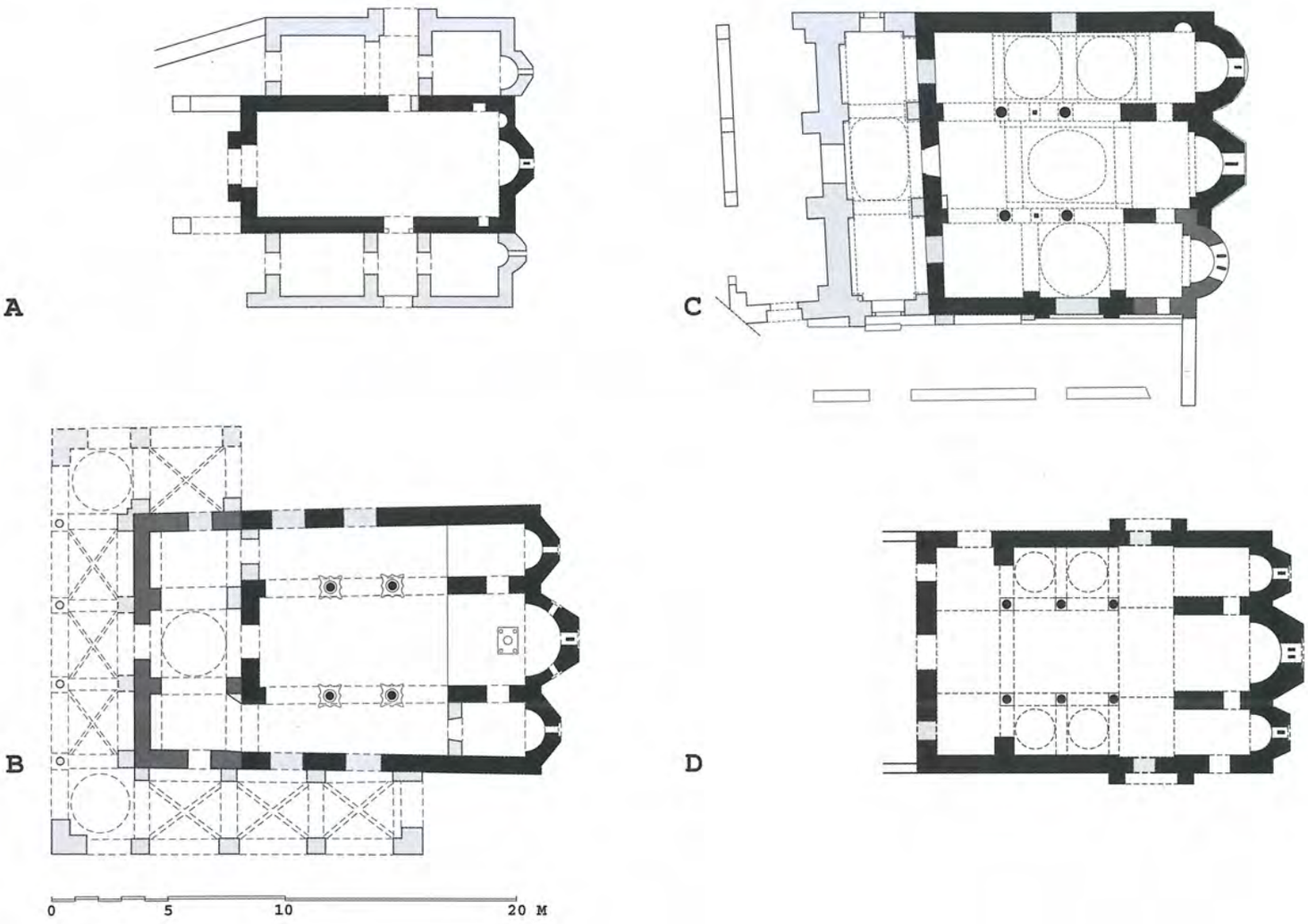
preserved on a photograph taken by G. Millet in the early years of the twentieth century (fig. 639). The typical church in Verria during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the single-aisled church, or the miniature three-aisled basilica. The church of Christos, once part of the monastery of the Savior "tou Kalothetou," was built in the early fourteenth century and frescoed in 1314–15 by the well-known painter Georgios Kalliergis (fig. 640). A small, single-aisled church, measuring 5.5 × 11 meters in plan, it has three doors on the west, north, and south sides. The presence of enveloping spaces on all but the east side, in their present form dating from the eighteenth century, suggests the possibility that similar spaces may have existed around the naos already in the fourteenth.

Arta

Arta, in western-central Greece, is a city with a long history that remains substantially murky. Archaeology has brought to light fragmentary remains of Roman and late antique buildings, but nothing meaningful can be said about the city before its heyday, which came during the thirteenth century.[97] At that time Arta became the capital of the despots of Epiros and, as one of the centers of the disintegrating Byzantine Empire, also turned into a major center of architectural production. Most of this occurred within a life span of two generations between *circa* 1237 and *circa* 1296. During these six decades a relatively large number of buildings was erected by local builders, whose work, rooted in an earlier, strictly local tradition, developed a distinctive style of building whose characteristics are easily distinguishable from those of other contemporary Byzantine centers. Recognizing this phenomenon is of particular significance, because of the developments during the last decades of the thirteenth century, when, owing to Arta's sudden decline, many of its builders – presumably out of work – made their way to other, more promising centers. Some, as we have already suggested, may have gone on to Thessaloniki; others most certainly moved to Ohrid; by the first decade of the fourteenth century some were even employed by the Serbian king Milutin.

Our general impressions of Arta as a city during this period are much more scanty than even those of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Veria. Save for the meager remains of its city walls, its medieval citadel, and the palace of the despots, it is only the churches that provide viable documents of its urban prosperity and physical growth. On account of their predominantly conservative designs and frequently improvised execution, these churches have been labeled "provincial" by several scholars. This is not the place to debate such a judgment. However, it should not be allowed to obscure what is unquestionably the most important and enduring quality of these buildings – the extraordinary richness and variety of their exterior decoration. This particular quality must have given this architecture a distinction for which it was generally known and admired in its own time. The demand for Epirote builders far beyond the frontiers of the erstwhile despotate of Epiros is the best testimony of the high esteem for their work. The economic and political decline of Arta, which began much earlier than elsewhere, had no quick end. Lack of specific information about any architectural activity in Arta from *circa* 1300 to 1449, when it was finally taken over by the Ottomans, itself points to less than favorable conditions. Already by the early decades of the fourteenth century, it should be noted, the distinctive manner of Epirote building was to be found in places far removed from Epiros and its capital, Arta. Once again, it is clear that adverse economic circumstance must have resulted in the dispersion of master builders and artisans.

One of the most visible manifestations of the conservative nature of the architecture of Arta is the dominance of basilican churches during the period in question. Although smaller basilican churches did appear now and then, even in the major centers, their appearance there was always an exception. In Arta, by contrast, it appears to have been almost a rule. Unlike at Verria, where a similar trend was noted, the churches of Arta are much larger buildings, suggesting that the economic factor was not the primary reason behind the choice of the building type. The phenomenon is particularly surprising because architecture in Arta before *circa* 1250 was marked by the consistent use of domed churches. Among the Arta churches belonging to the group we will investigate, the smallest, but in some ways the most instructive, is the church of Hagios Vasileios. The simple prismatic form of this small church rises above the roofs of a symmetrical arrangement of subsidiary rooms (fig. 641A). The overall impression is that of a three-aisled basilican arrangement,



641 Arta: (A) H. Vasileios; (B) H. Theodora; (C) Blacherna; (D) Kato Panagia; plans

but in reality what would amount to the central vessel of a three-aisled basilica is here reduced to a single, relatively narrow and high volume of space. The spaces flanking the main space appear to have included a pair of rectangular chapels on either side of the main sanctuary, and a pair of rectangular rooms, the function of which is not clear. A pair of originally open vaulted passages between the two rooms on each side formed a type of portico, providing lateral access to the main space. The east end and the clerestory walls of the main part of the building most eloquently reveal the stylistic characteristics of this architecture (fig. 642). The perfectly flat walls, unarticulated by any architectural means, are brought to life by various textures and coloristic devices that make this small building in some ways the most impressive among the group of related churches of Arta. The most conspicuous among the articulating devices is

642 Arta, H. Vasileios; general view from E

undoubtedly the diaper band of square glazed tiles, simulating rainbow colors, that wraps around the building on the east and north sides, just above the roofs of the apse and of the lateral chambers. Another comparable band, half as wide, runs just above the main one. Further bands, featuring other specially cut modular ceramic elements, parallel the other two, adding richness of color and texture to the surface. The top of the apse exterior is crowned by a wide meander band that stretches across the lateral east wall to the edges of the building. Yet another similar meander band parallels this one, just below it, interrupted in this case by the apse window. Directly above the latter meander band, and also directly below the windowsill of the apse window, run two bands of recessed dogtooth friezes framed by flat bricks. A single fish-bone band made of thin bricks parallels the lower of the two diaper bands, and, like it, is interrupted by the apse window. Brick, as a building material, dominates the exterior. The brick is of high quality, dark red in color, and was used with relatively thin mortar beds. Some of the bricks were specially cut along the edges before firing, clearly with the idea of intensifying the textured effect that marks this style. Such a "sculptural" approach to the treatment of individual bricks is not known outside the area of Epiros, with its focus on Arta. Before closing the discussion of Hagios Vasileios, it should be pointed out that all windows have richly articulated window frames of brick that also include recessed dogtooth friezes. The most elaborate among the window arrangements is that in the tympanum of the east façade (fig. 643). Here a tall two-light window is framed by two shallow niches, each topped by a half-arch shouldering the window itself. The overall form is clearly based on high-shoulder triple windows common in Middle Byzantine architecture. Each of the two lateral niches in this case contains decorative elements, including a large icon in glazed ceramic relief. The presence of such glazed ceramic icons is essentially unprecedented, though the aesthetic inviting the use of various ceramic elements (such as bowls) is known from the Middle Byzantine period on.

Hagia Theodora is another basilican church built sometime around the middle of the thirteenth century (fig. 641B). Constructed as a three-aisled basilica, the church was intended from the outset to accommodate the tomb of Theodora (later St. Theodora), the wife of Michael II, despot of Epiros. Measuring 11.5 × 19.5 meters, this is a middle-sized basilica, whose side aisles are separated from the naos by arcades carried on two pairs of low columns. The three-aisled disposition of the interior is

643 Arta, H. Vasileios; east façade; detail, tympanum

clearly reflected on the exterior (fig. 644). The east façade, resembling that of Hagios Vasileios in general outline, lacks its elaborate veneer. The west façade is obscured by a large, disfigured narthex and a partially fallen arcaded portico that originally enveloped the building on the west and south sides. The interior columns of the basilica are late antique spoils with particularly attractive capitals (reused also as bases) that must have come from a local late antique building, or, as has been suggested, from Nicopolis. The west façade of Hagia Theodora, despite the fact that it was mangled during later repairs, has preserved a most remarkable "quilt" made up of decorative brick patterns, laid out without any visible function other than to cover the surfaces with a decorative patchwork. The tomb of St. Theodora inside the church is one of the best-preserved examples of a monumental Byzantine tomb to be found anywhere. It is notable for its architectural elements, as well as for its sculptural decoration.

644 Arta, H. Theodora; general view from SE

Functionally related to Hagia Theodora is the church of Blacherna, the mausoleum of the despots of Epiros, situated just outside the city limits (fig. 641c). This highly irregular building, measuring 13 × 19 meters in plan, appears to have been constructed as a three-aisled vaulted basilica in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, its main arcades supported by two columns on either side of the nave. This basilica suffered a major calamity, possibly in an earthquake, and was rebuilt sometime later in the same century. Of the original church only parts remain standing, the southern apse being the only visible exterior portion. As part of the reconstruction, the aisles were domed and more fully segregated from the central vessel. Thus, in effect,

645 Arta, Kato Panagia; general view from SE

646 Arta, Kato Panagia; south façade, transept bay

647 Arta, Kato Panagia; main apse; masonry detail

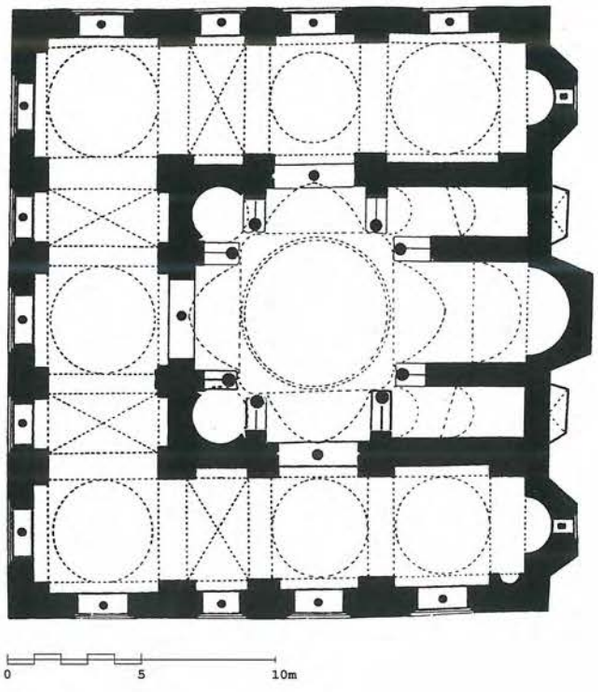
the original basilica was transformed into a cluster of three churches standing side by side. The concept may have aimed to emulate the scheme of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, the mausoleum complex of the Komnenian dynasty. If the imperial ambitions of the despots of Epiros are borne in mind, the possibility of such a deliberate emulation gains weight. The church, in its rebuilt form, displays the utmost disregard for structural logic and at the same time unreserved devotion to the decorative aspects of architecture that we have already alluded to in other churches of Arta. The decorative aspects of this church are enhanced by a liberal reuse of Middle Byzantine marble spoils, presumably saved from the ruins of the original basilica. The interior of the church contains several tombs of the despots, whose preservation, along with the tomb of St. Theodora, constitutes an invaluable exception – most of such Byzantine tombs having been completely eradicated during the Ottoman era.

The fourth of the group of basilican churches that we will discuss is the so-called Kato Panagia, also located on the outskirts of Arta. This monastic church, commissioned by Despot Michael II (1231–68), is the best-preserved and probably the finest of the four (fig. 645). Its three-aisled basilican plan, measuring, 10.5 × 16.5 meters, includes a barrel-vaulted central vessel separated from the side aisles by two arcades on columns, each bay covered by a pair of saucer domes (fig. 641D). The nave is separated from the sanctuary by a raised, barrel-vaulted transept, whose central part, matching the span of the nave, is elevated higher, with the evident intention of echoing the usual position of the dome by stressing verticality. The tripartite sanctuary is fully barrel-vaulted, the side rooms separated from the bema by two massive piers. The ends of the transept are marked externally by a pronounced arcade supported on tall projecting spurs (fig. 646). In addition to accentuating the transept form visually, the two arcades also frame, albeit asymmetrically, the lateral portals of the church. This quasi-tectonic feature is in sharp contrast to the otherwise planar character of the rest of the exterior, whose walls reveal no other structural features of the interior. The superb decorative vocabulary, typical of the local workshops, is here enriched also by the inclusion of an inscription in brick, above the south lateral door, with a monogram of Despot Michael II. It should be noted that the introduction of such tall arched frames on lateral church façades, usually in association with side doors, had its roots in eleventh- and twelfth-century "Helladic" architecture. The east end of the church is articulated by three-sided apses featuring a triple window in the main apse and a double window in each of the lateral apses. Exquisite brick workmanship, using thin bricks as well as specially cut tiles, is here at its finest (fig. 647). The type of basilican churches with pronounced narrow, but high transepts (known by the Greek term as *stavrepistegos naos*) appears in Byzantine architecture almost exclusively within the confines of present-day Greece, and very rarely elsewhere. Kato Panagia is certainly one of the best and possibly one of the oldest examples of the type. Indeed, the type may have originated in Epiros. Its appearance elsewhere may reflect the spreading of ideas as a function of the eventual exodus of builders from Epiros.

648 Arta, Parēgorētissa; general view from NW

The largest and the most imposing among the surviving monuments of Arta is the so-called Parēgorētissa (fig. 648).[98] Its looming mass is now practically freestanding. In medieval times it was surrounded by a vast monastic complex, within a rectangular enclosure measuring at least 80 × 80 meters, though its full dimensions are not known. The church itself was evidently built in two phases. Originally it was a much smaller domed building, commissioned, if not by Despot Michael II himself, then by someone in his close circle, around 1250. Sometime between that date and *circa* 1290 the original church was seriously damaged, and underwent extensive repairs that also included a substantial enlargement of the original scheme. The second phase was the work of Despot Nikephoros I (1268–98), son and successor of Michael II (fig. 649). The size of the building – measuring 22.5 × 21.8 meters in plan – and the splendor of its interior decoration reveal singular ambitions. The inclusion of marble inlay work, Romanesque-Gothic sculptural decoration, and Byzantine mosaics suggests that an effort was made to gather numerous artisans from various centers with the idea of creating a unique building in the spirit of the imperial creations of old. The present building employs the octagon-domed scheme, itself a much

649 Arta, Parēgorētissa; plan, gallery level



650 Arta, Parēgorētissa; interior, view into main dome

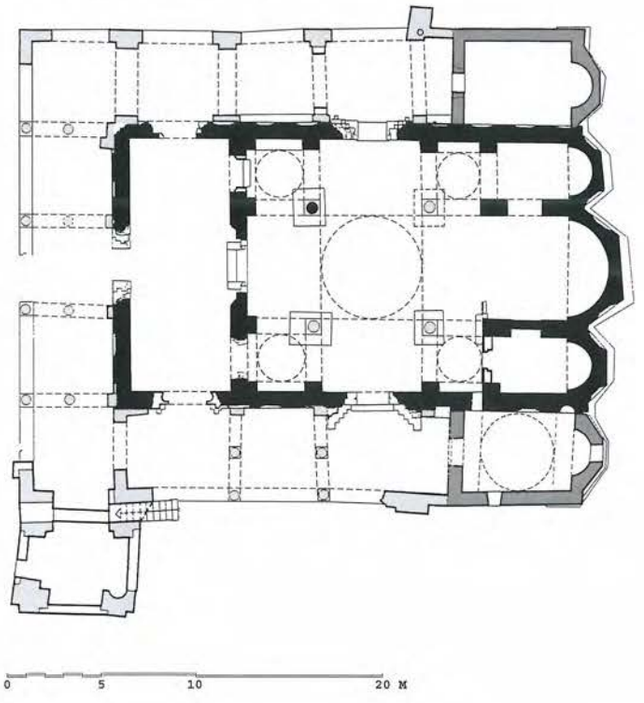
older architectural formula. This is surrounded on two sides by large chapels and on the west side by a very large narthex. The same basic disposition is repeated again on the upper level, where the enveloping space was left unfinished, while its intended function remains unknown. It is important to note that the scheme as executed did not include any provisions for internal linkage between the two stories (the present spiral metal stair is a modern addition). Thus, the question of access to the upper floor remains a mystery. The exterior of the building is treated as a unified building block, the two stories articulated by means of rows of arched double windows. Such a monumental piling of forms gives the building its extraordinary external appearance, which – it would seem for the lack of a better analogy – has been compared to Italian Renaissance *palazzi*. The comparison strikes one as being rather superficial. A more relevant comparison and a likely source, it would seem, would be two-storied monastic churches, such as the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, notwithstanding the more rigorous tectonic treatment of its façades. The Parēgorētissa, in the final analysis, appears to embrace some old formulas, but translates them into the local style. Its builders, clearly, came out of the same workshops as the builders of the other Arta churches. The only elements that reveal a higher level of sophistication are the building's domes. The Parēgorētissa has five large domes elevated on drums, and a sixth one with a completely open drum, consisting only of eight pairs of freestanding columns that carry the arches and the dome. This dome is located on the main axis of the building, directly above the main entrance, but on the gallery level. Neither its form nor its function has yet been properly understood. The "baldachin" theme that has been invoked in conjunction with the open dome is a particularly relevant one and is deserving of far more attention than can be given in this context. Suffice it to say that the problem should be viewed in conjunction with the interior of the naos, where a curious structural and non-structural application of three tiers of superposed, corbelled columns was employed below the main dome. Elevated 21.5 meters above the floor, this dome dramatically underscores the importance of height in Late Byzantine architecture (fig. 650). The effect that would have been created together with the rest of the wall revetment would have been that of a giant multitiered baldachin. The symbolic theme of the baldachin is an old one in the Byzantine tradition, as can be gleaned from the katholikon of the Nea Monē in Chios (see Chapter 7). Parēgorētissa should be understood in that extended context. The placement of the other domes follows the formula commonly employed in Late Byzantine architecture – the four minor domes occurring at the corners of the rectangular building mass. The main difference between Parēgorētissa and similar churches, such as Hagia Aikatherinē, or the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, is that its domes appear over the galleries and, as such, are invisible from the main level of the building. In fact, as far as we know, the minor domes at the Parēgorētissa never received their interior pictorial program. On the exterior, the main building mass is built of a mixture of brick and stone. The lowest part, up to the sill level of the lower tier of windows, was built crudely, using smaller stones irregularly combined with brick. Clearly, this part was not intended to be visible. It has been suggested, with good reason, that originally it would have been enclosed by another one-story portico, wrapping around three sides of the building that may never have been built or has since disappeared. The upper parts of the same wall were faced with a fine cloisonné technique interspersed with decorative bands. The placement and the use of these decorative bands reveal an apparent lack of rigor in carrying the theme through around the entire periphery of the building. Moreover, an examination of the treatment of different bands on the east façade suggests that possibly two different building teams may have been working on the north and south halves of the building (fig. 651). These two teams surely could have coordinated their efforts, but were evidently given complete latitude with

651 Arta, Parēgorētissa; general view from E

regard to the surface treatment. Once more, as in the case of Hagia Theodora, the exterior wall was given a distinctively decorative character, revealing a characteristically Epirote aesthetic approach to architecture.

In discussing the architecture of Arta we must mention one final monument – the church of Pantanassa at Philippiada, not far from Arta.[99] This extraordinary, large monastic church was the foundation of Despot Michael II, begun in the 1240s. Almost completely destroyed and known as a result of extensive excavations, it was the largest of all churches in Arta, measuring 25 × 32 meters in plan (fig. 652). Its core was made up of a cross-in-square naos with four freestanding columns. Extending eastward into a tripartite sanctuary, and westward into a narthex, this core was enveloped by an eastern pair of domed chapels extending into open porticoes along the north, south, and west sides. The church, save for the southern of the two chapels, survives only in foundations. These have been fully excavated, and reveal a building whose concept anticipates that of the Parēgorētissa, but whose size and opulence of decoration it must have exceeded. Both monuments, along with other churches discussed, illustrate

652 Philippiada, Pantanassa; plan



the building ambitions of the despots of Epiros. Such works, accomplished at great cost, must have kept many workers employed over several decades. With the death of Nikephoros I in 1296, the precipitous decline of Arta began, abruptly leaving scores of qualified workmen without jobs and sending them across the Balkans in search for new employers.

Berat

Situated on a plateau atop a steep rocky hill overlooking the River Osumi, the town of Berat, Albania (Pulcheriopolis in late antiquity; Beligrad in the Middle Ages) was one of the largest urban settlements in the western part of the Balkans.[100] The walls originally enclosed some 9 hectares of populated area. Subsequently, the area was expanded to 15 hectares by enclosing a space on the slope toward the river within two newly constructed walls. This expansion, among other advantages, also secured important access to water. The heavily fortified citadel at the top of the hill was entirely a medieval creation. Internally subdivided into two parts, its best-protected section accommodated the residence of the local strongman. The remains of a sizeable vaulted cistern within the citadel are believed to mark the location of a lost residential building. The walls of Berat include a number of elements and constructional techniques that suggest the impact of the late antique tradition. Among the several different types of towers – round, rectangular, triangular – especially noteworthy are several pentagonal ones, a type commonly employed in fortification architecture of the age of Justinian I. The reconstruction of these towers in later medieval times was often carried out in techniques that also emulated earlier construction methods, but in a manner comparable to similar approaches elsewhere in the Byzantine world at the time. The use of brick banding consisting of three or four courses of bricks, for example, recalls the technique seen at Gynaikokastro, Pythion, and Matochina. Whether these interventions could be seen as the work of the despot of Epiros, Michael I (1204–*circa* 1215), as has been proposed, should remain a subject of debate. They would appear much more consistent with fortification construction current during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The town of Berat is also notable for its several preserved Late Byzantine churches. Two of these – Archangel Michael and Hagia Triada, both dating from *circa* 1300 – are of special interest.[101] The church of Archangel Michael is situated on the southern slope of the hill, above the River Osumi, in the newly fortified section of the town (fig. 653). The church was built adjacent to a natural cave, its north wall directly abutting the bedrock. The exact association with the cave is unknown, but the choice of the site was not accidental. The cave must have had some sacred connotations that prompted the erection of the church in this location. The church displays a local variant of the Epirote architectural style. Measuring 5 × 10.5 meters in plan, this is a relatively small church consisting of a single-aisled domed naos preceded by a barrel-vaulted narthex. Characteristics of this architecture include the use of a distinctive cloisonné technique featuring relatively small, rough pieces of stone framed by relatively thick bricks. The dome, elevated on a cubical base and an eight-sided drum, is an all-brick construction. Each of the angle brick colonnettes of the drum is framed by vertically set bricks. This particular detail is characteristic of Epirote domes. Hagia Triada shares many characteristics with the slightly smaller church of Archangel Michael (fig. 654). It has a two-

653 Berat, Archangel Michel; general view from W

654 Berat, Hagia Triada; general view from S

column naos and an oblong narthex with a saucer dome over its central bay. Measuring 7.5 × 10.8 meters in plan, the building may have once been enveloped by a porch of some sort. Its lower walls feature rough fieldstone construction, whereas their upper sections display the same type of cloisonné construction as was seen on the church of Archangel Michael. The lateral walls of Hagia Triada are marked by all-brick, stilted semicircular tympana, slightly recessed into the wall mass. Each of these contains a double window framed by a pair of quadrant-arched niches leaning against the brick window frame. Such "recessed tympana" constitute another hallmark of Epirote architecture.

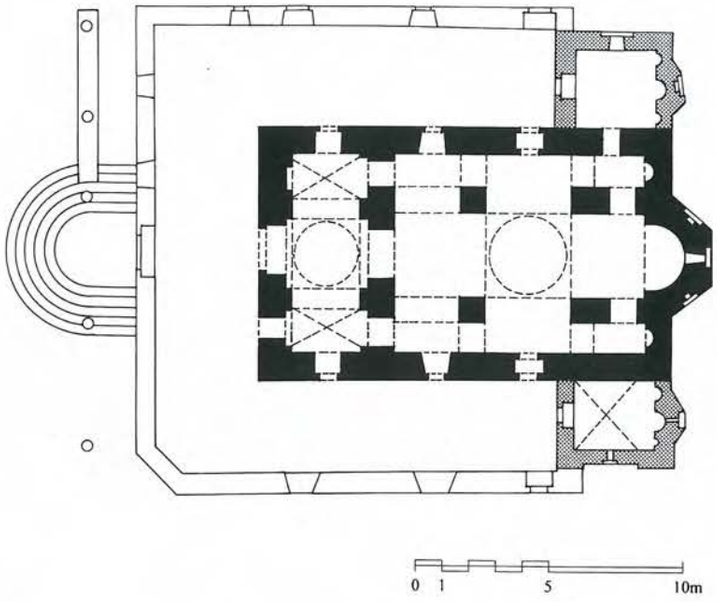
Ohrid

Ohrid, FYROM (Byzantine Achris), situated in the northeastern corner of the eponymous lake, was a city of crucial importance throughout the medieval period. After the Byzantine reconquest of the central Balkans from the Bulgarians in 1018, Ohrid became the seat of an autocephalous archbishopric, with a specific religious and political role vis-à-vis the Slavic population in the surrounding areas. The political significance of this seat was reflected in the fact that its archbishop was an appointee of the emperor and not of the patriarch. The first half of the thirteenth century had brought about some unforeseen developments in this relationship. Following the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, the archbishop of Ohrid, one Demetrios Chomatianos, felt powerful enough to pick his own emperor.[102] Rejecting the authority of the emperor and the patriarch of Nicaea, in 1224 Chomatianos personally crowned Theodore Angelos as Byzantine emperor in Thessaloniki, thus contributing to the growing feud between the rival successors of the Byzantine state. Following the reconquest of Constantinople and the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire in 1261, the reconstruction of the old relationship between the emperor and the archbishop of Ohrid became a high priority. This was all the more pressing because the Byzantine province of Macedonia became a direct target of the expansionist policy of the Serbian king Milutin. The entire region of Macedonia, as we have seen, became a major construction site, with numerous fortresses hastily built with the hope of containing the Serbian expansion. Ohrid, along with Thessaloniki, became an important regional center, and, as such, experienced a period of economic prosperity and a building boom during the last decade of the thirteenth century and the first three decades of the fourteenth. In 1334 Ohrid was taken by the Serbian king Stefan Dušan. Although its importance continued, Dušan's attention during the remaining years of his reign turned to the south. Hence building activity in Ohrid declined. Disintegration of the Serbian state after Dušan's death left Ohrid in Serbian hands. The architectural activity that continued was largely limited to private initiatives.

655 Ohrid, Theotokos Perivleptos; general view from SE

Ohrid's conquest by the Ottomans, in 1394, reduced the city to a provincial center of marginal importance, a status from which it never again recovered.

The clearest picture of architectural activity in Ohrid during the period under consideration, as was the case with the other old urban centers already discussed, derives from several of its surviving churches.[103] At the head of this group unquestionably stands the church of Theotokos Perivleptos (present day Sv. Kliment) (fig. 655). Built, according to a preserved inscription, in 1295, the church was a foundation of a local Byzantine official of Albanian ethnic origin, one Progon Zgur. The well-preserved architecture of this church is matched by its equally well-preserved contemporary cycle of frescoes. Thus, this building offers many unique insights not only into the current situation in Ohrid, but also into the general regional state of affairs. Measuring 9.5 × 17 meters in plan, the original church consisted of a slightly elongated form of the cross-in-square naos, preceded by a narthex (fig. 656). The dome, in the usual position, in this case is supported on four rectangular piers instead of four columns. The elongation seems to stem from the lack of the usual spatially accentuated division between the naos and the sanctuary. Here the iconostasis is related to the same piers that carry the main dome. This modified form of the conventional cross-in-square scheme appears to have been invented in the rural regions of Epiros, where ancient columns would not have been available for reuse, and from where the planning formula may have been brought to Ohrid. The church of Perivleptos may represent the first instance of the direct importation of Epirote ideas into Ohrid. That the idea would have been imported seems to be supported by the fact that ancient columns would have been readily available in Ohrid, as they were in other older urban centers, but not in the countryside. The church, therefore, may



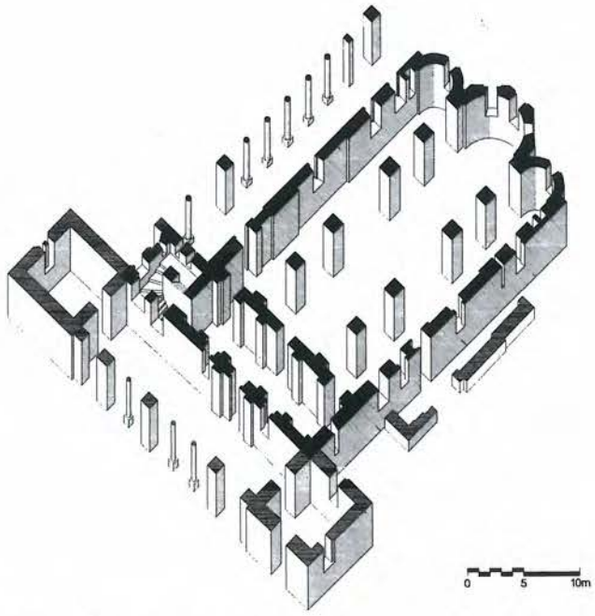
656 Ohrid, Theotokos Perivleptos; plan

have been the work, as has been suggested, of a team of builders, perhaps coming from rural Bellas in Epiros, where they had built another church with virtually identical design and stylistic characteristics to the Perivleptos.[104] The point is of crucial importance, for, as far as we know, in Ohrid as in Thessaloniki, there was little if any building activity during the thirteenth century. The sudden demand for builders in Ohrid at the end of the century coincided, it should be noted, with the beginning of a period of economic decline in Epiros. The exterior features of this architecture can best be seen on the fully exposed east façade of the building. The wall is generally flat and distinguished by the cloisonné building technique and by the decorative bands featuring diaper patterns and brick meanders. It should be noted that all of these characteristics appear on the contemporary east façade of the Parēgorētissa at Arta. The three-sided main apse of the Perivleptos is marked by tall, narrow niches, framed by triple skewbacks in brick and by a recessed dogtooth frieze. In addition to the small double window in the central of these niches, we find decorative panels filled with crosses, diaper patterns, and meanders. The dome of the Perivleptos, by virtue of its low pro-

657 Ohrid, St. John Kaneo; aerial view from NE

portions and its drum marked by stone corner colonnettes framed by recessed dogtooth friezes, also betrays Epirote workmanship. The eastern lateral chapels that flank the sanctuary of the church were added later in the fourteenth century, while the enveloping narthex spaces that extend beyond this pair of chapels are even later. The familiar compound plan, seen in many of the monuments of Thessaloniki and Arta, came into being here considerably later and only in stages.

A comparable scheme once existed in another late thirteenth-century church in Ohrid, now known as St. John Kaneo (fig. 657). Situated on a picturesque promontory overlooking the lake, this monastic church shares many of its architectural characteristics with the Perivleptos. Its plan reveals basically the same characteristics – a slightly elongated naos with four massive rectangular piers supporting the dome. The naos was preceded by a narthex, incorporated into the building mass, so that its presence is apparent only at roof level. The exterior is dominated by the stark massiveness of the wall, the surface of which is broken only on the north and south façades by means of a shallow arched niche containing a double window, in a solution com-



658 Ohrid, St. Sophia; axonometric

659 Ohrid, St. Sophia, exonarthex; general view from SW

660 Ohrid, St. Sophia, exonarthex; west façade, detail

parable to that at the Perivleptos. Decorative niches on the three-sided apse are considerably smaller than those at Perivleptos. Their effect, along with the familiar diaper bands and recessed dogtooth friezes, unmistakably reveals the Epirote aesthetic, though not the same builders. It should be noted that the original dome must have ended in the usual undulating eave above the window niches. The picturesque superstructure involving triangular brick gables with small niches belongs to some later intervention. Much like the Perivleptos, also at a later time, St. John Kaneo was enveloped by a narthex with a pair of chapels. This arrangement survived until after the Second World War, when, as part of the restoration of the church, it was completely removed, leaving only the original building core standing.

The ultimate planning scheme described at the Perivleptos may have been functionally related to the lost church of St. Panteleimon, the remains of which were brought to light below the ruins of the Imaret Camii.[105] The trefoil church, possibly dating from the ninth century, was expanded by the enlargement of its narthex and by the addition of enveloping spaces with an axial belfry in front of the principal entrance (fig. 943). The church held one of the most venerated shrines – that of St. Clement, a local saint, who, together with St. Naum, both pupils of St. Methodios, was a crucial figure in the early Church life among the Slavs. Because of its venerable role, on a prominent location within the city, the church of St. Clement became a victim of the Ottoman authorities in the second half of the fifteenth century, who replaced it with the Imaret Camii.

By far the most impressive building enterprise of Late Byzantine Ohrid was the remodeling of its cathedral of Hagia Sophia.[106] The venerable church had undergone a number of significant changes throughout its history. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, apparently as a result of a desire by Archbishop Grēgorios to demonstrate the authority of his office, the church was expanded by the addition of lateral porticoes, evidently intended for burial purposes (fig. 658). Above all, in 1314, the church acquired a huge exonarthex in front of its original west façade (fig. 659). The double-storied exonarthex, with a pair of domed chapels at its extreme ends, was not only a major addition to the building and its functional needs, but also a major urban gesture. Its monumental façade is marked by its relatively open, two-storied central section, flanked by two solid, tower-like masses, each crowned by a dome on an octagonal drum. We do not know anything about the actual urban context of the building, but its arcaded portico on the ground level opens directly to the space in front of the building, whatever form or function that space may have had in the fourteenth century. The ground story consists of a triple arcade on columns with a double arcade on columns on either side, separated from each other by massive piers. Finally, at the north end of this system is a single arch supported on two massive piers, creating a decidedly asymmetrical effect. The problem can be understood only by looking at the plan of the church. Despite its monumental, quasi-symmetrical appearance, the exonarthex was not axially related to the original building, because a single stair tower projected from the north side of the eleventh-century building. This functional element was retained in the final solution, but was masked from the west by the new exonarthex. The triple arcade on the ground level of the exonarthex façade, it should be noted, is exactly on axis with the church, thus creating a monumental accent for processional entries into the nave. Above the ground arcade runs a zone featuring seventeen decorative blind niches (fig. 660), which masks the rise of a large oblong barrel vault covering the open ground space of the exonarthex. What the function of this space may have been in the fourteenth century cannot be determined, given our current state of knowledge. The second floor of the exonarthex is also open, here in four small

661 Ohrid, Zaum Monastery; general view from the lake in 1968

triple arcades, separated from each other by piers, whose faces are marked by semicircular niches, three in all. The upper story is not vaulted, but is covered by a wooden roof. On the façade above the row of triple arcades runs a monumental brick inscription extending the full length between the two tower-like elements. The inscription includes the name of Archbishop Grēgorios and the date of 1314. The function of the gallery level is also somewhat of a mystery, though the presence of two chapels within the tower-like elements and of an extensive cycle of frescoes provide some relevant clues. On account of an extensive fresco cycle of illustrating the *Death of a Monk*, based on the so-called *Akolouthia* attributed to St. Andrew of Crete, it is conceivable that the space was intended for a form of monastic seclusion. Links between cathedral churches and monastic needs in certain urban centers are known. Unfortunately, such information about the cathedral of Ohrid is lacking, and the matter must be left open. The two tower-like components at the ends of the exonarthex, as already mentioned, each contain a chapel in the upper story, accessible from the upper level of the exonarthex. Externally, the two towers are marked by a prismatic quality, underscored by the flatness of their walls, executed in cloisonné technique. The bold simplicity of these forms is articulated only by shallow arched niches on each of the exposed faces, which contain smaller double windows flanked by miniscule shallow niches of their own. The entire stylistic effect, including the detailing of the two domes and the predominantly brick façade between the two towers, may be linked to the Epirote tradition that probably found its new home in Ohrid after *circa* 1295. Along with the Parēgorētissa at Arta, the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid may be considered one of the masterpieces of this tradition. Like the Parēgorētissa, it has been erroneously associated with Italian palatine architecture, more specifically with Venetian *palazzi*. Notwithstanding some superficial formal resemblance, the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia unmistakably belongs to the Late Byzantine architectural tradition in all respects.

662 Ohrid, Zaum Monastery, church of Mother of God; south façade

663 Ohrid, SS. Constantine and Helena; from SE

With the Serbian conquest in 1334, Ohrid never returned into Byzantine hands. It remained under Serbian control until 1394, when it was taken over by the Ottomans. The Serbian rule was not marked by major building activity; the few surviving monuments suggest that most initiatives came from private donors, building their own foundations. The most impressive among these is the small monastery known as Zaum, with a church dedicated to the Mother of God.[107] Founded by one Grgur Branković, in 1361, the monastery is situated on the eastern shore of Lake Ohrid, on a narrow strip of land below a steep cliff that rendered it accessible only by water (fig. 661). The choice of site is indicative of the growing tendency among monks in the second half of the fourteenth century to seek increasingly remote locations for their settlements. This, along with fortified monasteries, became a new monastic paradigm, reflecting the realities of the times. The monastery church, on the other hand, illustrates very clearly that the Epirote building tradition, imported during the last decade of the thirteenth century, was still very much alive in Ohrid seven decades later. The church, based on a cross-in-square, four-column plan, is a small building, measuring merely 7 × 9 meters. Its dome rising to the interior height of 11 meters, the church is distinguished by steep proportions (fig. 662). It is marked externally by flat walls faced in cloisonné building technique and by horizontal banding with meander and diaper patterns stretching across the width of the building. These are interrupted only by a large, shallow arched niche, itself a vestige of the Epirote building tradition. The use of stone colonnettes and the framing recessed dogtooth friezes on the dome drum likewise reveal the survival of the Epirote norms.

Two other family churches, St. Nicholas Bolnički and SS. Constantine and Helena, provide another dimension of the enduring Epirote impact on the architecture of Ohrid (fig. 663). Both of these miniscule churches are single-aisled with an elevated transverse barrel vault over the middle of the naos. This architectural concept, as we have already noted, may have originated in Arta. Its appearance here underscores the probability that the beginnings of increased architectural activity in Ohrid around 1300 must have occasioned the wholesale importation of builders from Epiros at the time of its serious economic decline. The church of SS. Constantine and Helena was built a century later, in 1400, after the initial Ottoman conquest of Ohrid.[108] Commissioned by Hieromonachos Partenios, a high-ranking member of the local clergy, it was intended as a family church. Measuring merely 4.7 × 7.5 meters, the church acquired a small lateral chapel on the south side and a portico of wooden construction along the south and west sides. Well-preserved frescoes and inscriptions in this tiny church provide a wealth of information and testify to the reasonably favorable conditions in Ohrid during the first decades of Ottoman rule. That situation

changed drastically during the second half of the fifteenth century, when Ohrid became a base of operations against the Albanians under Mehmed II.

Didymoteichon

The town of Didymoteichon, Greece, has a long history, though major discontinuities seem to have occurred between late antiquity and the Middle Byzantine period.[109] Situated on the River Erythropotamos, a tributary of the Evros (Meriç), Didymoteichon was a major strategic center in the Late Byzantine period. It was here that John VI Kantakouzēnos was proclaimed emperor in 1341, and, using Didymoteichon as his base, that he launched his campaign aimed at securing the throne in Constantinople, thus triggering the second civil war in Byzantium within two decades. In response to these crises, the larger of the two hills on which the ancient city was situated underwent heavy refortification as the Late Byzantine Didymoteichon. Substantial remains of these walls and two of the town gates are partially preserved. The hill on which the Late Byzantine fortified town was located is essentially a soft limestone formation. Medieval roads, the foundations of houses, and even elaborate cellars, were cut into bedrock, thus preserving large tracts of the layout of the medieval town, whose buildings, as is the case in most other locations, have long since vanished (fig. 664). Two small Late Byzantine ecclesiastical structures have been partially preserved – the church of Hagia Aikatherinē and a chapel (?) adjacent to the nineteenth-century cathedral of Hagios Athanasios. Both seem to have had funerary functions and both reveal close technical affinities with contemporary buildings in Constantinople.

Despite its importance in Late Byzantine times, what actually remains of Didymoteichon is pitifully little. Its importance to the Byzantines was all too well known to the Ottomans, who made Didymoteichon one of the first major targets of conquest on Balkan soil. Less than two decades after John VI was proclaimed emperor, in 1359 Didymoteichon was in Ottoman hands. The Ottomans wasted no time in claiming their new possession, renaming it Dimetoka. Murad I, attaching the greatest priority to this conquest, made it his capital and proceeded to build there his palace and a royal mosque. By the early years of the fifteenth century another huge mosque – the Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Han Camii – was under construction. Its giant prismatic form topped by a huge pyramidal roof still dominates the skyline of Didymoteichon (fig. 665). Little is known about this building. Measuring 32.5 × 30 meters in plan, the mosque belonged to the classic *ulu camii* scheme. Its interior was subdivided by four massive piers – each measuring 2 × 2 meters in plan – into what look like nine square bays. The nine bays are not of identical dimensions, however, nor is the central bay square, thus the building was apparently not intended to have

664 Didymoteichon, rock-cut medieval street

nine domes. The piers were evidently meant to carry two rows of three massive arches and to support a wooden roof. The present roof, impressive as it is in its own right, was not what was actually intended, but the exact nature of the contemplated scheme remains obscure. The mosque now lacks the monumental portico across its northwest façade that would have been made of three, probably domed bays. Vestiges of this portico are visible, but it is unclear whether it had been built and was subsequently dismantled, or whether it was ever constructed. The mosque's master builder and the possible place of his origin are also unknown, but the quality of stonework is very high. The great Ulu Camii of Bursa, begun by Bayezid I in 1396, may have been the prototype, though the roofing there involved a system of twenty identical domes covering twenty identical square bays. By virtue of its size and exquisite materials, the mosque at Didy-

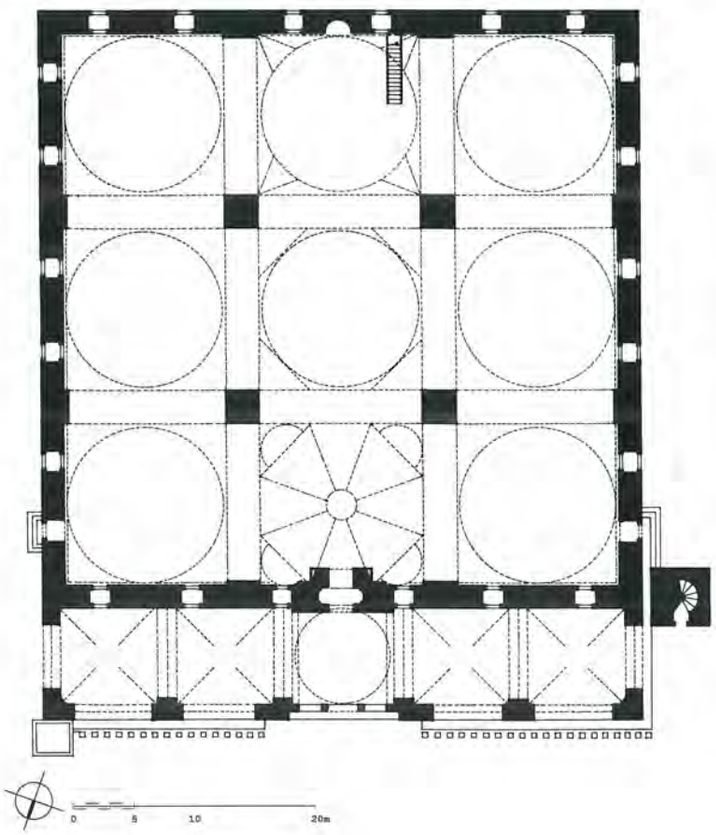
665 Didymoteichon, Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Han Camii; general view from NW

moteichon must have outshone all local Byzantine buildings still standing at the time. No doubt that was one of the principal intentions of its patron.

Edirne (Adrianople)

Virtually nothing of Byzantine Adrianople survives. The last vestiges of this important city, still standing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have long since disappeared. What does survive, in a significant way, is the Ottoman city with a number of major early Ottoman buildings. Following the conquest of Didymoteichon, the Ottoman ambitions were turned toward Adrianople. Murad I entered the city in 1361.[110] With the conquest of Adrianople the great arch of conquered territories to the west of Constantinople had thereby been completed, and thus the Byzantine Empire was practically reduced to a territory smaller than that of European Turkey today. The short-lived apogee of Didymoteichon was eclipsed, as Adrianople (renamed Edirne) became the new capital of the Ottoman state. Edirne would retain that function until the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Commensurate with its new status as the Ottoman capital, Edirne was to undergo changes in keeping with the new demands. Some new construction may have begun shortly afterwards, though major building projects were not undertaken until several decades later. A characteristic of Edirne is that the main building enterprises took place outside the ancient city walls.[111] Ottoman Edirne actually developed expansively as a new town to the west of the old city. Within several decades it became the second-largest city in the Ottoman state, exceeding even Thessaloniki in size. The new city was inhabited predominantly by a Turkish population, while the Greeks and other minority populations continued to live within the confines of the old city. That situation prevailed practically until the end of the nineteenth century. All of the major Ottoman buildings, with a few exceptions, were built in the new city, outside the walls. Although the principal figure in the reshaping of Edirne into a major Ottoman center was Murad II (1421–51), some very impressive buildings were built during the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The largest and most important among these was Eski Camii (the Old Mosque), begun in 1403, under Süleyman Çelebi. Finished in 1414 by Mehmed I, the mosque was the work of two of the three sons of Bayezid I engaged in a bloody civil war after 1402.[112] In this case it is known that the architect was one Haci Alaettin from Konya. This explains the all-stone construction of its exterior walls, an explanation that probably applies also to the Didymoteichon mosque. Eski Camii, perhaps the last in a series of the *ulu camii* type of mosques, is a huge building measuring 50 × 50 meters in plan (fig. 666). The interior is subdivided into nine square bays by four massive piers (2.5 × 2.5 m in plan). Each of the bays is covered by a large dome, more than 13 meters in diameter. In keeping with the functional arrangements typical of the *ulu camii* type, Eski Camii had a *shadrivan* (ablutions fountain) in the first bay beyond the main axial entrance. Functionally, this made the first domed bay de facto a court. This arrangement was subsequently changed during one of the several extensive restorations that the mosque underwent during its long history. Sultan Mehmed I was responsible also for the construction of a huge *bedestan* (commercial center), begun after 1414. Part of the Eski Camii *vakif* (chartered foundation), the *bedestan* exceeded the mosque in floor area, measuring 41 × 78.5 meters. Covered by fourteen domes, the building was internally subdivided by a row of massive piers, in all likelihood in emulation of the *bedestan* at Bursa. Another category of public buildings that regularly appear along with mosques and *bedestans* are public *hamams* (baths). Edirne was no exception in this regard; in the seventeenth century it is recorded as having had thirty-three *hamams*. Among several Ottoman baths that have survived, the Tahtkale Hamam is particularly noteworthy.[113] Finished in 1434–35, it belongs to the so-called *cifte-hamam* (double bath), with separate entrances for men and women. Characteristically for

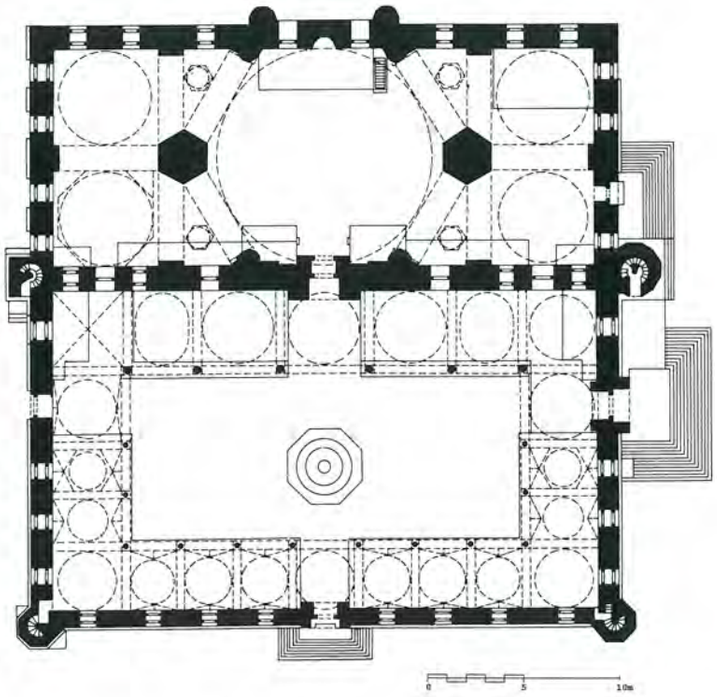
666 Edirne, Eski Camii; plan



667 Edirne, Uç Serefeli Camii; general view

such double baths, it is marked by a decided asymmetry that emphasizes the importance of the men's part over the women's. Each part consisted of three main sections – the undressing room, the lukewarm rooms, and the hot rooms. The overall dimensions of the complex – 29 × 46 meters – put it in the category of the larger bathing establishments of the type. Likewise, the great dome (16 m in diameter) that rises over the undressing room of the men's section of the bath is one of the largest of its kind. The bath is distinguished by the great variety of vaulting decorative features, including muqarnas. Most of the domes have either single oculi at their apexes or numerous small glazed openings that create characteristic star-like optical effects within a given space.

The Tahtkale Hamam was built during the reign of Murad II, the greatest patron of architecture in the history of Ottoman Edirne. Among the surviving buildings are several mosques that can be associated with the period of his reign, if not all directly with his royal patronage. Two of these mosques were actually sponsored by Murad himself. The smaller of the two reflects the fact in its name – Muradiye Camii. Finished in 1435, this is a typical so-called axial eyvan mosque of the "inverted T" plan variety.[114] Measuring 32.5 × 31.5 meters in its overall dimensions, it belongs to the larger examples of this type. Though Muradiye bears the name of its great patron, pride of place in architecture of Edirne during this period belongs to Uç Serefeli Camii, built between 1438 and 1447 (fig. 667).[115] This mosque fits in a special category of "grand experiments" – crucial buildings in which major new ideas are tested. Although various aspects of its design may have been seen before, the total scheme and the scale of the building were totally unprecedented. Measuring 70 × 70 meters in plan, Uç Serefeli Camii surpassed the Eski Camii in size and evidently in importance (fig. 668). Curiously, the name *uç serefeli* ("three balconies") derives from the mosque's southwest minaret, 67 meters high. This, the tallest minaret in Ottoman architecture built up to that time, has three balconies for muezzins, apparently another first of its kind. Clearly, the patron and his architect were bent on creating an architectural statement par



668 Edirne, Uç Serefeli Camii; plan

excellence. It is in the articulation of space and the general conception of the mosque, however, that this statement truly comes to the fore. The design scheme owes its basic idea to Anatolian mosques, but the interpretation of the scheme is truly unique. The central space of the mosque is dominated by a giant dome, some 24 meters in diameter, that rests on a hexagonal base defined by six enormous piers. Four of these are engaged with the outer walls, southern and northern, of the mosque. The two remaining piers are immense freestanding masonry masses of hexagonal cross-section. The use of a hexagonal system of supports for a dome is unusual in its own right. In late Roman and Early Byzantine architecture there are a few cases, but these were clearly exceptional. The scheme, for a variety of reasons that involve functional, as well as structural issues, was never popular. Its use here testifies to the fact that Ottoman architects apparently ultimately reached the same conclusion as their ancient predecessors. Square and octagonal schemes were found to be far more adaptable for their buildings than hexagons. Its monumental application at Uç Serefeli was clearly an experiment from which much was to be learned. Massive arches carried by the great freestanding piers open into lateral spaces, which constitute at once extensions of the main space, as well as vestiges of the convent rooms (*tabhane*) that commonly flank many mosques in pairs. Covered by smaller domes, these lateral spaces, in that sense also, resemble conventional *tabhane* schemes. Built of Burgaz limestone, Uç Serefeli Camii is very heavy in appearance, clearly reflecting the uncertainties of the architect undertaking such a bold experiment. The 24-meter dome was a major engineering feat for its time. Matching the diameter of the dome of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki, it is larger than any of the known Byzantine domes built after Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Structural concerns clearly affected its design and execution. Some interesting aspects of this dome from that point of view are worth noting. For example, despite (or perhaps because of) its great span, the dome is relatively low. Only 28 meters high, its general proportions are closer to the proportions of Roman domes related to the Pantheon than to any of the Byzantine ones. Whether the dome was the first in Ottoman architecture to receive external buttressing and a covering made of lead sheets is impossible to answer conclusively. Whatever the correct answers may be, the mosque will always stand out as a landmark achievement of Ottoman architecture, marking a turning point in its general development.

Before leaving Edirne we must note the presence of major early Ottoman royal palaces in the city designated as the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The earliest one stood on the site now occupied by the Selimiye Camii. Another palace, begun by Murad II on an island in the River Tundzha, was completed only by Mehmed II.[116] Though eventually abandoned by Mehmed after the conquest of Constantinople, the palace survived until the war of 1878. The Turks themselves destroyed it, apparently for strategic reasons, before the advancing Russian troops. Only fragmentary remains have survived, along with some drawings and descriptions of the complex made before its demise. It was a large complex consisting of multiple pavilions within a garden setting. It was eventually surrounded by a wall, ostensibly the only major building undertaking in Edirne by Mehmed II. Most of the pavilions were evidently made of wood and were adaptable for summer and winter use. In the midst of the entire complex stood a massive stone building. Known as Cihannüma Kasr ("world-view pavilion"), this was a symmetrical block accommodating more than twenty rooms (fig. 980). A tower rising through seven floors to a total height of 21 meters formed its core. The top of this tower was furnished with private quarters for the sultan. The Turkish name of the tower clearly invokes the presence of the royal occupant in this lofty location with a commanding view in all directions. Though unusual in its form, this tower is conceptually closely related to fortified residential architecture in the Balkans during the period in question.[117]

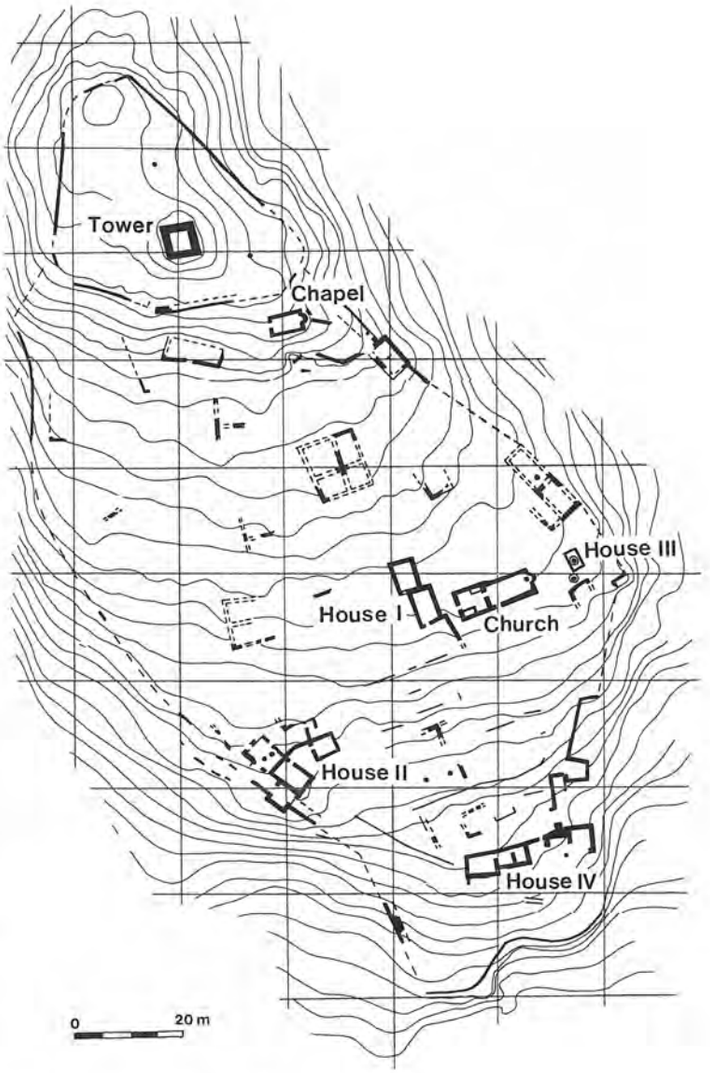
NEW SETTLEMENTS AND TOWNS

The rebirth of urbanism in western Europe gathered pace during the thirteenth century. An especially important corollary of this

development was the appearance of new towns, many of which were expressly planned. No such phenomenon occurred in the Balkans, but it would be mistaken to suggest that no new towns appeared at all at this time. As we saw in the preceding section, an urban revival of sorts did take place. A surprising dimension of this trend is that, despite the bleak political and economic circumstances, some new settlements actually came into being. These present us with invaluable opportunities to judge how and under what conditions a genuine Late Byzantine settlement might have grown. The major factor driving the establishment of these new settlements appears to have been security. Most of them appear on high locations, relatively difficult of access, and, above all, protected by the natural configuration of the terrain, by manmade fortifications, or by both. We will consider three such cases, ranging in size from a diminutive village-like settlement to a relatively large town by medieval standards.

Panakton

The recently uncovered remains of the small fourteenth- to fifteenth-century settlement of Panakton, halfway between Athens and Thebes, is a major contribution to our understanding of Late Byzantine settlements.[118] Situated atop a hill that dominates the surrounding, relatively flat countryside, the Late Byzantine town was built over the remains of a classical garrison fort. Though it does not appear to have been fully fortified, some advantage may have been taken of the ancient ruins. The settlement occupied the top and the slope on the south side of the hill, covering an area of merely 1 hectare (fig. 669). It was dominated by a watchtower built at the time on the very apex of the hill. Its partially preserved ruins still dominate the site and the surrounding area. Measuring 6.64 × 6.67 meters, this tower belongs to the category of towers without external buttressing. Buried in rubble, its interior has not been explored, but according to the excavators the lowest story may have been vaulted, which would correspond to other similar towers built during this period. The settlement dominated by this tower was made up of modest houses, a building that may have had some sort of "public" function, and at least two relatively small churches. The churches and four of the houses have been explored in detail. The impression gained from these is that the general character of "urban building" here is very similar in principle to what we have encountered elsewhere. The manner of building individual houses was predicated on certain practicalities, but followed no abstract overall planning scheme. Spaces between buildings were "leftover spaces," the entire settlement giving a sense of a loosely organized agglomeration that came into being by a process of accretion over a relatively short period of time, not exceeding one hundred years, according to the excavators. Individual houses comprised two to three rooms, mostly accessible individually from the exterior. Organized in a linear manner, they had no interior courtyards or any other amenities associated with finer houses. The larger of the two churches, measuring 5.5 × 15 meters, is a relatively small building consisting of a single-aisled naos and an added narthex. The distribution of tombs discovered within the church followed the general pattern of Byzantine burials. The carefully studied human remains discovered in these tombs reveal the conditions of hardship under which the occupants of this settlement must have lived. This was clearly an agrarian community struggling for survival under difficult circumstances. The origins of their settlement in themselves bespeak the quest for some elementary form of security. Considering that during this period the area was under Catalan (1311–88) and Florentine (1388–1458) control, an effort has been made



669 Penakton; settlement plan

to detect aspects of Western influence within this settlement. In particular, the association with a tower has been viewed as part of the settlement patterns established under Western authority. From our investigation of the larger picture of the Late Byzantine world, patterns apparent at Panakton are only more modest, but essentially no different from what we have seen elsewhere. The degree of Western influence on the development of local customs and the architectural responses are yet to be properly understood. To do so, an understanding of both sides of the coin is essential.

Geraki

The town of Geraki in the Peloponnēsos, between Monemvasia and Sparta, developed mostly during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[119] Its prosperity ended with the Ottoman conquest in 1460. The town evolved in conjunction with a fortress built on top of the hill by a Frankish baron, Guy de Nivelet, *circa* 1230. In 1263 it returned into Byzantine hands. The town grew on the west slope of the hill, developing on a series of terraces and displaying general characteristics that are comparable to those of Panakton, but on a somewhat larger scale (fig. 670). Its irregular pattern of houses and multiple churches reveal that there was no preconceived general plan. Individual houses consist of one to a maximum of three rooms. The churches of Geraki display a variety of types with some consistency of stylistic characteristics.[120] These show some revealing similarities to Epirote architecture, especially in the articulation of their domes, the use of characteristic brick patterns in bands, and dogtooth friezes on exterior façades. Since none of the churches is dated precisely, the tendency has been to date them earlier than the history of the site warrants. The conservative nature of these buildings and their paintings suggests a *terminus post quem* of *circa* 1200. In all respects, Geraki fits the pattern of Late Byzantine urban development associated with the period under consideration here.

670 Geraki; town plan

Mistra

Remarkable, and essentially unique, is the case of Mistra, the capital of the Byzantine Morea, built from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fifteenth (fig. 671). The urban genesis of Mistra was predicated on several important factors. Foremost among these was the presence of a strong fortress, built in 1249 for William II Villehardouin, the Frankish ruler of Morea, on a prominent hilltop, directly above the town. Although a small settlement may have started forming immediately within the shadows of its walls, it was not until 1262, when the Byzantines regained control of the area, that the growth of the town began in earnest.[121] The presence of the fertile plain of Laconia, stretching from the foot of the hill upon which the new town grew, certainly provided an important economic base. Finally, the abandonment of the nearby town of Lacademonia (ancient Sparta) in 1264, and the resettlement of its inhabitants at the much safer site of Mistra, endowed the new town with the necessary population almost from the outset. All of these favorable factors led to the rapid growth of a sizeable urban center within a relatively short period of time.[122] Because of the favorable historical, political, and social circumstances, Mistra rose in importance, becoming a major Byzantine administrative and cultural center. Owing to its close ties with Western courts, the city eventually developed an idiosyncratic culture in which Byzantine and Western aspects often intermingled in splendid new creations. Mistra remained in Byzantine hands longer than any other city; it finally fell to the Ottomans in 1460. Its relative prosperity continued as late as *circa* 1700. The reasonably preserved medieval town was burned in 1825, during the Greek uprising against Ottoman rule, and was never reinhabited. As an urban settlement it was superseded by Nea Spartē, a new town that in modern times developed in the plain below. Even in its ruined state Mistra has yielded much useful information. Restoration of several of its churches has been followed in recent times by the partial restoration of the Palace of the Despots.

The state of Mistra has facilitated detailed studies of various aspects of both its architecture and its urban fabric. The sloping

terrain upon which Mistra rests (up to 8-in-10 incline) posed a major challenge. The town apparently grew – as was quite common in the medieval world, both East and West – around a major artery, in this case a winding path connecting the foot of the hill with the fortress at its top (fig. 672). It then grew by accretion on a series of natural and artificial terraces, related to this main spine. Among the multitude of smaller terraces stand out some larger ones, associated with the town's main complexes. These include the Palace of the Despots and a number of urban monasteries – those associated with the metropolitan church, the Vrontochion, and the Hagia Sophia. Related, but physically somewhat removed from the main part of the town, are the monasteries of Perivleptos and Pantanassa. The town was enveloped – as was customary and necessary – by walls, fortified

671 Mistra; general view of town and citadel from NW

672 Mistra; town plan

by towers and gates, of which two survive. Mistra grew in stages, the upper town around the palace being the oldest section. The walls had to be substantially enlarged to take in the sizable growth of the lower town in the fourteenth century. At the peak of its medieval prosperity Mistra may have had a population of some 20,000. In addition to the main street, it also had a network of lesser streets, none of them usable for any form of vehicular traffic. The city was supplied abundantly with fresh water by an aqueduct, so that some of the richer houses even had their own baths. Equipped with such amenities, Mistra did not lag far behind its fourteenth-century western European counterparts. Despite the attention given to the planning of complexes and individual buildings, the notion of planning did not extend to the urban form as a whole. Paved streets existed independently from the architecture that enclosed them, and the spaces thus defined were generally accidental in character. This, in fact, may be one of the most telling differences between the urban forms in the West and those in Byzantium. No matter how irregular the side streets of a medieval Italian town may be, they appear much more clearly defined than their counterparts in Mistra, Geraki, or Redina. Presumably this would also have been the case in the larger cities, such as Constantinople and Thessaloniki, but our information is inadequate to permit generalizations of the kind. The same distinction would appear to have marked the spatial sense of a "public square." The ensemble in Mistra that most closely resembles a "public square" – and commonly referred to in those terms – in front of the Palace of the Despots lacks genuine architectural definition on two of its four sides. Mistra, in the final analysis, for all of its postulated "Western links" and the lateness of its date, was a quintessentially Byzantine city at its best, and as such facilitates a glimpse of the Late Byzantine urban world that eludes us practically everywhere else.

This is generally true of all aspects of Mistra architecture, including, above all, its secular buildings. In addition to the main palace complex, scores of residential buildings have been preserved, many of them standing practically at full height. The main concentration of residential buildings is in the upper town. Here, on a large plateau, measuring about 50 × 80 meters, stands the monumental complex of the Palace of the Despots (figs. 673 and 674).[123] Its main components standing nearly to their full height of several stories, this is one of the largest and best-preserved palatine complexes in the entire Byzantine world. Even so, almost nothing is preserved of its interior spaces, a reminder of how poor our grasp of Byzantine secular culture really is. The complex as it stands consists of three main parts, built over nearly two centuries. The southwestern part is the oldest, presumably dating from the middle of the thirteenth century. The adjacent, more developed section is thought to date from the middle of the following century. Together, these two parts extended over a length of 60 meters, overlooking the lower town and the plain below, and fronting a large open space on the opposite, northwest side.

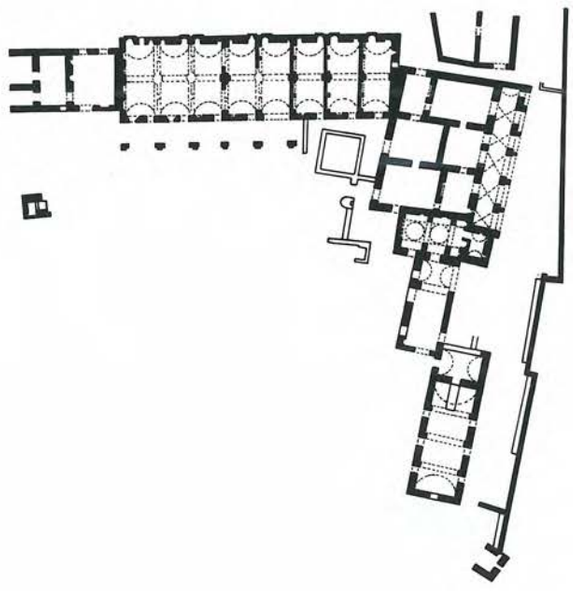
By the middle of the fifteenth century, facing a most uncertain future, the last despots of Morea appear to have undertaken what probably was the grandest of all of the building parts.[124] Measuring 37 × 16.5 meters on the lowest level, this wing, nearly perpendicular to the earlier palace addition, provided an additional sense of enclosure to the otherwise amorphous space in front of the complex. The lowest part of this wing, a basement subdivided by a sequence of massive cruciform piers, was a utilitarian space, fronted by an open arcaded portico. Above this rose a second story consisting of a sequence of eight oblong spaces, large rooms (each measuring about 4 × 10 m in plan) of possibly residential function. These rooms were accessible only from an arcaded, vaulted portico resting on top of the one fronting the basement. Finally, above this level rose the great hall, its interior space measuring 36.3 × 10.5 meters, clearly intended for official functions. The hall was covered by a wooden trussed roof and illuminated by large windows, each topped by a round window. This hall, whose functions must have included formal receptions, had a special niche for the despot's throne in the middle of one of its long sides. This arrangement appears to relate it to comparable halls in Romanesque and Gothic palaces in the West, but the scheme may have been more widespread in the Late Byzantine world than we are able to judge. Western influence on the design of this hall is most clearly in evidence in its preserved exterior articulation. Crowning each of its eight windows on the main façade was an elaborate ogee stone arch displaying unmistakable Late Gothic characteristics. Italian influence has correctly been observed here, but it has been overstated in other aspects of the urban context. The presence of individual Western artisans, particularly stonemasons, is all that can be gleaned from major construction sites not only in Mistra, but also in Arta and other Byzantine centers where Western input has been observed. In other words, we must think of Western influence in this context as essentially limited in scope. All capital projects in Mistra appear to be the work of local master builders with predominantly Byzantine architectural backgrounds.

Similar observations can be made on other residential buildings of Mistra, but only a few examples can be discussed here. The so-called Small Palace rises to the south and above the complex of the Palace of the Despots,[125] dominated by the main, massive building block (fig. 675). From one of the short sides of this seemingly homogeneous mass rises a square tower. The main, eastern face of the tower is marked externally by a large but shallow arched recess framing a door, flanked by a pair of niches, that once opened to a balcony with a spectacular view of

673 Mistra, Palace of the Despots; general view from SE

the town and the plain below. Formally and possibly also functionally, this arrangement recalls the "window of appearances" at Tekfur Saray in Constantinople. Its incorporation into a tower-like form serves as a reminder that palaces and even the more modest residences of this period in the Balkans commonly included towers for security reasons. The so-called House of Laskaris is an example of a large residence of a local wealthy family.[126] In this case the complex final form of the building came about through the incorporation of several smaller, older elements into a unified whole. The remodeled structure involved certain principles that appear to parallel those seen in the main wing of the Palace of the Despots. The ground level of the building consisted of vaulted shops, above which a series of spaces covered with cross vaults formed the residential part of the house. It is interesting that the top floor was given over to two large rooms, the larger of which measures 5 × 19 meters and may have had some more official function. The two rooms, as was the case at the Palace of the Despots, opened onto a terrace

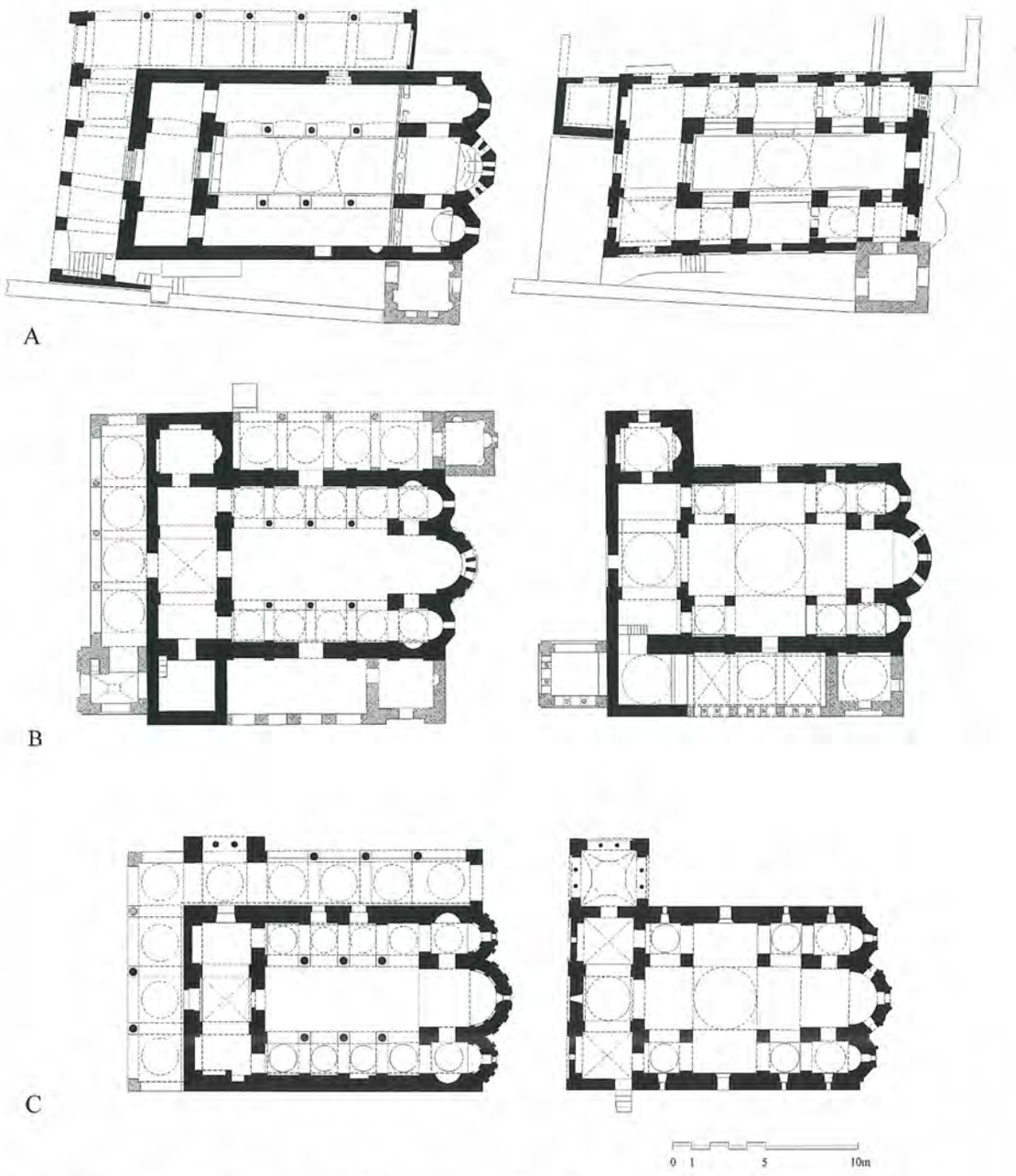
674 Mistra, Palace of the Despots; plan



675 Mistra, "Small Palace"; north façade

extending the full width of the building. Both of these rooms were covered with wooden trussed roofs. The vertical sequencing of functions, roofing methods, and the use of setbacks and terraces find their conceptual parallels in the Palace of the Despots. If the proposed dating into the first half of the fourteenth century is accepted, the House of Laskaris could be considered a local forerunner of the design scheme employed a century later in the main wing of the Palace of the Despots. This, in turn, would support our hypothesis that the master builder of the main wing of the Palace of the Despots was a native with a background in the Byzantine architectural tradition.

The ecclesiastical architecture of Mistra, as is generally true everywhere, has been better studied than its secular architecture. Even so, much remains to be done on this important material.[127] Seven major churches survive, along with many lesser ones, scattered across the site. Two of the seven main churches belong to the last decade of the thirteenth century; four are fourteenth-century creations; one church was built and another one remodeled in the fifteenth century. The oldest of the surviving Mistra churches, the Metropolis (cathedral), dedicated to Hagios Dēmētrios, may also have been its most conservative building (figs. 676A and 677).[128] In its original phase, dated to 1291–92, it is believed to have been a three-aisled basilica that underwent a complete rebuilding of its superstructure in the fifteenth century. While this metamorphosis has attracted considerable scholarly attention, the original form of the building has been neglected. Yet, its plan reveals distinctive characteristics that relate it to a very specific group of Epirote churches – the Kato Panagia at Arta (1241–71) and the Porta Panagia, near Trikala (1283). The plans of all three churches have a basilican layout in which the main vessel of the nave is separated from the side aisles by an arcade on three columns, while the spaces of the tripartite sanctuary are divided by massive walls perforated by passageways. All three churches feature three three-sided apses at their east ends. Above all, the measurements of the three buildings are virtually identical. The Kato Panagia and Porta Panagia are also distinguished by the presence of a lofty transverse barrel vault directly in front of the sanctuary. What the superstructure of the original Metropolis of Mistra may have looked like, we do not know. Given so many other similarities between the three buildings, as well as the closeness of their dates, it is not inconceivable that the original Metropolis may also have been a *stavrepistegos* (with a raised transverse barrel vault) type of a basilica. Two other factors of relevance in the postulated relationship should be considered. The lower, older parts of the east façade of the Metropolis of Mistra reveal several characteristic features



676 Mistra, (A) H. Dēmētrios; (B) Hodēgētria (C) Pantanassa; plans

that may be related to the architecture of Epiros. These are the continuous horizontal stone string-course, just below the apse windows, and recessed dogtooth friezes that frame the window openings and run horizontally as decorative bands. The second factor is that the *stavrepistegos* type of church makes its appearance in some of the later, smaller churches at Mistra. The relative dating of the three monuments is also of relevance. Kato Panagia, which may be one of the oldest examples of the type, may indicate that the concept was actually developed in Epiros. At the other end of the chronological scale, in the early 1290s, when the Metropolis of Mistra was initially built, the political and economic doldrums of Epiros were just beginning. It has been suggested in a number of other contexts in this chapter that artisans from Epiros may have fanned out from that region because of declining work opportunities. Some of these artisans may, indeed, have made their way as far south as Mistra and even Geraki, as has been suggested.

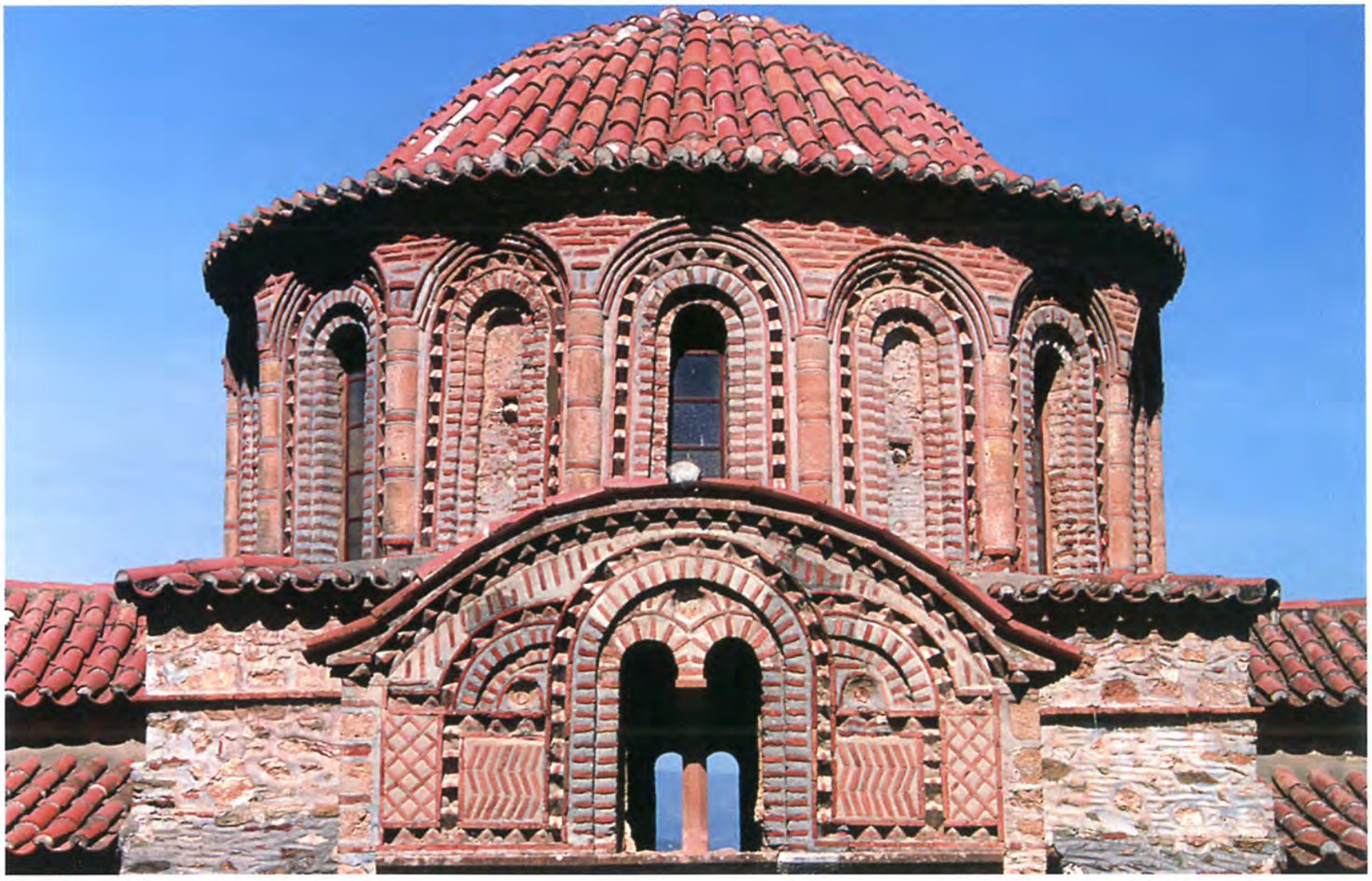
The case is not impossible, especially if we consider another building constructed in Mistra during the last decade of the thirteenth century – the church of Hagioi Theodoroi, belonging to

677 Mistra, H. Dēmētrios; eastern end of church from SE

678 Mistra, H. Theodoroi; general view from SE

the great Brontochion Monastery (fig. 678). Built between 1290 and 1295, by the prominent *hegumenos* (abbot) of the monastery, Pachomios, the church was a unique creation in Mistra. Adopting the so-called Greek-cross octagon-domed Middle Byzantine plan type, the church was a very conservative solution at the time of its construction. Measuring 14 × 19 meters in plan, it resembles the plan of the katholikon of Daphni. Its core displays the classic formula of an octagon-domed naos. This space is extended eastward into a tripartite sanctuary and westward into three corresponding barrel-vaulted spaces, freely communicating with each other and with the naos. The dome is effectively supported on six piers and two freestanding columns. The immediate structure below the base of the dome, as is common in churches of this type, involves four arches and four squinches. Two of the arches, on the north and south sides, expand into two tall barrel-vaulted spaces that communicate directly with the naos and provide a means of lateral access through two outside doors. Four fully segregated lateral chapels, also following the scheme seen at Daphni, occupy the four corners of the building. The church is preceded by a wide narthex that projects well beyond its width. On the north side it was extended into an open portico that now survives only in ruins. The church was built using rubble with generous amounts of mortar and was faced with a veneer emulating the familiar cloisonné technique. On the east façade, decorative bands, presumably featuring diaper patterns, once ran across the entire width of the building. The tiles that filled these bands have fallen out, exposing the crude rubble construction. Also apparent on the east façade, and elsewhere on the building, are recessed dogtooth bands that frame the erstwhile decorative diaper bands, windows, and niches. All of this recalls the aesthetic associated with the building tradition of Epiros. The same is true of the south tympanum window, which is shouldered by a pair of half-arches framing shallow niches filled with decorative brickwork and glazed ceramic bowls (now missing) (fig. 679). More than any other aspect of the church, its dome resting on a sixteen-sided drum appears to echo Epirote characteristics. The drum is articulated by eight windows and eight niches, each framed identically by double recessed arches and outlined by recessed dogtooth bands. Separating these elaborate frames are semi-cylindrical stone corner colonnettes, once more revealing a distinctive Epirote manner of building these particular features. It is of some relevance that these building characteristics do not appear on other later churches in Mistra, suggesting that the first phase of the Metropolis, and the church of Hagioi Theodoroi, may have been built by the same group of builders that perhaps left Mistra after completing their tasks.

The latter notion is confirmed by the appearance of the church of Hodēgētria (Aphendiko), built *circa* 1310 as the



679 Mistra, H. Theodoroi; dome and south tympanum

katholikon of the Vrontochion Monastery, and under the patronage of the same abbot, Pachomios. Separated by just over ten years, it would be difficult to imagine two buildings looking more different than Hagioi Theodoroi and Hodēgētria. Although the ground plan of the Hodēgētria may, at first sight, appear to recall that of the Metropolis as originally built, it is laid out much more rigorously (fig. 676B). Here, the naos is a perfect square, notwithstanding the fact that it was longitudinally subdivided into a "nave-like" space and two lateral aisles by means of two arcades resting on three columns on either side. The rigorous internal and external articulation of walls by means of thin pilaster strips appears to relate to the structural system employed in the vaulting zone, and only in part to the basilican layout of the ground floor. The Hodēgētria is the first of the churches in Mistra in which galleries were employed. Moreover, on the upper level its structural system changes to a pure cross-in-square scheme in which the dome rests on four piers, while four minor domes occupy the corner bays between the arms of the cross. It has been argued that this solution occurred as an afterthought, in the course of construction, and that it may have been inspired by functional considerations that were intended to invoke the large imperial churches of Constantinople.[129] The former hypothesis could be ascertained by a detailed archaeological scrutiny of this important building. The latter, on the other hand, finds little general merit and has been rejected on historical grounds.[130] Other Constantinopolitan characteristics of the architecture of the Hodēgētria, such as the use of blind niches in the upper zone of its seven-sided main apse, the use of banded brick and stone construction, and the application of marble revetment in the interior of the sanctuary, have also been noted (fig. 680). While these similarities cannot be denied, they are quite remote. One could never fully visualize the Hodēgētria among the churches of Constantinople itself. For one, stone used in the construction of its walls is rough broken fieldstone, and not the carefully cut ashlars normally associated with Constantinopolitan practice. The aesthetic effect of the Hodēgētria, in

680 Mistra, Hodēgētria; general view from E

fact, is so poor that we must think of its façades as having been covered with plaster and painted with emulated architectural elements. There is enough indication that painting of façades was a practice known and widely used in Mistra. Given the striking differences in quality, how can the similarities with Constantinopolitan architecture be explained? What could have been the mechanisms for the transmission of such ideas and techniques? Once again, the answers may lie in Nicaea. Deprived of full imperial patronage after 1261, the fortunes of Nicaea declined rapidly. As in the case of Arta, and Epiros in general, its builders must have been on the lookout for new customers. The best builders, as we have suggested, undoubtedly followed the imperial court to Constantinople. Others may have gone to such centers as Thessaloniki and, possibly, to Mistra.

The galleried interior was combined with an elaborately articulated roofline. The main dome is here accompanied by four lesser ones, of considerably smaller dimensions, deeply sunken between the arms of the cross. The lesser domes open directly onto the gallery space and are not symbolically related to liturgical spaces, such as chapels. In this sense their symbolic, as well as architectural role, is fundamentally different from the five-domed churches of Thessaloniki. The core of the Hodēgētria is related to a two-storied narthex, as wide as the naos and flanked by two chapels covered by shallow blind domes that project beyond the width of the original building. On the walls of the southernmost chapel are painted copies of four imperial *chrysobulls*, spelling out the privileges and properties granted to the monastery by different emperors. Directly in front of the narthex and the north lateral chapel was an open portico consisting of four saucer-domed bays resting on three freestanding columns and two corner piers. Elevated above the surrounding terrain, this portico was approached by a flight of stairs from the west. A comparable arrangement also existed along the north side of the church, as the eastern extension of the north lateral chapel. At the southwest corner of the complex, abutting the western open portico and directly in front of the south chapel, rose a three-story belfry. Faces of its upper stories open in elegant triple arcades, supported on marble colonnettes. The belfry reveals sty-

681 Mistra, H. Dēmētrios; general view from S

listic consistencies with the main part of the building. Its building technique consists of alternating bands of stone and brick, while its triple openings are recessed into large, but shallow arched niches. A shallow blind dome covered its top story, consistent with Byzantine practice. *Hegumenos* Pachomios continued to improve his monastery until 1322. As one of these measures, the church of the Hodēgētria acquired a two-storied lateral chapel at its southeast corner preceded by a two storied portico, originally open on the ground level, but subsequently enclosed. It is not possible to assess the exact nature of this addition, though its immediate proximity to the monastic refectory that runs parallel to the south flank of the church, at a distance of only a few meters, may not have been accidental.

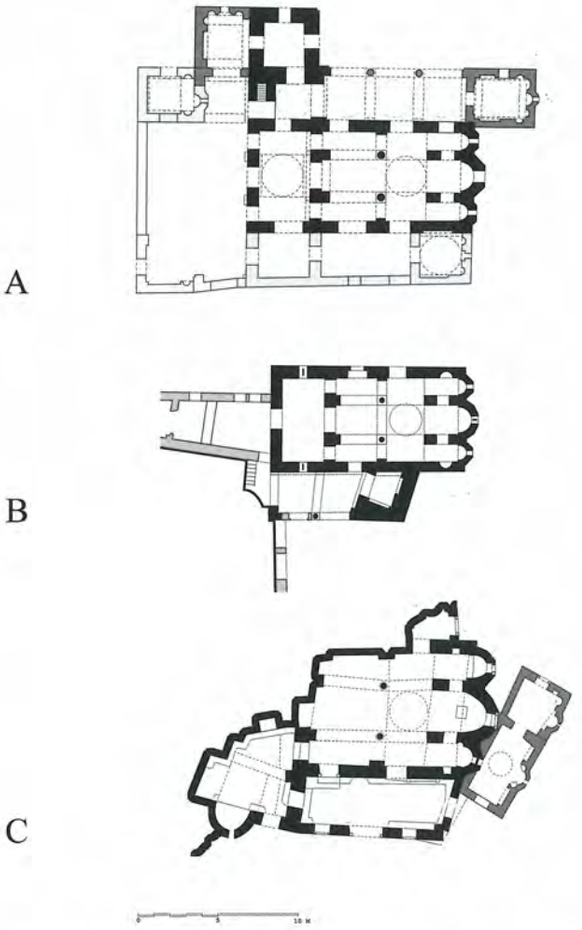
The church of the Hodēgētria must have stood out as one of the finest churches in Mistra, clearly setting a new standard for the following generations of patrons. This became particularly clear during the first decades of the fifteenth century when, on two separate occasions, its main design characteristics were adapted for new purposes. The first of these was the occasion of the rebuilding of the Mētropolis (Hagios Dēmētrios), at the time already more than a hundred and twenty years old. The basilican form of the old church was altered by the addition of galleries and by the insertion of a cross-in-square superstructure with four corner domes, following the exact formula of the Hodēgētria. Because the original basilica had a slightly distorted plan marked by somewhat elongated proportions, the final building lacks some of the architectural refinements in the overall design. Its execution, however, was the work of highly skilled masons who very successfully integrated the new concept into the preexisting situation. Nonetheless, a patchwork effect was unavoidable. Interior floors and some of the elements of the fine iconostasis apparently belonging to the original church had to be adapted for their new locations. The stylistic hallmarks of the earlier building phase – recessed dogtooth bands outlining individual window frames – do not appear in the second phase (fig. 681). The elements of the new style, as compatible as they were with the original one, are distinct. Not only does the reworked church lack the Epirote characteristics of the late thir-

682 Mistra, Pantanassa Monastery; general view from NW

teenth-century building, but it is marked by idiosyncratic features of its own – banded voussoirs of the tympanum arches on the façades among them.

The crowning architectural achievement in fifteenth-century Mistra was the katholikon of the Pantanassa Monastery, dominating the town from its high position, perched atop an artificial terrace containing the monastic cells (fig. 682). Commissioned by John Frangopoulos, a high-ranking state official, the church was completed in 1428, only thirty-two years before Mistra fell to the Ottomans. The building's plan and its basic structural concept are an unmistakable borrowing from the Hodēgētria (fig. 676c). Moreover, the interior dimensions of the two churches are identical (the interior length from the west wall of the naos to the apex of the apse is 12.5 m; the interior dimensions of the naos as far as the position of the iconostasis are approximately 8.3 × 8.3 m). The remarkable similarity between the two buildings stops here. The stylistic aspects of the Pantanassa exterior are as different from those of the Hodēgētria as is the style of its frescoes from those of its early fourteenth-century counterpart. Nowhere on the building is this as apparent as on the east façade (fig. 683). Its main apse, five-sided and marked by two tiers of niches, some perforated with windows, shows no stylistic resemblance to the main apse of the Hodēgētria, notwithstanding their basic conceptual affinities. The east façade of the Pantanassa is enlivened by carved stone features used as surface framing devices and adding both texture and color to the overall scheme. In the lower part of the main apse one can see conventional, round-arched brick frames around niches and windows, outlined by elaborate stone frames with pointed and ogival arches, topped by elaborate plumes. The row of thirteen (originally nineteen) of such stone-framed niches, linking the main and the north apse (the south apse has lost its part of this decoration), rests upon a stone sill itself supported by a brick dogtooth frieze. Above this row, and below the next string-course, is another decorative feature that resembles a garland consisting of nineteen swags carved in stone. The "swags," in fact, are inverted pointed arches of exactly the same size and character as the pointed arches of the stone frames in the zone below. The "swags" are made to "hang" from fleur-de-lis that crown the band just below a chamfered string-course.

683 Mistra, Pantanassa Monastery, Katholikon; east end



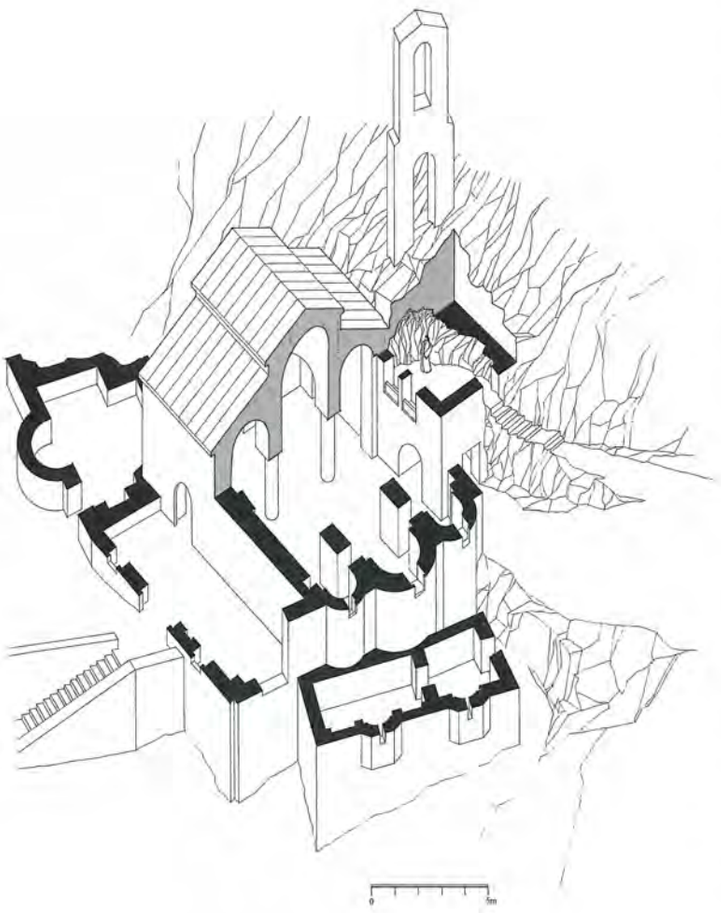
684 Mistra, (A) H. Sophia; (B) Evangelistria; (C) Perivleptos; plans

Above this is another row of eleven shallow arcades that frame windows and blind niches. The arches of this arcade are round-headed and are made of banded stone and brick voussoirs. Extensive areas of painted plaster are still visible on this façade, indicating that its decorative effect was once even more intensive. Certain elements used in the decoration of this part of the building are unmistakably of Western derivation, and have been alluded to as evidence of the increasing leaning of Byzantine patrons and artisans in the direction of Western developments. This point of view is somewhat excessive. No more than at the Parēgorētissa at Arta, built over 130 years earlier, the "Western elements" are here incorporated as elements of decoration, and do not signal any substantive changes in Byzantine architecture, even at this late date. The same may be said of the fine belfry that flanks the north corner of the narthex. Its impressive well-preserved structure, crowned by a dome, rises through three stories open in generous triple apertures, recalling the belfry of the Hodēgētria. Unlike that belfry, this one includes several distinctly Western elements (trilobe windows, steep gables crowning the top-story tympana, four corner turrets with aediculae on top of the building mass) that have again been invoked as evidence of a Westernizing impact on Byzantine architecture. Earlier efforts to ascribe the entire development of Byzantine belfries to Western influence after 1204, using the Pantanassa belfry as one of the prime pieces of evidence, can no longer be accepted.[131]

Three additional churches of Mistra, all insecurely dated, form a distinctive group: Hagia Sophia, the Evangelistria, and the Perivleptos. All were evidently also monastic churches. Generally speaking, they are of considerably smaller dimensions than the preceding group of buildings, and are distinguished as belonging to the so-called two-column church type. Their plans, seen side by side, reveal some interesting general characteristics (figs. 684A–C). All of them have a tripartite sanctuary, separated by an iconostasis from the naos. The naos in all three cases is nearly square in overall proportions. In all three cases it is divided roughly in the middle by a pair of columns. To the east, this pair of columns helps support a small dome that rises directly in front of the iconostasis. To the west, the same pair of columns supports a pair of relatively large arches that reach as far as the

685 Mistra, Evangelistria; general view from E

western wall of the naos, and help support three parallel barrel vaults over the western half of the building. When comparing the plans of the Mētropolis, Hodēgētria, and Pantanassa (figs. 684A–C), one is struck by the fact that they share virtually identical overall schemes involving a square naos and a tripartite sanctuary. They differ insofar that Hagia Sophia, the Evangelistria, and the Perivleptos, being much smaller, have a single pair, whereas the other three churches had three pairs of columns within the overall length of the naos. All three churches also have relatively small domes supported on simple octagonal drums executed in cloisonné technique, with flat faces. With no colonnettes, these domes give a rather different impression. A single preserved marble drum colonnette, on the north side of the Evangelistria, however, suggests that all three may once have had them. An elaborate system of skewed-back brick arches tops the individual windows, providing each dome with a flaring crown-like feature atop its drum. In all three cases, the arches rest on stone corbels, though originally these may have been upheld by marble colonnettes, one per corbel. Inasmuch as the three churches share so much relative to their cores, the differences between them in the surrounds to the central core are just as remarkable. Various subsidiary chapels, opened and closed porticoes, single- or two-storied narthexes, and belfries in various positions and of differing forms accompany these buildings. In the case of the Perivleptos, the church is curiously attached to the side of a rocky formation (figs. 685 and 686).[132] Built in the 1360s–70s, and expanded in the early 1380s, the Perivleptos was a foundation of Manuel Kantakouzēnos and his wife Isabelle de Lusignon. Various heraldic symbols show Western links, though these, as in other Mistra contexts, remain relatively superficial, integrated as they are into an otherwise predominantly Byzantine entity. The interior of the church reveals the fact that its lateral cross arm is attached directly to a small natural cave. This, apparently, was the reason for the construction of the church on



686 Mistra, Perivleptos; axonometric section-plan

that location.[133] The cave may have been made sacred by a local holy man, who may have dwelt in it, and whose memory was thus commemorated. The Late Byzantine period abounds with evidence of the increasing importance of the kinds of cults and practices that reverberate with the sprit of early Christianity and the Holy Land in particular.

Architectural Developments

Most of the important architectural developments in the Balkans under Byzantine and Ottoman control during the period in question have already been described in the preceding sections. In the two-and-half centuries of Byzantium's precipitous decline, most of this activity, as we have seen, was focused on urban centers, both old and new, with security as the single most important objective. The construction of fortifications became the norm in different categories of buildings such as residences, monasteries, etc., normally not associated with military purposes. Life went on, in some ways at a pace disproportionate to the means available and to the realistic promise of a brighter future. Beyond fortifications and matters involving physical security, much was invested in spiritual forms of security. Thus, numerous patrons, from emperors to wealthy ordinary citizens, invested liberally in the construction of private monasteries, churches, and chapels. They displayed extraordinary intent on providing for their burials and for the regular commemoration of their souls after death. Investing in salvation, then, became a powerful means for providing peace of mind in this world. Fortress and monastery, as well as tower and church, became the alternative, albeit not mutually exclusive architectural paradigms of the age.

Despite the overwhelming concentration of architectural activity in and around urban centers, some of it went on in the countryside. In this section our purpose will be twofold: first, to highlight some of the general characteristics and trends that prevailed in architecture, and second to provide a picture of what was being built away from the main centers and under what circumstances. Our exploration will begin with an examination of the Byzantine sphere, focusing on monasteries and churches. We will conclude by examining at this stage the somewhat sporadic picture of early Ottoman architectural activity on the conquered territories, beyond the main centers that we have already explored.

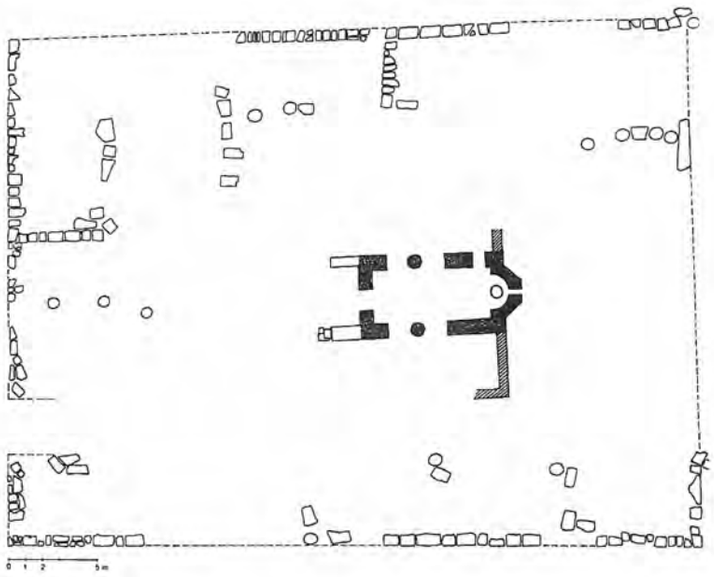
BYZANTINE MONASTERIES

The founding and building of monasteries in the Byzantine world was always related to a number of factors, the spiritual needs of the monks being only one of the considerations. At times, from a very early period, monasteries became tools for exercising control over a given area by providing a foothold of a more resilient nature than even mighty fortresses. Linking the spiritual needs of the monks with the political necessities of the state had been on the minds of Byzantine emperors since at least the fifth century. In part, then, imperial investment in monastery construction must be seen also in this light.

Although a surprising amount of monastic construction during the period took place within urban settings, some of the monasteries were built in remote areas, reflecting the monks' ever-present desire to distance themselves physically from the world. At times, this need could serve another function, as the case of the monastery of Timios Prodromos (St. John the Forerunner) near Serres, Greece, illustrates.[134] Founded by one Ioannikios from Serres *circa* 1270, the monastery came into being only years after the territory had reverted to Byzantine control.

During the turbulent first half of the thirteenth century the area around Serres changed hands several times. For a period of time, Serres was held by the Bulgarians, who stormed it on two separate occasions. Even after the reestablishment of their empire in 1261, the Byzantines continued to take the perceived threat from their northern neighbors seriously. The imperial favor enjoyed by the monastery during the first decades of the fourteenth century, as recorded by several preserved imperial charters, testifies clearly to these conditions. The monastery is located 12 kilometers northeast of Serres in a deep ravine of Mount Menoikeion, surrounded by forests and pastures, large tracts of which belonged to the monastery. Contained within tall walls against which the monastic buildings were built, the monastery matches the paradigmatic picture of an Athonite monastery. The monastery itself grew over the centuries, but only its main buildings – the katholikon and the *pyrgos* (main tower) – have retained essentially their medieval forms (fig. 687). The tower belongs to the family of buttressed towers discussed earlier in this chapter. Though extensively remodeled in later times, especially in its top part, it retains the main characteristics of its original fourteenth-century form. While the position and character of the tower may be related to Athonite architecture, the katholikon is not. This is a relatively small single-aisled church, measuring 8.5 × 18 meters in plan. Its square naos is dominated by a large but relatively low dome, about 6 meters in diameter. It sits directly on four arches and pendentives and is encased externally in a very low cylindrical pseudo-drum. The naos is preceded by an oblong narthex and extends eastward into an oblong sanctuary of similar dimensions to the narthex. The sanctuary has three small apses, also expressed externally, but without any divisions between the three in spatial terms. The squat proportions of the church, and its dome type, bespeak a much older building. The same may be said of its exterior walls marked by archivolts framed by multiple skewbacks in the tradition of Komnenian architecture. Without a detailed study of this building, these remarks remain conjectural.[135] It should be noted that conservative features, associated also with the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery to be discussed below, must not be dismissed as anachronisms. The church acquired a series of additions over time – lateral chambers on the north and south sides, an exonarthex, a belfry at the northwest corner, and an open portico on the west side. The domed chapel of St. Nicholas on the upper story was added in 1364–65.

While the Prodromos Monastery near Serres gives us an idea of the growth of a Late Byzantine monastery over a period of time, a small monastery of unknown name at Palatitzia-Vergina, Greece, provides us with insights into how a planned monastery of the period, unaffected by subsequent changes, may have actually looked.[136] Built probably in the third or fourth decade of the fourteenth century over the remains of a Hellenistic palace, this small complex had a relatively short life. Its remains, recorded before their final removal in the 1840s, reveal a small, rectangular enclosure measuring 30 × 38 meters, with the monastic buildings aligned against the outer walls and a small free-standing katholikon in the center (fig. 688). Typologically, the katholikon belongs to a group of small fourteenth- and fifteenth-century single-aisled churches including several found in nearby Verria. There can be little doubt that it was the work of the same local builders. It is the regularity of the entire monastery that strikes one as unusual, given the highly irregular present appearance of most Athonite and other living monasteries. The Palatitzia Monastery, owing to the fact that it seems to have met an early demise, was never modified. Thus, along with new information about the early stages in the lives of some of the Athonite monasteries, it informs us that Byzantine monasteries were initially planned in a manner that was far more ordered than the impression given by monasteries repeatedly modified through the centuries would suggest.



688 Palatizia-Vergina, Monastery; plan

The Late Byzantine period witnessed an increased sense of general insecurity that manifested itself in a variety of ways. This appears to have affected the monastic community as well. Seeking locations increasingly more difficult of access, monks during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were founding new monasteries in the most remote natural settings. One of the most impressive of such places is situated at Meteōra in Thessaly, Greece (fig. 689). The beginnings of organized monastic life among the rock formations in this area are associated with

687 (*facing page*) Serres (near), Monastery of Timios Prodromos; aerial view from E

689 Meteora, Monastic setting; general view

St. Athanasios of Meteōra. Driven away as a young monk from Mount Athos, during a Turkish raid in 1340, St. Athanasios eventually settled on top of one of the highest of these rock formations, naming it Meteōron ("suspended in mid-air"). A small community that formed there was the beginning of a large monastery that later became known as the Megalo Meteōro (the Great Meteōron). The original monastic katholikon, built in 1387–88, four years after the saint's death, is still substantially preserved as the sanctuary of the new katholikon, constructed in 1544–45.

690 Megalē Prespa, Panagia Eleusa, general view within cave

An alternative way to seek isolation and remoteness was to settle in natural caves in inaccessible locations. Emulating in this the lifestyle of the early Palestinian monastic fathers, these Late Byzantine monks sought out caves as their abodes, "preferring them to palaces," according to hagiographical accounts. At times they resorted to the construction of enclosing walls and, less commonly, even of church buildings within such caves. Needless to say, in these remote locations the buildings were quite modest, probably built by the monks themselves. The phenomenon was widespread throughout the territories still under Byzantine control. The small monastic enclave with its tiny church of the Panagia Eleousa (Virgin of Tenderness), within a

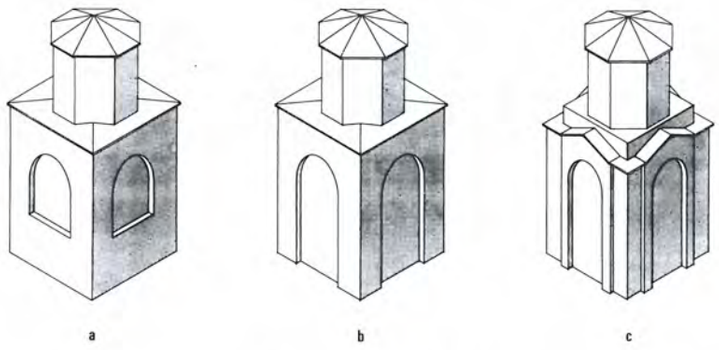
large natural cave on the south shore of the Megalē Prespa (Great Prespa) Lake, Greece, exemplifies such modest undertakings (figs. 690).[137] The tiny church, measuring 3.3 × 6 meters, was probably built sometime between 1355 and 1371 (during the reign of King Vukašin, mentioned in an inscription), while its interior frescoes were evidently painted in 1409–10. The solitude and peace of such a location must have instilled in the monks who occupied this hermitage the sense of being on the right path in their quest of the heavenly realm in the manner pioneered by the fathers of the monastic movement. Likewise, it must have also given them a sense of security enjoyed by few of their monastic counterparts still living in urban environments at this time.

BYZANTINE CHURCHES

As has been demonstrated, Byzantine church building during this period had reached a high point, particularly in urban centers. The reasons for such a state of affairs were complex and varied. The volume of construction was considerable, implying that there was a demand for master builders and skilled craftsmen of various kinds. Their training and development, as in the past, depended on the quantity of construction in a given center. Late Byzantine church architecture demonstrates a lack of a uniform style, but the high points in development are usually related to a specific center during a period of economic prosperity. Decline in patronage invariably would have resulted in builders from one center seeking work elsewhere. This could, and did, cause the shifting of stylistic characteristics from one place to another. Late Byzantine architecture has been insufficiently studied from this point of view, but many of the unresolved issues would find answers if the questions were posed correctly, and if the mobility of the master builders and construction workers were taken fully into account. Easy formulas, naturally, are not possible, but a lack of recognition of the realities of the situation is bound to result in a stalemate, such as those that have frustrated scholars in the past trying to resolve problems by reliance on various abstract methodological formulas.

Our overview of Byzantine architecture in the Balkans between *circa* 1250 and *circa* 1450 will take into account certain basic facts whose relevance has not been properly assessed thus far. The first of these is that architectural production was generated by urban centers, foremost among them Arta, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Ohrid, and Mistra. Of these, only Arta flourished during the thirteenth century, roughly from the 1230s to the 1290s. The fortunes of Mistra began to rise in the 1290s, just as those of Arta went into decline; its prosperity continued until *circa* 1430. The beginnings of the ascendancy of Ohrid also took place around 1290, lasting at least until *circa* 1370, though the apogee of production there occurred during the first three or four decades of the fourteenth century. Constantinople experienced recovery with the reconquest of the city in 1261, but its architectural productivity came to an end early, apparently by *circa* 1320. Thessaloniki had become a major center of architectural production only by *circa* 1300, retaining that role, though in a reduced form, until *circa* 1370. The developments in the Balkans at this stage cannot be fully understood without taking into account the role of Nicaea, the capital of the Byzantine Empire during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61). Inasmuch as the Byzantine architecture of Nicaea has been substantially lost, our understanding of its role requires particular efforts.[138] Because the main source of architectural patronage in Nicaea would have been the imperial court, it stands to reason that the best Byzantine architects of the day would have followed the court when it moved there in 1204. Some of the curious aspects of "survival" evident in the church architecture of Constantinople after 1261 can be understood only if we assume that aspects of the Constantinopolitan tradition were kept alive in Nicaea and in related centers under imperial control. This is not the place to explore this topic, but we must recognize that without a basic understanding of the role of Nicaea the evolution of Late Byzantine architecture cannot be adequately grasped.

In the changed geopolitical conditions following the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, the region of Macedonia emerged as the new hub of architectural activity, with Thessaloniki as its natural center. While political history sheds some light on this, an understanding of how a region virtually without any architectural production for nearly a century could have suddenly become an architectural Mecca calls for some clarification. The problem has been broached, but it requires much further work. The key to understanding the main issues comes from the realization that architecture built in the region of Macedonia was highly eclectic, reflecting the fact that builders working there in the decades around 1300 came from several different places, on account of the political changes and the sudden rise in building demands in the area. The builders operating in Byzantine Macedonia during this period came there from Nicaea and Epiros. If we take this into account we will find the task of understanding the dynamics of the evolution of new forms of architecture much easier to follow. In order to comprehend the main formal characteristics of these different traditions, we will highlight three essential paradigmatic models in church architecture of this time, all of which take the cubical form associated with the dome as the basic module. Its exterior articulation varies considerably, revealing fundamentally different approaches to the architectural form. Paradigm One highlights the main formal

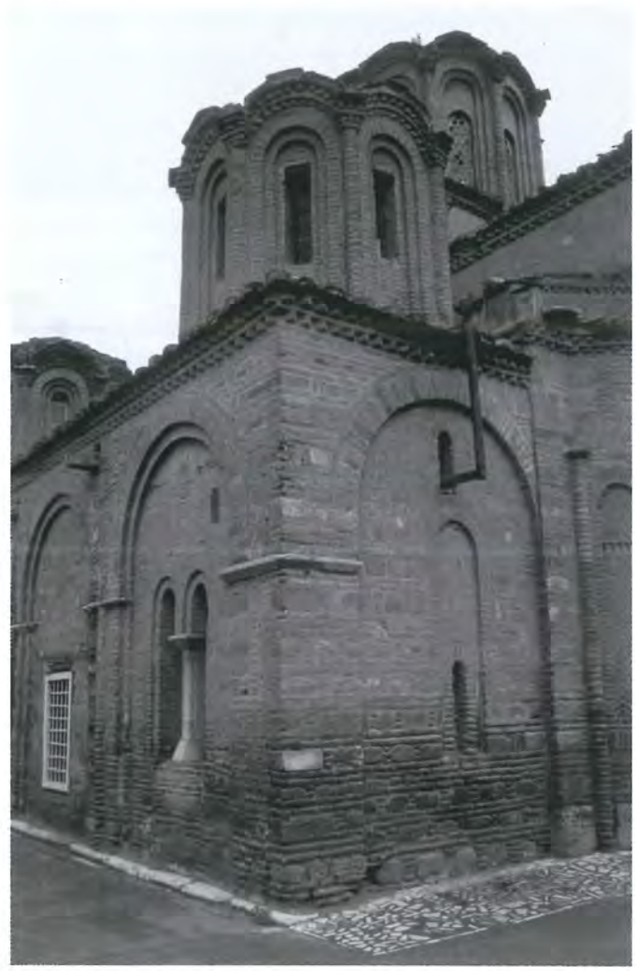


691 Façade articulation paradigms in Macedonia: (A) Epirote; (B) Thessalonikan; (C) Skopian; schematic drawing

characteristics associated with the architecture of Epiros and Arta as its regional center (fig. 691A). Its basic characteristic is that the cubical form is essentially stressed. The walls are solid with flat surfaces. The main architectonic articulation of the surface takes the form of shallow arched niches sunk into the cubical volume, usually framing windows. These niches never reach ground level; they are completely surrounded by the dominant flat wall surface. They often, but not always, correspond to the positions of interior arches or barrel vaults that help support the main dome. A good example of this paradigm may be seen in the corner, two-storied domed element flanking the south end of the exonarthex of St. Sophia in Ohrid (fig. 692A). The basic formula is related to the architecture of Epiros, from where it reached Ohrid in the last decade of the thirteenth century, becoming a local paradigm, subsequently exported to other parts of Macedonia. Paradigm Two may be thought of as highlighting the essential formal characteristics of Middle Byzantine Constantinople and also the architecture of Thessaloniki around 1300 (fig. 691B). In this case, the cubical form appears to be framed on its surface by a system of projecting

692A Façade articulation paradigms in Macedonia: Ohrid, H. Sophia, exonarthex, south end

692B Façade articulation paradigms in Macedonia: Thessaloniki, Holy Apostles, southeast chapel



pilaster strips that carry corresponding projecting archivolts. The basic cube, in other words, appears to be set back within a projecting arcaded framework. Such articulation generally reveals a close correspondence to the structural system expressed inside the building. The close relationship between the interior structural system and the façade articulation, it will be recalled, was one of the hallmarks of Middle Byzantine architecture of Constantinople. In the present context we may refer to the southeast corner chapel of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki as a good example of this paradigm (fig. 692B). Paradigm Three uses the cubical form whose corners are again apparent (fig. 691C), but in this case, in the middle of each face of the cubical mass, we see a juxtaposed, projecting arched frame consisting of slender pilaster strips supporting the matching archivolt above. This distinctive architectural design formula appeared relatively late, in the 1340s, and is associated with the architectural activity in and around Skopje, at the time in Serbian hands. As such, examples of this architecture will be remarked on below. In this context, suffice it to refer to the church the Virgin at Matka Monastery, near Skopje as an introduction to this paradigm (fig. 692C). What is particularly significant about all three of these design paradigms, along with other stylistic details also associated with specific buildings belonging to the three paradigms, is that they appear also in places that are far removed from their centers of origin. This allows us to observe and comment on the mobility of artisans during this period. In some cases, as we will see, two groups of builders, associated with two different traditions, were responsible for two parts of the same church, built at different times. In entering this discussion we will purposefully avoid using the term "school." In my opinion, the mobility of builders during the period was too great and the overlapping of different characteristics associated with different paradigms too common an occurrence to warrant the use of this term, whose meaning and implications are much more confining.

693 Mborje, Christ; general view from NW

692C Façade articulation paradigms in Macedonia: Matka, Church of the Mother of God, from SW

We will turn to a few select monuments to illustrate some of these points, noting that the number of monuments in each of the categories is much greater and that a selection is being made deliberately. Our attention will turn first to the "Epirote paradigm," the oldest of the three and the one whose design characteristics and manner of construction appear to have had the widest geographic spread.[139] The small church dedicated to Christ, in the village of Mborje, near Korče, Albania, displays some of its principal characteristics.[140] The church, built *circa* 1300, measures 5 × 7 meters in plan, the narthex and a space along the south flank of the church being much later additions (fig. 693). It is a single-aisled, domed building, whose exterior

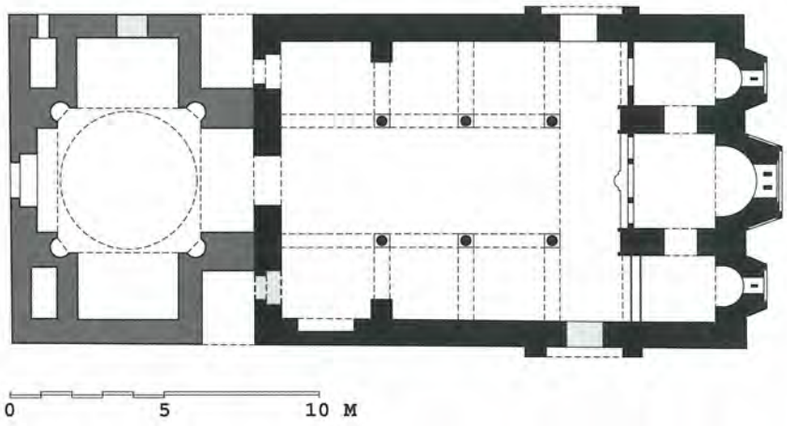
694 Prilep-Varoš, St. Nicholas; general view from SE

displays a prismatic simplicity of wall mass into which a shallow tympanum niche is recessed. In this case the niche does not even contain a window, a usual element in this location. The niche, obviously, was a hallmark of the regional manner of church design, as are a number of aspects of the dome. Characterized by low proportions, the drum is marked by stone colonnettes, the only accents of its octagonal form. The faces of the drum are marked only by a single skewback forming the window open-

695 Preventza, Panagia; general view from E

ings and alternating niches. The entire exterior of the building is characterized by extreme flatness and, despite its lack of elaborate brick patterns normally associated with the architecture of Epiros, unmistakably belongs to that tradition. Given the fact that the church was built crudely, using mostly rough stone with only occasional bricks, it is quite possible that its exterior was plastered and painted in emulation of finer building *opus*, as we have seen elsewhere. Different, yet characteristically related, is the small church of St. Nicholas in Prilep-Varoš, FYROM (fig. 701), whose upper part is dated *circa* 1285–95.[141] Measuring 5 × 9.5 meters in plan, this single-aisled, barrel-vaulted church reveals features somewhat different from the church at Mborje, yet also of unmistakably Epirote origins. The prismatic quality of the exterior is underscored – as is common in most Epirote architecture – by continuous horizontal bands made up of various decorative motifs executed in brick – meanders, chevrons, diamonds. The south façade of the building is marked by four small flat niches framed by recessed dogtooth friezes and by friezes made up of specially made small cruciform ceramic vessels. One of these niches contains a window, while the other three are blind. The entire vocabulary and the manner of its application are consistent with what we saw on the churches of Arta and Ohrid. Churches based on simple plans, such as that of St. Nicholas at Prilep-Varoš, could be used as the starting points of grander buildings simply by adding various spaces around the basic unit. These additions, needless to say, were invariably prompted by functional requirements, but resulted in varied solutions that ultimately provided a far greater range of formal expressions. The church of Panagia at Preventza in Akarnania, Greece, offers useful insights in this context (fig. 695). The church features a single-aisled naos, measuring 5.5 × 12 meters in plan, closely resembling the slightly smaller St. Nicholas at Prilep-Varoš. The church was planned and built with a sequence of rooms along its northern and southern flanks. The easternmost on both sides of the building were clearly chapels. Resembling closely the scheme of Hagios Vasileios in Arta (fig. 642), these spaces were an integral part of the original design; only the narthex was a later addition. The church, surviving in a ruinous condition, reveals the fact that its exterior was richly decorated by a variety of textures and patterns, all of them characteristic of Epirote architecture. Among other motifs, the church is also notable for a monumental inscription executed in brick on its east façade. Such inscriptions, as has been noted, became common in Epirote architecture. This one is particularly long and prominently displayed. It is curious in the sense that the bottom row of the inscription is the first line of the text, which has to be read upwards. Clearly, the builders could not estimate the length of the inscription and had to improvise on the spot.

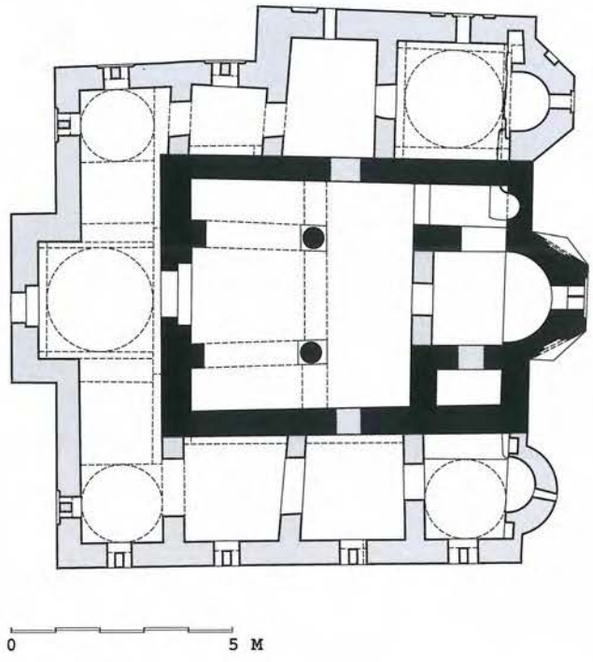
Among the characteristics of the architecture of Arta discussed earlier, we also noted the appearance of an idiosyncratic church type not known in all parts of the Byzantine world. The type, known as the *stavrepistegos naos* in Greek, is characterized by a transverse barrel vault, higher than the vaulting of the naos, that reaches from the north to the south exterior wall of the church.[142] Some of the earliest examples of the type appear in Arta, although the debate regarding its origins has not yet been settled. There is no doubt that the concept spread from Arta to several other centers. The oldest preserved church of this type in Arta, the Kato Panagia, is believed to have been the model for the church of Porta Panagia, at Pylē, near Trikala in Thessaly, built in 1283 by the local ruler John Angelos Doukas, an illegitimate son of Despot Michael II of Epiros. The church was abutted against a preexisting church that became its narthex (see Chapter 7) (fig. 696). Measuring 10.7 × 17.3 meters in plan, it is a virtual replica of the Kato Panagia in Arta, both in layout and in actual size. Though resembling a three-aisled basilica in plan, the vaulting of its side aisles does not continue into the western bays, thus forming a kind of narthex-like space distinguished mostly by the transverse vaulting of its lateral bays. The southern of these bays contains an arcosolium tomb, built integrally with the church and clearly earmarked for an important individual associated with the church. The most important feature of the Porta Panagia is the narrow and extremely tall "transept" directly in front of the iconostasis. In this case the transverse barrel vault is of uniform height, lacking the higher central section seen at the Kato Panagia. As in Arta, the "transept" is accentuated externally by tall arcades supported by projecting pilaster-like elements on the north and south walls of the church. Both at Arta and in Pylē, these arcades are strictly external features without any structural relationship to the interior system. The church is externally marked by a high quality of workmanship, clearly related to Arta. The east end has three projecting three-sided apses. The lateral faces of the main apse have large but shallow niches containing splendid brick patterns and stone crosses, surrounded by stone-profiled frames (fig. 697). A brick meander frieze tops the main apse, while recessed dogtooth patterns appear as horizontal accents. Specially cut tiles used for creating textured effects also appear. The entire vocabulary was clearly brought from Arta by the artisans, who must have been hired by the patron on a family basis. The church of the Taxiarchēs, in the village of Kostaniani in Epiros, is closely related typologically. Smaller in size, this church also displays a more modest decorative vocabulary, though its basic design and aesthetic characteristics are of the same general vintage. It should also be noted here that the monumental tall arcade framing the entrance into the "transept" appears only on the south side of the building, also suggesting a more modest building program.



696 Pylē, Porta Panagia; plan

A very different concept of overall church design, though reliant on similar basic components, may be seen in the church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Kypselē (formerly Tourkopalouko), also in Epiros. This impressive church reveals several principles that are of interest for understanding the additive design process and its ultimate product, a fairly coherent overall building (fig. 698). The church must have been preceded on the site by two earlier structures that no doubt played a crucial role in its evolution –

697 Pylē, Porta Panagia; main apse



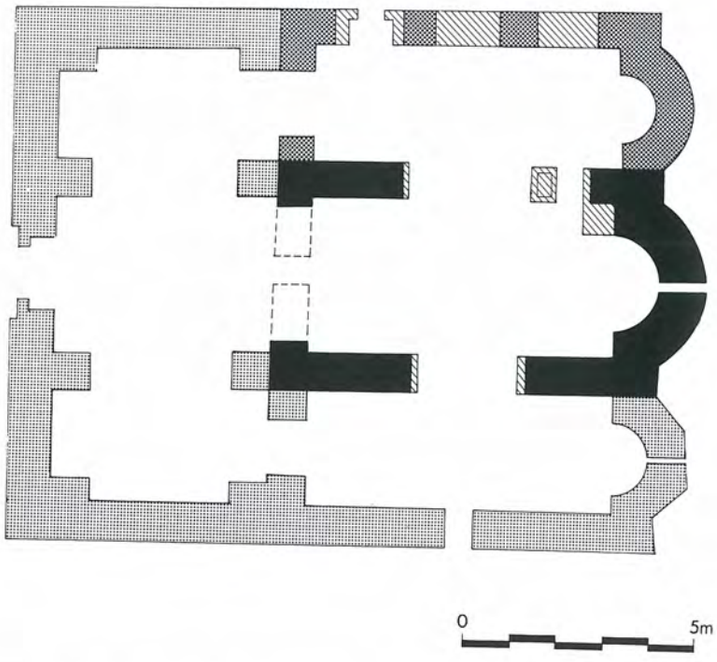
698 Kypselē, H. Dēmētrios; plan

the northeast domed chapel and a smaller southeast chapel, only the lower portion of which was incorporated into the final form (fig. 699). The low proportions and general character of the northeast chapel recall the church at Mborje (fig. 693). It was the squat proportions of this structure that seem to have determined the general character of the whole building. The central part of the new church is a fully fledged two-columned scheme with a transverse barrel vault. While the plan can be compared to a church such as that at Kostaniani, the squat proportions cannot. The southeastern dome was evidently added during this construction phase as a pendant to the older, northeastern dome. While the relationship in general formal terms can be understood, the workmanship and the detailing are quite different, suggesting that the new building team was given a relatively free hand. The core building is enveloped on three sides by spaces connected to the northeastern and southeastern chapels. The northwestern and southwestern corner compartments are covered by blind domes contained externally within low tower-like structures. The larger, western entrance bay, also covered by a blind dome, is contained externally within a proportionally higher tower-like element. The church of Kypselê reveals a design process that evolved as a result of certain preexisting

699 Kypselē, H. Dēmētrios; general view from E

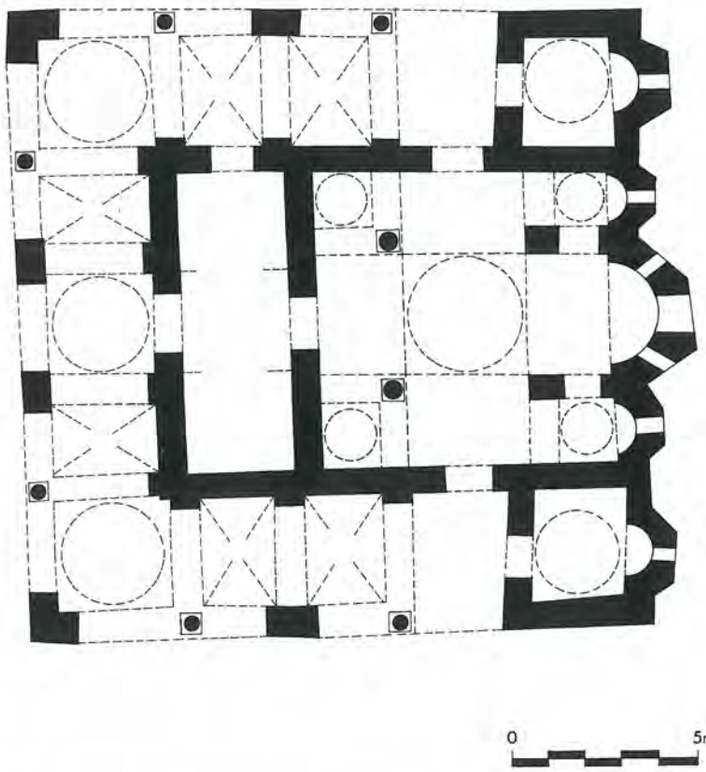
factors. Referred to in a recent study as "buildings that change," such a process was of crucial importance during the period, for it provided builders with means of experimentation in the search for new ideas.[143] Builders in Constantinople, as we have seen, also carried out such experiments, but the creative climate in Epiros was evidently even more conducive. Another informative example is the church of St. Demetrius in Prilep-Varoš, FYROM. Here the building has been studied in detail and it is clear that it evolved over two centuries through several building phases (fig. 700). At least three of the crucial building phases took place between *circa* 1270 and 1370, when the church acquired its final form. Resembling at first sight a type of domed basilica, the building is actually made up of three separate churches integrated by means of a common transept and the placement of a dome over the center (fig. 701).[144]

A level of sophistication revealed in the plan of the church of the Pantokrator at Monastiraki, near Vonitza, Akarnania, Greece, is more readily understandable against the background of the churches just discussed. Surviving in a ruinous state, its plan has been fully retrieved (fig. 702).[145] Measuring approximately 17 × 18 meters in overall dimensions, the church was made up of a two-column cross-in-square core, an oblong

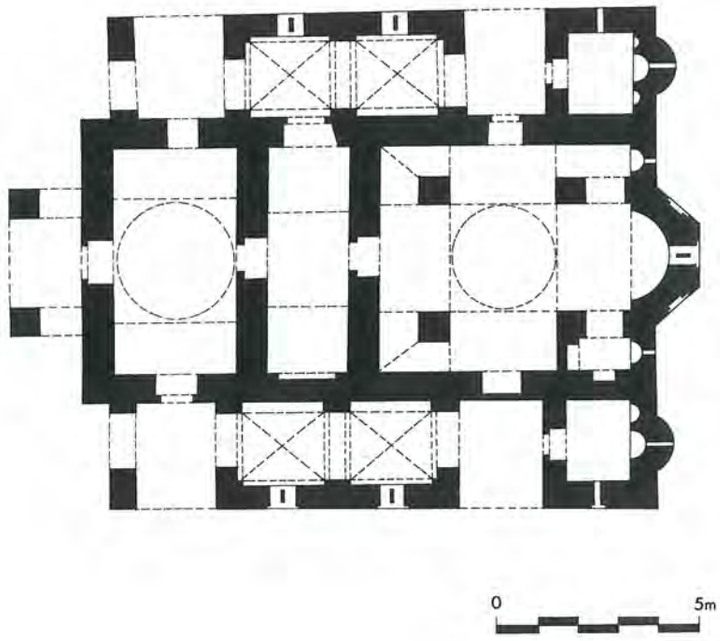


700 Prilep-Varoš, St. Demetrius; plan

701 Prilep-Varoš, St. Demetrius; general view from SE



702 Monastiraki, Pantokarator; plan



703 Omorphoklēssia, H. Georgios; plan

narthex, a pair of symmetrically disposed, probably domed chapels flanking the sanctuary, and an open portico that enveloped the church on the north, south, and west sides. The essential characteristics of this plan match closely those of the church of Hagios Dēmētrios at Kypselē (fig. 699). What is important about the church of the Pantokrator is that it was planned and built in the form illustrated. The various features, such as the subsidiary chapels, neither predate the church nor were they later additions. The date of this scheme, unfortunately, cannot be pinpointed with precision. It is dated tentatively to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but this is based on a series of assumptions that must be tested further.

Much farther north, not far from Kastoria, another church – Hagios Georgios at Omorphoklēssia – displays planning characteristics that are closely related to those of the Pantokrator at Monastiraki, though Hagios Georgios may have been built in at least two phases (fig. 703).[146] The church consists of a domed cross-in-square naos, in this case defined only by four square piers, and a narthex whose eastern wall was subsequently demolished. This part, apparently built independently, was then enveloped on three sides by elements resembling those at Monastiraki – an exonarthex, lateral semi-enclosed porticoes, and a pair of chapels flanking the eastern end of the church. The entire arrangement, measuring 12.5 × 17.3 meters in plan, is symmetrical. This is further underscored by the position of an axially placed belfry in front of the main entrance. The construction technique, architectural elements, and decorative bands all fit into the vocabulary associated with Epirote architecture (fig. 704). The closest parallels are to be found in the churches of Berat and Ohrid. The dating of this church is problematic, notwithstanding the fact that a painted, but partially damaged, inscription in the exonarthex has been preserved. This indicates a span of time between 1295 and 1317, possibly including both phases of construction.

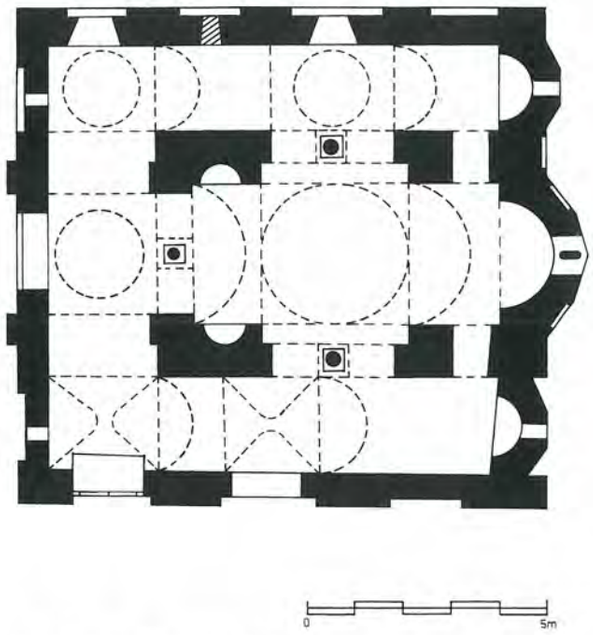
The interpretation of these churches has been prone to many assumptions that generally cannot be substantiated. One of these is that their sophisticated planning must have been imported from Constantinople. Recently, the introduction of integrally planned *peristoa* into church architecture of this period has been the subject of an exhaustive study whose results are bound to correct many past errors in judgment.[147] The varied functions and forms of churches with *peristoa* did not originate over night, or happen in one place. Most certainly, Constantinople did not have the leading role in these matters. The question is unfortunately blurred by the eradication of the monuments of Nicaea. In any case, the influence of Epiros on this development was of

704 Omorphoklēssia, H. Georgios; general view from SE

considerable importance, especially given the spread of its builders toward the end of the thirteenth century over a vast territory beyond the frontiers of the erstwhile despotate.

Thessalonikan architecture came into its own much later than that of Epiros. As we have noted, its rapid evolution toward the end of the thirteenth century and during the first two decades of the fourteenth was a hybrid phenomenon. Urgently needed builders who flocked to Thessaloniki at the time came from different places, including Epiros. The paradigm that eventually evolved had the strongest affinity with Constantinople, that is, Middle Byzantine Constantinople, with the need for the role of Nicaea, about which we know relatively little, to be borne in mind. The eventual dissemination of the "Thessalonikan paradigm" in the region of Macedonia and beyond lagged at least two decades behind the dissemination of the "Epirote paradigm." Its final heyday came during the second decade of the fourteenth century, when this architecture was appropriated by the Serbian rulers and their noblemen, under specific conditions that will be considered below. Paradoxically, within a decade or so the former enemies of the empire became the principal patrons of Byzantine builders from Thessaloniki. In a few rare cases the "Thessalonikan paradigm" also appears on territories still under Byzantine control. We will refer to only two. The first is the well-known, if somewhat controversial, katholikon of the monastery of Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson, Thessaly. The architecture of this small church, relatively unknown twenty years ago, has since been the subject of two doctoral dissertations.[148] Even so, controversies regarding its dating, and therefore its interpretation, continue.[149] One aspect of the architecture of the building is beyond question. Everyone agrees that it is intimately related to Thessalonikan architecture (fig. 705). The church belongs to a distinctive type of the so-called ambulatory churches, measuring 11 × 12.5 meters in plan (fig. 706). Its central space is elongated, in proportions resembling a single-aisled domed church. The central space is separated from the enveloping *peristoon* by means of double arcades supported

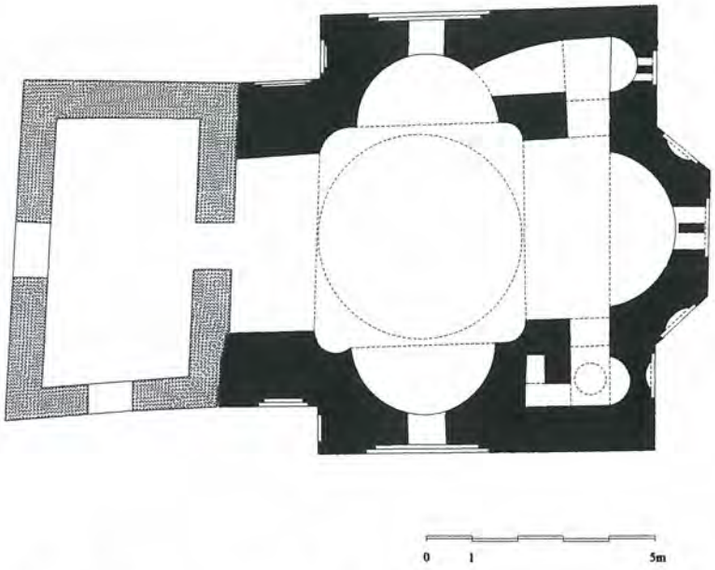
705 Elasson, Panagia Olympiōtissa; general view from NE



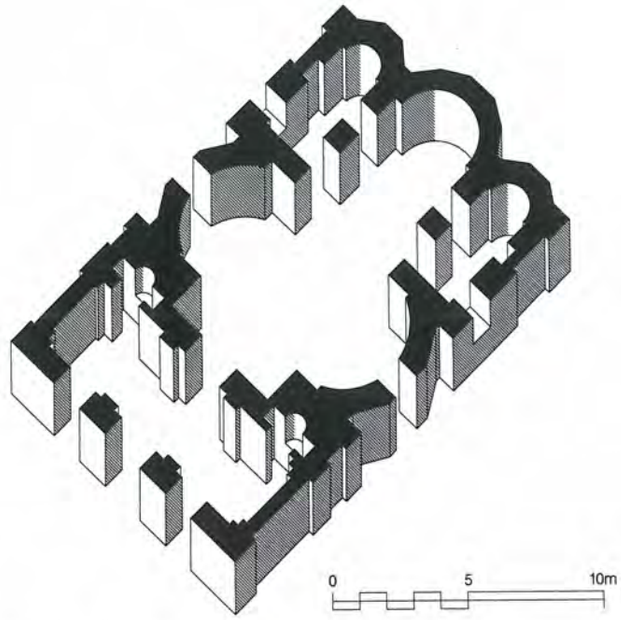
706 Elasson, Panagia Olympiōtissa; plan

on a single column on the north, south, and west sides. The straight, unarticulated interior faces of the exterior walls contrast with groups of blind niches on the exterior façades – four on the north, three on the south, and two on the west. The lack of any structural relationship is also reflected in the choice of vaulting units in the *peristoon* area, which are decidedly asymmetrical, despite an essentially symmetrical plan. Such a total departure from the structural principles in the articulation of the façades differs from some of the churches in Thessaloniki (Hagioi Apostoloi), but finds parallels in others (Hagia Aikatherinē).

The second building that we will consider – Hagios Nikolaos at Pylē (Vinenē), on Lake Mikrē Prespa, Greece – is far less known. Surviving in a ruinous state amidst marshy fields on the western shore of Mikrē Prespa, the church has been studied by several scholars, but there is little consensus either about its date or the origins of its architecture.[150] Much of what has been said about the building has depended on a photograph taken in 1898, when its dome was still in place. Interpretations of this photograph vary, however, and so consequently do the conclusions based on it. The latest dating of the church – 1293 – depends on the reading of a graffito incised on a brick on the interior wall of the south chapel, the so-called diaconicon. In several ways this church belongs to a category of its own. Its plan, a triconch measuring 9.5 × 10.5 meters, without the later narthex, belongs to a general type that appears to have become popular again around 1300 (fig. 707). The unusual aspects of this plan include the re-entrant angles of the main piers that support the dome and the inclusion of lateral apses into an externally rectilinear wall mass. Both of these features are unusual in Byzantine architecture of this period, and both have their parallels in the architecture of Armenia and Georgia. The latter issue requires deeper enquiry and cannot be undertaken here. As for the incorporation of the apsidal forms into a rectilinear building mass, we should recall the small church of Christ Sotēr in Thessaloniki (figs. 627 and 628). The exterior of the church of Hagios Nikolaos reveals a building technique that finds its closest parallels in the architecture of Thessaloniki and is definitely marked by the absence of features typical of Epiros, such as the recessed dogtooth friezes and triple high-shoulder windows in the main lateral tympana. This is surprising, for the region of Prespes is much closer to Epiros than it is to Thessaloniki. One should be cautious about drawing quick conclusions, but this phenomenon does seem to indicate that at this time territorial claims pertaining to the practice of builders, artisans, and painters apparently did not exist. A number of other similarly distant "echoes" of certain paradigmatic characteristics also appear here, merely confirming this to be more of a norm than an exceptional case.



707 Pylē (Vinenē), H. Nikolaos; plan



708 Sozopol, St. John the Forerunner; axonometric

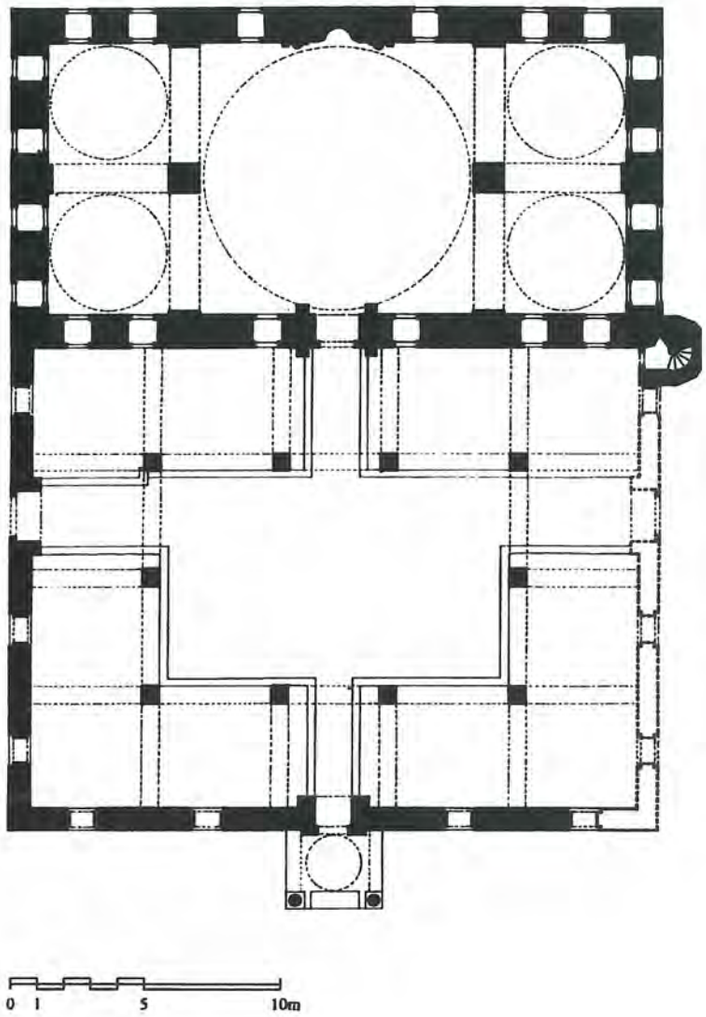
The monastic church of St. John the Forerunner, now in ruins, on an island monastic enclave, just offshore from Sozopol (Sozopolis), Bulgaria, also deserves mention in this context, though its links point to Constantinople rather than to Thessaloniki. Following a period of Bulgarian rule in the thirteenth century, in 1261 the Black Sea coast returned to Byzantine control. Although no concrete documents exist regarding the church, it is known that St. John, a renowned monastery with a once famous scriptorium, was restored in 1263 by the Byzantine general Michael Glabas, also known as the patron of the monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos in Constantinople.[151] The nature of this intervention is not known. The church itself is a curious combination of a cross-in-square and a compact triconch type (fig. 708). Measuring 11.5 × 19 meters in plan, this is a medium-sized church whose precise analogies are not apparent. Several of its features stand out. The central part of the naos is flanked by two apses contained within the rectilinear building mass, their forms merely suggested by notching out the main façade plane. This approach also has its parallels in the architecture of Armenia and Georgia. Another important feature is the pair of chapels integrated into the tripartite narthex, whose exterior form is also part of the overall rectilinear building mass. The construction technique, consisting of alternating bands made up of three to four courses of brick and three to four courses of carefully cut small ashlars, apparent on the remains of the façades, points unmistakably to Constantinople as the source. The same may also be said of the pilaster strips that articulate the exterior wall surfaces from the ground up. While this system of façade articulation suggests Constantinopolitan builders, the plan recalls the architecture of Mount Athos. As we have seen elsewhere, the builders of a church did not necessarily have to work with a scheme of their own, the two not uncommonly having two different places of origin.

The architecture of Mistra, another important Late Byzantine architectural center, also had an impact, albeit of limited duration and geographic spread. The most telling examples of the application of the "Mistra paradigm" are two churches at Leondari in the central Peloponnēsos. The larger of the two, Hagioi Apostoloi, emulates the so-called Mistra type, based probably on the model of the Hodēgētria (Aphendiko) (fig. 709).[152] This per-

709 Leondari, H. Apostoloi; general view from NE

tains both to the conceptual and the technical aspects, suggesting that the building may have been the work of Mistra builders, or builders trained in Mistra. The smaller church, Hagios Anastasios, is single-aisled with a transverse barrel vault. It reveals a range of technical details identical to those at Hagioi Apostoloi. Both churches, it should be noted, share characteristics that, as in the case of the Mistra churches, ultimately seem to stem from Epiros.

Byzantine church architecture, built in large numbers during this troubled age, reveals complexities of design and formal expression. Sometimes these are reflections of changing local needs, resulting in surprising interventions. At the same time we witness a considerably greater degree of mobility among builders and artisans than in earlier periods. The growing demands of particular patrons, as well as economic decline in a given area, were among the primary factors causing craftsmen to move in a certain direction or to abandon their initial base of work. Crossing regional boundaries presented no problems, nor, as we will see, did the crossing of ethnic, or even religious, boundaries. Skilled Byzantine builders in the course of the 1310s to 1340s found themselves, almost routinely, working for Serbian patrons. Likewise, by the end of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth, their patrons increasingly became the members of the new Ottoman ruling class.



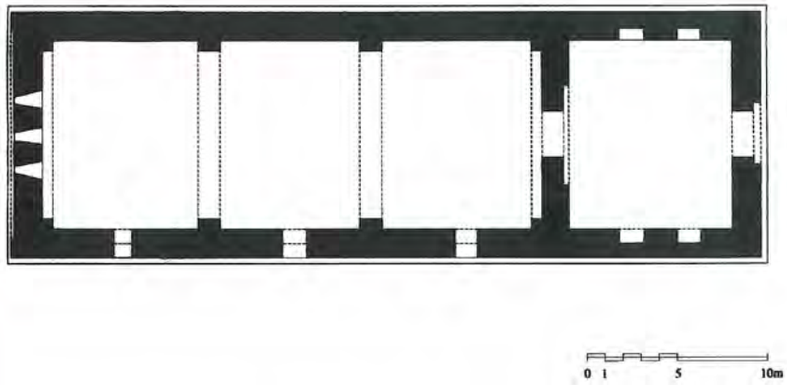
710 Hayrabolu, Mosque of Güzelce Hasan Bey; plan

EARLY OTTOMAN BUILDINGS

The first Ottoman buildings to be built in the Balkans, as we have seen, were concentrated in cities captured by the Ottomans – Didymoteichon, Adrianople, and Thessaloniki. Our knowledge about construction in smaller places of the conquered territory is far more sporadic. Absorbed by the aggressive, rapid expansion, the main part of the state machinery was focused on war during the second half of the fourteenth century. Attention to building, at that point, was left largely to religious groups and wealthy individuals. Having suffered a major defeat at Angora (Ankara) in 1402, the Ottoman state was plunged into a bloody civil war of its own. The expansionist policies were revived under Murad II, whose focus as a patron of architecture was on making Adrianople-Edirne a worthy capital of his state. His son, Mehmed II, had different ambitions. His conquest of Constantinople in 1453 was a new milestone in the urban and architectural developments in the Balkans, but that lies outside the scope of this chapter.

The mosque of Güzelce Hasan Bey at Hayrabolu in Turkish Thrace, built in 1406, is one of the most impressive early mosques in the Balkans, save for those in Didymoteichon and Edirne.[153] Built in this small provincial center, the mosque displays certain idiosyncrasies that set it apart from the larger imperial mosques that we have discussed. It is based on the hall type, covered by five domes, a vast one (10 m in diameter) dominating the central space and two pairs of smaller ones (4.5 m in diameter) over the lateral spaces, separated from the central square space by two arches carried by a massive pier (fig. 710). In front of the oblong hall was a large courtyard surrounded by a vaulted portico, also supported on piers. The overall dimensions of the building, the courtyard included, are 24 × 30.5 meters. The courtyard, evidently the earliest in Ottoman mosque architecture, has mostly collapsed. The well-preserved oblong hall is very high, dominated by the large dome rising from a cubical base and resting on a blind twelve-sided drum. The externally impressive dome is very dark within, for only two windows, one on the north and one on the south side, perforate its cubical base. This was clearly an experimental solution, built half a century before Ottoman

711 Komotini, Imaret; general view from W



712 Loutra Evros, Chana (Khan); plan

builders got their first chance to study large Byzantine domes, notably that of Hagia Sophia. The mosque was built using alternating bands made up of two courses of brick and a single course of ashlars. The technique recalls the Ottoman monuments of Bursa, especially the Yilderim *turbe*, also built in 1406. There can be little doubt that the Güzelce Hasan Bey Mosque was the work of Bursa builders.

The *imaret* at Komotini, in Greek Thrace, is associated with one Ghazi Evrenos Bey, and dated to *circa* 1375–80, making it one of the oldest surviving Ottoman buildings in the Balkans (fig. 711).[154] The *imaret*, a charity institution run by a religious order, was a common component of the larger charitable establishments grouped around a neighborhood mosque in most Ottoman cities. Here, as in Adrianople and Didymoteichon, the *imaret* and the mosque it belonged to were situated outside the Byzantine city walls. Measuring 27 × 12.5 meters in plan, the building is symmetrically organized around a large barrel-vaulted central hall, open to the exterior through a large stone arch (7 m span). The central hall, used for gatherings as well as prayers, also provided access to two side rooms, symmetrically flanking the main hall. All three spaces feature low, blind domes. The building is faced in cloisonné technique in which bricks frame single large irregular stones, the intervening spaces filled with generous quantities of mortar. The technique, though ultimately of Byzantine derivation, was probably the work of builders that, as at Hayrabolu, probably came from Bursa. The crucial question as to when exactly the Ottoman overlords began to employ Byzantine builders on their projects must be addressed, though no ready answers are apparent. At this point, it would seem that this probably did not happen in a significant way before the time of Mehmed II.

A particularly important category of Ottoman buildings was aimed at facilitating easy land transportation of merchandize, but also of troops. Thus, much like the Romans in the past, the Ottomans invested in making and maintaining a system of roads with the necessary infrastructure. This involved the building of roadside rest stations – *hans*, accompanied by baths, mosques, and, above all, bridges. The beginnings of Ottoman architectural activities in the Balkans were rather sporadic, revealing their strength and commitment, but also their uncertainties and insecurities. Very characteristically, the first to become engaged in architectural patronage were not the sultans, but high-ranking military figures. Probably the earliest activities in this category on record were those of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in the area of eastern Thrace in the decades following the first Ottoman military victory on Balkan soil – at Didymoteichon in 1352. In addition to his *imaret* at Komotini, he was also responsible for the construction of the chana (han) at Loutra Evrou (ancient Trianoupolis), Greece, between 1375 and 1385.[155] The building is substantially preserved. It measures 12 × 35 meters in plan, consisting of a large barrel-vaulted hall, preceded by smaller chamber also covered by a barrel vault (fig. 712). The main chamber is divided into three identical bays by means of diaphragm arches springing from deep wall pilasters. The building technique, as was the case with the *imaret* at Khomotini, points to Bursa as the probable source of the builders and masons.

One of the most impressive early Ottoman undertakings in the category of bridge construction in the Balkans was the building of the Uzunköprü Bridge, Turkey, from 1426 to 1443–44 (fig. 713).[156] Uzunköprü ("Long Bridge" in Turkish) is the name of the town on the bank of the River Ergene, where the construction of the bridge and the upgrading of the town were under-

713 Uzunköprü, Bridge of Murat II; general view, 19th-century photograph

taken under the auspices of Sultan Murad II. Previous attempts to maintain a wooden bridge in this location had failed repeatedly, hence the sultan's decision to build this stone bridge. Constructed over a low-lying area affected by periodic flooding, the bridge is 1,360 meters long and consists of 174 slightly pointed stone arches supported on massive piers protected by breakwaters, with openings in some of the spandrels apparently introduced to relieve excessive water pressure.

THE LANDS BETWEEN

The reemergence of the Byzantine Empire on the Balkan scene in 1261 occurred under very different political circumstances from those of *circa* 1204. The "Empire" was now confined to a southern section of the Balkan peninsula, roughly corresponding to the territory of the modern state of Greece. To the north it was facing two formerly fledgling states – Bulgaria and Serbia – now grown to be its equals in strength. To the east, it was facing a formidable new enemy – the Ottomans. The remainder of the period under consideration, from *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1450, witnessed a steady unraveling of Byzantine power, until its ultimate collapse in 1453. The complex process of the empire's decline was at times aggravated and taken advantage of by Serbia, and considerably less so by Bulgaria, which, owing to its own internal problems, became the first easy prey of the Ottomans. Serbia outlasted Bulgaria as a state by approximately sixty years, but its ultimate collapse was merely a matter of time. The "lands between" at a critical moment of Ottoman expansionism found themselves in the path of a major force that swept across the

Balkans relentlessly under Murad II and his son, Mehmed II, the Conqueror. The ultimate lone survivors were a few fortified cities and a few islands along the Dalmatian coast – among them Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Split, and Hvar – which remained either semi-independent or within the Venetian sphere of interest, as well as the small northeastern corner of the Balkan peninsula that was retained by the Hungarians. We will examine the state of architectural production in the lands between during these troubled times. For reasons that were comparable to those in Byzantium, mounting threats – external and internal – and a growing sense of insecurity, building production in these lands was substantially focused on fortifications, though construction in general was at a paradoxically high level. Our attention will be turned first to Bulgaria and then to Serbia.

Bulgaria

The course of developments in Bulgaria during the period can mostly be described in negative terms. After the death of Ivan Asen in 1241, Bulgaria never again had a ruler of major significance. Surrounded by antagonistic neighbors, thrust into a form of vassal relationship with the powerful Tatars that was to last several decades, and torn within by periods of civil war, Bulgaria was able to recover only slightly after *circa* 1300. Under Theodore Svetoslav (1300–22) it managed to reclaim some of its lost territories, especially its Black Sea coastal cities, to establish peaceful relations with Byzantium and Serbia, and to benefit from improved foreign trade as a result. After ca. 1322, however, things deteriorated steadily and at times precipitously. A mismanaged joint campaign with the Byzantines aimed against Serbia in 1330 led to a major defeat of the Bulgarian army and in the death of Tsar Michael Shishman. The state of internal turmoil ended with the early Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria, in 1393. Architectural activity in Bulgaria during this period, generally speaking, shows a relative decline, both in the quantity and in the quality of production. As in the Byzantine Empire, the main building priority became fortifications.

FORTIFICATIONS

Most Bulgarian fortification construction constituted the renewing, expanding, or adapting of preexisting structures.[157] Some of these existing fortifications were medieval, built either by the Bulgarians or by the Byzantines between the ninth century and the twelfth; most, however, were Early Byzantine enterprises that underwent specific renewal at this time. It is important to remember here that, unlike in the fourth century, sixth-century fortifications were usually built on high locations on sites difficult of access but provided with an ideal view of the surrounding countryside and relatively close to strategically important routes. This attitude toward fortress construction continued in later times, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries being no exception to this general rule. The one Bulgarian fortress of significance that was built on flat terrain, the so-called Baba Vida fortress in Vidin, was, in fact, built on the site of a late antique fortification. The other important aspect of military architecture in Bulgaria in this period is the concentration of strongholds in the southern and central parts of the state on strategic sites and near routes passing through the Rodopi Mountains and on the southern fringes of the Balkan mountain range.

One of the most representative fortifications identified with this period is the so-called Anevsko Kale (Byzantine Kopsis), near the modern town of Sopot. Situated on a precipitous site on the southern slopes of Mount Balkan, the fortress was built on this site for strategic reasons. From the hilltop one has a full view of the surrounding area, through which passed the main road connecting Sofia with the Black Sea coast, built already in antiquity. The fortress is preserved in a ruinous state, but has been the subject of archaeological investigations and a detailed published study.[158] The highly irregular shape of the fortress is strictly the function of the terrain upon which it was built. Approximately 200 meters long, it enclosed a relatively narrow space accommodating a number of buildings and two churches, all preserved only in their foundations. Two irregularly shaped towers – a large polygonal one and an elongated trapezoidal one with a lost, probably polygonal, end on the south side – occupied the two highest points of the complex. Only sections of the two towers and the connecting curtain wall have been preserved to any significant height. The fortress was made entirely of fieldstone bonded with large quantities of white mortar. The building technique involved also the use of horizontal oak beams on both faces of the wall, linked by wooden members running through the thickness of the wall, forming a type of a grill. The façade beams were spaced at intervals of about 1 meter, resembling brick courses in appearance. In addition to their structural, skeletal role, these beams may have also served some other purpose that is not yet fully understood. The most intriguing question concerns the exposure of these beams to weather. None of them has been preserved, except for a number of connecting members within the thickness of the wall, demonstrating their acute vulnerability. The builders of this and similar structures must have been keenly aware of the potential weathering problems. The question remains whether or not the exteriors of these walls were plastered to protect the beams from direct exposure to the elements. The unusual building technique has few direct comparisons. Attempts to draw parallels between Anevsko Kale and Western feudal castles on the basis of its design characteris-

714 Vidin, "Baba Vida"; aerial view

tics have been too generalized and seem to push the point too far. This point of view needs to be balanced by taking into account comparable approaches to fortress construction on the Byzantine territories, as well as in neighboring Serbia.[159] On the basis of coordinated archaeological data and indirect references in historical sources, it was possible to establish the identity of this fort, along with its date, in the late thirteenth century to the first decades of the fourteenth.

The fortified "acropolis" of Melnik, north of the medieval settlement, occupies a high point of sandstone cliff. Originally enclosed by a wall that has now substantially disappeared owing to severe erosion, the complex is remembered by its best-fortified part, the so-called Citadel of Despot Slav.[160] Approximately 95 meters long and 20 meters wide, this citadel was heavily fortified on three sides, while its northern side was protected by the edge of a sheer cliff. In many respects this concept recalls several Byzantine fortifications in central Macedonia (present-day FYROM), some of which also had an Early Byzantine phase. Within this complex, it should be noted that two very different building techniques occur, on which earlier investigators have failed to comment. These two techniques suggest two different phases of construction. The bands of several brick courses alternating with bands made of stone rubble suggest Early Byzantine construction, while the pure rubble construction with the horizontal impressions of oak beams spaced at regular intervals recalls the technique seen at Kopsis.[161] On the basis of these two very dif-

ferent construction methods, it would appear that the building of Despot Slav's citadel, as in many other cases, took advantage of an Early Byzantine ruin. Such cases, needless to say, would have been the most important vehicle by which late medieval builders acquired first-hand knowledge of Early Byzantine fortification concepts and planning features. The presence of a massive triangular tower at the eastern end of Despot Slav's citadel also points to a connection with Early Byzantine military architecture.

Very different in concept, setting, and appearance is the fortress known as "Baba Vida" in the north Bulgarian city of Vidin, on the bank of the Danube.[162] In this case, the core of the fortress is fairly regular, consisting of a walled enclosure, measuring 70 × 73 meters, fortified by projecting rectangular towers (fig. 714). It has been archaeologically demonstrated that the later medieval fort was a rebuilding of a late antique fortress that in some form continued to exist during the early Middle Ages as well. The sense of continuity is also evident in the fact that the fortress core was surrounded by a second lower wall and ultimately by a water-filled moat connected with the Danube, both late antique ideas, not employed routinely in later fortification architecture. Much later, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the interior of the fortress underwent further modifications under the Ottomans. The still clearly visible multi-towered rectilinear enclosure apparently came into being during the early part of the thirteenth century and was modified when Vidin became the capital of a secessionist state, after the death of Ivan Aleksand'r in 1371. Various technical details, such as all-brick vault construction and decorative brick patterns that appear as isolated features, suggest links with the Byzantine building tradition.

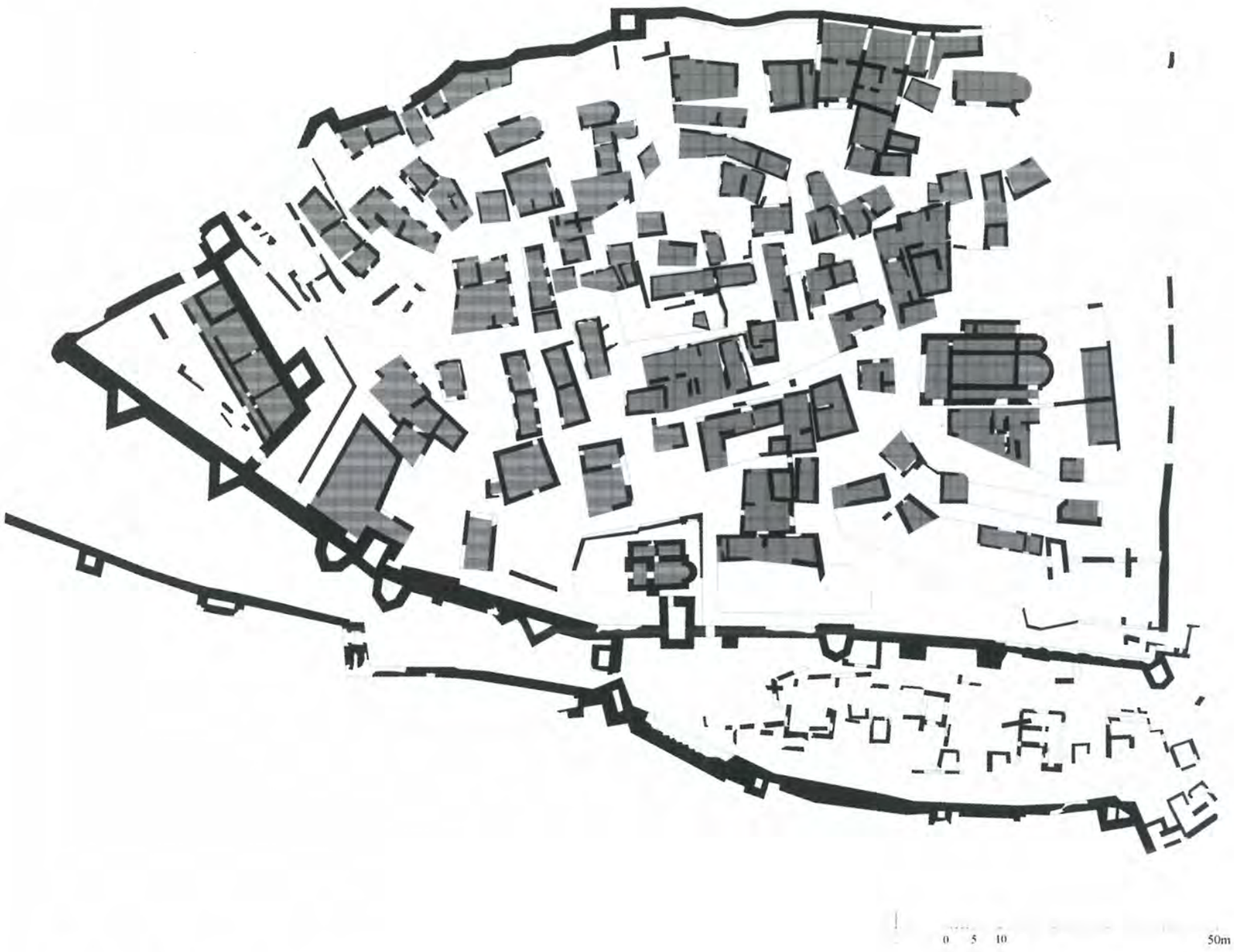
URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

As in the case of the Byzantine Empire, the last period of Bulgaria's history was characterized by an apparent flourishing of urban centers. To a large degree, it would appear, this resulted from the growing sense of insecurity and the search for protection within walled urban settlements. Reliance on existing walled enclosures or on expedient repairs of older fortifications seems to have been the most common approaches.

The town of Shumen, in northeastern Bulgaria, provides one of the most important sources of information concerning late medieval urbanism anywhere in the Balkans. Thanks to the fact that the Ottoman town grew up 3 kilometers away, in the valley below, the ancient and medieval site of Shumen was abandoned and left undisturbed by subsequent urban growth. In the 1970s and 1980s the site became the subject of extensive archaeological exploration. The cumulative result of these excavations represents the most complete body of information on any site in the medieval Balkans, ranging from the complete layout of the town, to individual residential and public buildings, down to the large quantities of objects pertaining to daily life.[163] Occupying a relatively flat plateau, the roughly trapezoidal form of the medieval town owes its origins and form to its late antique predecessor (fig. 715; see also fig. 221). Archaeology has revealed that the site was continuously inhabited from the sixth century, with indications of early Bulgarian habitation in the eighth and ninth centuries. By far the most important period in the life of the town is that associated with the Second Bulgarian Empire, which concerns us here,

The town in its late medieval phase had two main lines of defensive walls. The heavier, inner line of fortifications enclosed the main plateau upon which the town was built, and was based on the late antique foundations. These involved a very thick line of wall with triangular and rectangular towers along the south flank and less massive walls along the northwestern, northern, and eastern flanks of the city, where the more precipitous terrain excluded the need for such heavy fortifications. A second line of walls was built paralleling the main southern line of the enclosure, marked by mostly rectangular towers. Though resembling the outer line of fortifications of Constantinople in principle, the main reason here appears to have been to secure the sizable area of settlement that had developed outside the main line of defenses. According to the excavators, this part of the town was apparently inhabited predominantly by various kinds of artisans, whose workshops, furnaces, and tools were discovered in greater concentration in this area. Some interesting details about the principles of fortification are worth noting. The most surprising is that the original monumental city gate, flanked by a pair of pentagonal towers, was evidently no longer in use as a city gate. Instead, a new gate was opened immediately to its east. Less heavily fortified, this gate functioned in unison with a gate in the outer wall, with which it formed a type of bent entrance. This resembles what happened in Constantinople in conjunction with the Golden Gate. There, the general assumption has been that the change was due to the Ottoman construction of the Yedikule complex. This may require rethinking, for Palaeologan interventions in the area of the Golden Gate were considerable and may have also involved the establishment of an alternative entrance route into the city.

To the west of the original entrance gate of Shumen arose what must have been its most heavily guarded part. Situated on the highest location, in its northwest corner, this fortified enclosure took advantage of the city wall on the northwest and southwest sides. A comparably massive wall with two rectangular towers preceded by a second line of walls was built inside the town proper, creating a formidable looking citadel in this location. Within the citadel's enclosure rose a long building with four large rooms approached from an open portico that fronted



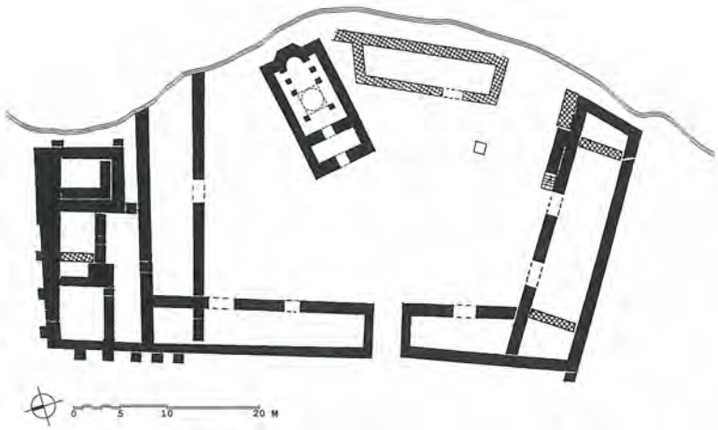
715 Shumen, late medieval town; plan

the full length of this impressive structure. In terms of its size and layout, this building may be compared to the residential wing of the Palace of the Tsars at T'rnovo (fig. 539). There can be little doubt that the newly fortified complex at Shumen was also a formal residence, in this case of a local strongman whose name remains obscure. The construction of such heavily fortified residences, inasmuch as it may have had its roots in the Middle Byzantine period, became a common practice during the late Middle Ages throughout the Balkans.[164] This may also reflect the degree of insecurity at the time. Especially notable here at Shumen, but also in a number of other cases, is the extent of fortifying effort that actually faced the town itself. This could be explained as a desire to create a donjon-like effect and, thereby, to make the citadel effectively the last line of defense. On the other hand, it is possible that, confronted not infrequently with internal unrest and potential rebellion, the occupants of these palatial residences may have found it expedient to protect themselves from the urban population as well.

The entire populated area of Shumen, measuring 2.7 hectares, has been archaeologically explored. Although none of its buildings survives, the layout is known. Here, therefore, more than anywhere else in the Balkans, we can see the manner in which

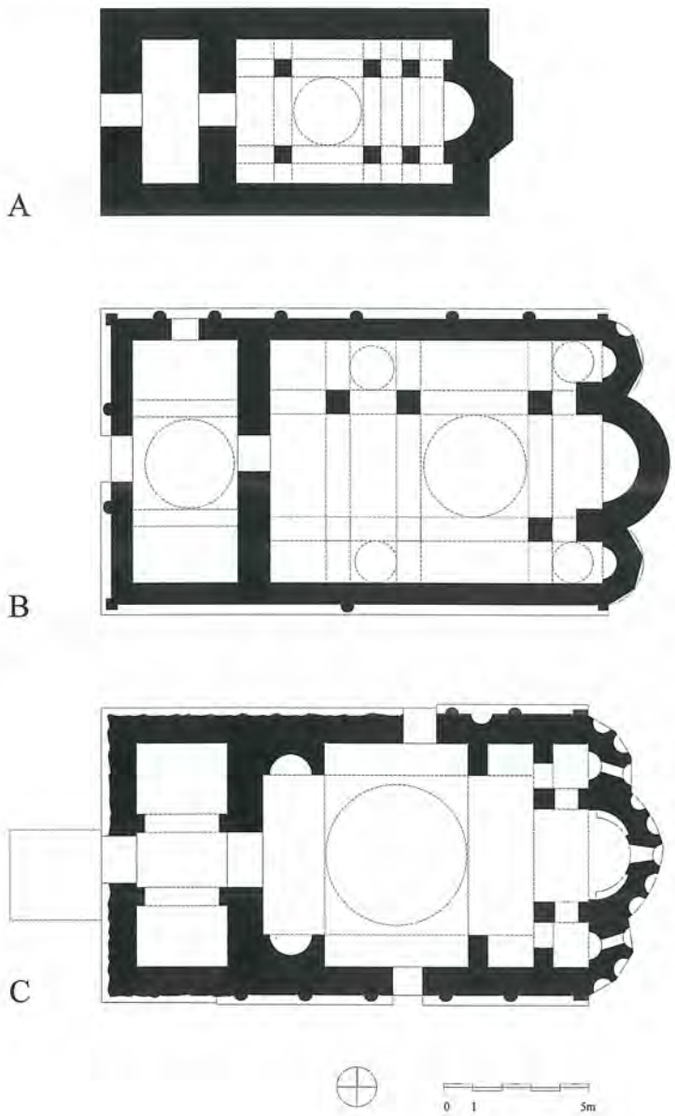
716 Cherven, late medieval town; aerial view

late medieval urban planning actually functioned. The individual buildings were placed somewhat loosely within the available plots. No clear matrix, such as a street layout, is apparent. In this sense, it is clear that the principles that applied here were no different from those that we saw in Late Byzantine towns – at Geraki or Redina, for example. Public spaces – streets, squares, etc. – were simply "leftover" voids between individual buildings. Irregular narrow paths constituting "streets" must have criss-crossed the maze of irregular wider or narrower voids throughout the town. Paving existed in very limited areas only, as did drainage and water pipes. There were a total of six churches in the inner city, two of which were public, while the remaining ones were probably monastic, or private, belonging to some of the wealthier inhabitants of Shumen. The cathedral church was a fairly large (13 × 25 m) three-aisled basilica, rebuilt on the site of a late antique building of similar type and dimensions. The other churches were single-aisled, ranging between 10 and 15 meters in length. The main building material in Shumen was local stone. Most of the construction relied on unworked stone used with large quantities of mortar. Brick was used very rarely, while worked stone was used only for special features, such as doors, windows, quoins, etc.



717 Cherven, citadel with palace; plan

718 Cherven: (A) Church #3; (B) Church #4 (C) Church #2; plans



Another Bulgarian town that achieved a level of prosperity during this period was Cherven, in northern Bulgaria, close to the Danube, about 30 kilometers from the modern town of Ruse.[165] Cherven has the most impressive physical layout (fig. 716). It sits on a very narrow, elongated plateau atop vertical stone cliffs that rise from the bed of the meandering River Cherni Lom. Inhabited since antiquity, the plateau did not experience any major period of urban prosperity until the first half of the fourteenth century, when it became the second most important Bulgarian center after T'rnovo. The plateau upon which the town sits stretches nearly 1 kilometer in length, while its maximal width is roughly 150 meters. The entire plateau is fortified, either naturally or by defensive walls. The most heavily fortified eastern section has an area of 2.54 hectares. This was also the most densely populated part of town. Excavations have revealed the presence of rather tightly built rectangular houses with three main streets running in the northeast–southwest direction, paralleling the natural shape of the plateau. Several short streets or alleys connected the main ones transversally. Most of the houses have one large room on the ground level. Undoubtedly, some were more than one story high. The southwestern half of the heavily fortified main part of town was occupied by churches and official buildings. The largest among these was a complex that may best be referred to as the citadel, presumably containing the official residence of the local strongman (fig. 717). Built in the early part of the thirteenth century, the citadel was apparently damaged and underwent substantial remodeling and an expansion, probably in the fourteenth century. At that point a vaulted tunnel descending toward the river was built for the purpose of fetching water in times of siege. Many fortified towns in the Balkans acquired such tunnels during this period, such as Redina in Greece and Berat in Albania. The organization of the citadel at Cherven resembles that of Byzantine monasteries. The complex, measuring 60 × 30 meters, is entered through a single gate that leads into a large open court with a church in its midst. Various rooms were organized around the three fortified sides of the complex, whereas the fourth side was open because it was situated along the edge of a sheer cliff. Rooms on the ground level have been interpreted as having had utilitarian functions, whereas ceremonial and residential spaces are believed to have occupied an upper level. The presence of at least a second story is ascertained by the preserved remnants of stairs. The church within the complex (Church #3) is a medium-sized cross-in-square building, measuring 7.3 × 14.7 meters (fig. 718A). Its main dome was carried by four freestanding piers. Another pair of piers, farther east, defined the position of the iconostasis. The church was executed in a mixture of stone and brick, characteristic of all main churches in Cherven. Its façades were further decorated

by decorative ceramic clover-leaf jars, glazed in green and yellow. The citadel church is one of six that have been discovered within this heavily fortified section of town. None of the churches is preserved. They have been excavated as ruins; in places their walls are preserved up to a height of 2 meters.

Larger and more impressive than the church within the citadel was Church #4, situated just to the south of the citadel complex (fig. 718B). In the last quarter of the fourteenth century it was evidently linked to the citadel by the addition of a type of a passageway. This raises an important question of its function, which archaeology has been unable to resolve. The church measures 9 × 18.3 meters in plan. It, too, belongs to the cross-in-square type, but unlike the citadel church, here the domed bay was directly in front of the iconostasis, while the extra pair of piers was in the western part of the naos. Externally, especially on its north and west façades, the church was marked by a system of engaged semi-colonnettes that may have been related to blind arcades in a manner comparable to the parekklesion of the katholikon at the Chora Monastery in Constantinople. Unlike the Chora, the spacing of the engaged colonnettes here was very uneven. They also had no relationship to the structural disposition of the interior and appear to have been conceived exclusively with a decorative function in mind. The north façade of the church that these engaged colonnettes enlivened was, in fact, the façade that related to the citadel, visually and possibly also functionally. Built of brick and stone, the exterior facing involved bands of several courses of small, carefully cut ashlars and thinner bands consisting of three or more courses of dark red brick. The façades were also enlivened by stone string-courses, as well as checkerboard fields within the blind lunettes of façade niches, and by decorative ceramic clover leaves, glazed in green and yellow.

The largest and most elaborate of all Cherven churches was Church #2. Initially built in the early part of the fourteenth century, this church was apparently damaged beyond repair and was rebuilt around 1370 (fig. 718C). It may have been converted into the episcopal church following the conquest of Cherven by the Ottomans, possibly in 1388. The church, measuring 10.3 × 21.1 meters, is surrounded by an ample open space suggesting that it was to have a public function from the very outset. The interior is marked by two different pairs of massive engaged piers. The western pair was marked by a niche in each of the piers, symmetrically disposed in the western bay of the naos. The eastern, smaller pair supported the vault over the eastern arm of the cross, which reached as far as the easternmost pair of free-standing piers, which defined the position of the iconostasis. The church, as was the case with the other two, was preceded by an oblong narthex. Its preserved outer façades indicate that they too were decorated with a system of engaged semi-cylindrical colonnettes, but that these were more evenly spaced. Even so, the articulation of the façades was unrelated to the interior. The church was enlivened also by a system of round-headed niches that articulate the lower parts of the three apses at the east end. Along with alternating bands of several courses of small ashlars and several brick courses, the general impression of this building must have invoked Constantinopolitan buildings of the early fourteenth century. A particularly relevant comparison is with the parekklesion of the katholikon at the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.

The size and the character of the three churches just discussed point to the status and economic prosperity of Cherven at the time. Church #2, built in its final form around 1370, was one of the last major constructions in Bulgaria before its conquest by the Ottomans. This building suggests not only that local patrons had the means to undertake such an impressive project at a difficult time, but also that the best builders, hailing either directly or indirectly from Constantinople, were building now on Bulgarian territory. It must be remembered that after the early 1320s we know of no significant new church construction in Constantinople itself while "Constantinopolitan" architecture was to be found elsewhere, including Cherven. It would seem quite plausible that a generation of native builders had acquired their basic training and skills at Nesseb'r (Mesembria), the most important direct link with Constantinople during the fourteenth century.

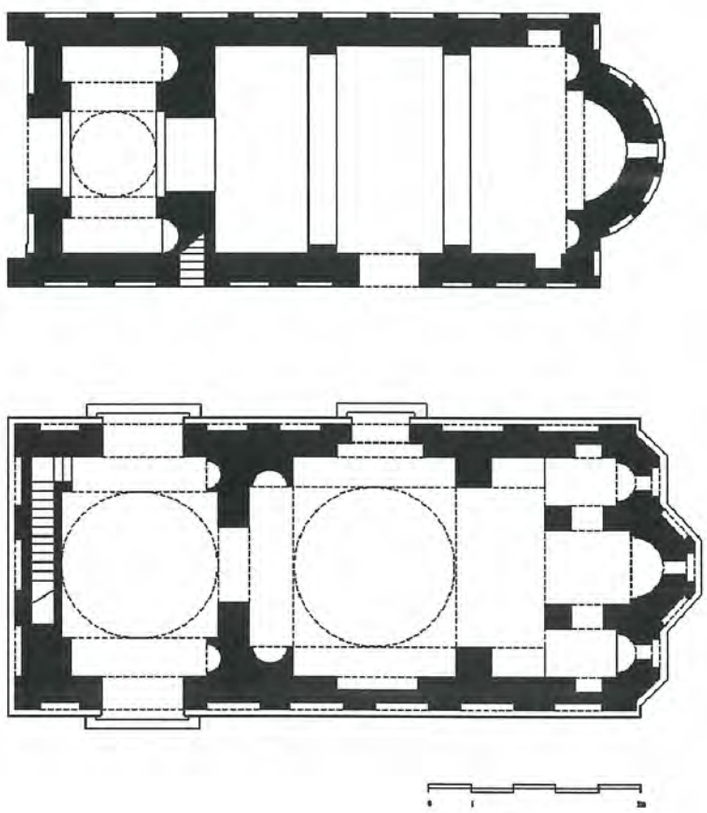
ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

As we have seen, architectural production in Bulgaria during the period under investigation, with a few exceptions, was in a general state of decline. This state of affairs was reflected both in the volume and the quality of construction. One of the exceptional cases was the town of Cherven, where, as we have seen, in the space of several decades of the fourteenth century at least three impressive churches were built. An understanding of the Cherven phenomenon, however, is not possible without looking at a group of churches in Mesembria (Nesseb'r) that are among the most impressive architectural achievements of the fourteenth century, not only in the Bulgarian context but more generally. The church architecture of Mesembria attracted the attention of scholars long ago.[166] Much has been written about this important subject, but unresolved essential issues still linger. The central argument has revolved around the identity of this architecture – is it Bulgarian or is it Byzantine?[167] In the process, many other important issues have been either ignored or have simply faded against the background of the heated debate. This is not the place to reexamine all that has been said in the scholarly literature on this complex topic.[168] A point of view will be

719 Mesembria (Nesseb'r), St. Paraskeve; north façade

presented here that is consistent with the general understanding of the mechanisms of architectural development in the Balkans as presented in this book. It is my hope that such an effort will allow for a stepping back and looking at the big picture more clearly, without losing sight of the beauty or intrinsic importance of such truly remarkable monuments as the churches of Mesembria.

720 Mesembria (Nesseb'r): (A) St. Paraskeve; (B) Archangels; plans



None of the churches of Mesembria is securely dated. Their hypothetical chronological sequence is yet another subject of debate among scholars. Without entering this debate, four churches will be presented here in an order that follows the general principles of planning typology used in other contexts in this book. The church of St. Paraskeve in Mesembria (Nesseb'r) is a single-aisled vaulted church that probably never had a dome (fig. 719). Measuring 6.7 × 15.5 meters in plan, it displays the elongated proportions characteristic of this type of a building (fig. 720A), but exaggerated here by the deep narthex that forms an integral part of the church. Featuring a pair of narrow bays next to a larger, square bay covered by a blind dome, the narthex is separated from the naos by a massive wall, 1.3 meters thick. Its thickness is explained by the steep narrow stair accommodated within the wall mass, leading to an upper story that no longer survives. A separate room, possibly *katechoumenia*, may have been situated there, possibly with a belfry rising above that point as well. The naos is subdivided longitudinally into three bays by means of shallow pilaster strips engaged with the south and the north walls of the church. These pilaster strips carry arches that are built integrally with barrel vaulting. The easternmost bay terminates in a broad apse, semicircular internally as well as on the exterior. Externally, the lower part of the apse is articulated with five shallow niches. Similar niches continue around the entire building at this level. They are separated by pilaster strips executed in the same, banded technique as the walls of the church. The arches are also banded, adding to the colorful effect of the exterior. All of this is further underscored by the outlining of the arches with triple tiers of cover tiles framing single rows of ceramic elements, whose exposed ends (circular or cloverleaf-shaped) are glazed green or yellow.[169] The decorative effect is further accentuated by the fact that the tympanum in each of the blind arches contains a different pattern composed of brick and stone elements. This decorative approach to design may be appreciated in the general system of exterior arcading. None of the pilasters has any direct relationship with the structural system within the building, reflecting a manner of design noted in some of the Constantinopolitan churches of the first decades of the fourteenth century. The wall rising above the blind niches includes small clerestory windows and is externally decorated by yet another arcade. Consisting of smaller stilted arches, supported on stone brackets, this arcade has been compared to Romanesque blind arcading. Differing in scale and manner of execution from Romanesque examples, it is more akin to some of the late antique decorative formulas employed in the Balkans. Despite its modest size and decora-

tive vocabulary, St. Paraskeve has all of the main characteristics of the Nesseb'r churches.

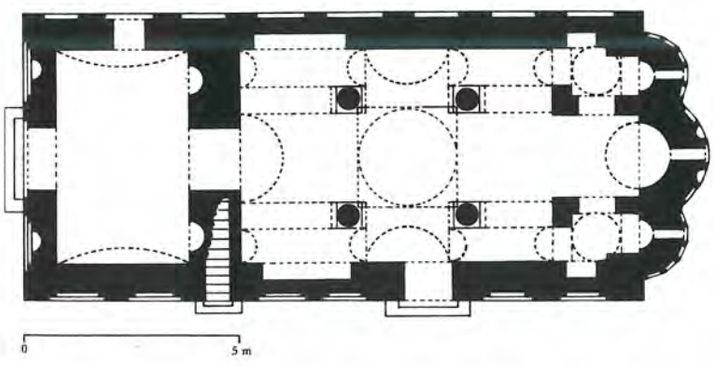
The church of the Archangels survives in a ruinous state, but its exterior shows close affinity with St. Paraskeve (fig. 721). Both employ banded masonry construction; both have a two-tiered system of façade arcading; in both the main arcade arches are outlined by three tiers of small glazed ceramic jars set into the mortar to create decorative accent. In both churches we find a second-level arcade that is much smaller and supported on stone brackets. The plans of the two churches, however, are quite different. Measuring 6.8 × 16 meters, the church of the Archangels reveals a juxtaposition of the single-aisled and inscribed-cross schemes (fig. 720B). The naos has a clearly articulated square bay covered by a dome, about 4 meters in diameter. The piers supporting the dome are engaged with the outer walls, and the western pair also with the wall dividing the naos from the narthex. The sanctuary is tripartite, its depth determined by a pair of smaller freestanding piers that originally must have supported the iconostasis. The naos is preceded by a spacious narthex, whose central bay was probably covered by a blind dome, 3.7 meters in diameter. A stair, starting from the northwest corner of the narthex, led to a gallery chamber that possibly had some sort of tower-like form externally, as in the case of the Pantokrator church. The plan of the church reveals similarities to Church #2 at Cherven, although it is smaller, but no less complex in terms of its articulation.

The church of the Pantokrator displays further affinities in exterior articulation and detailing with the two churches already discussed. Its plan, however, is based on the four-column cross-in-square scheme with unmistakable associations with Constantinople (fig. 722A). Measuring 6.7 × 16 meters, it appears to

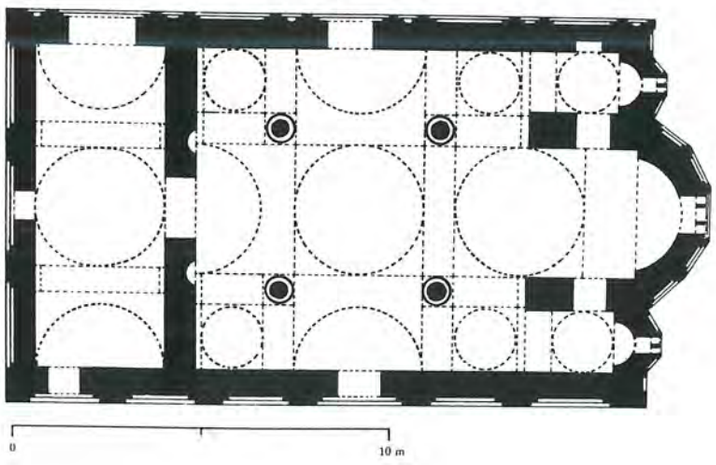
721 Mesembria (Nesseb'r), Archangels; view from S

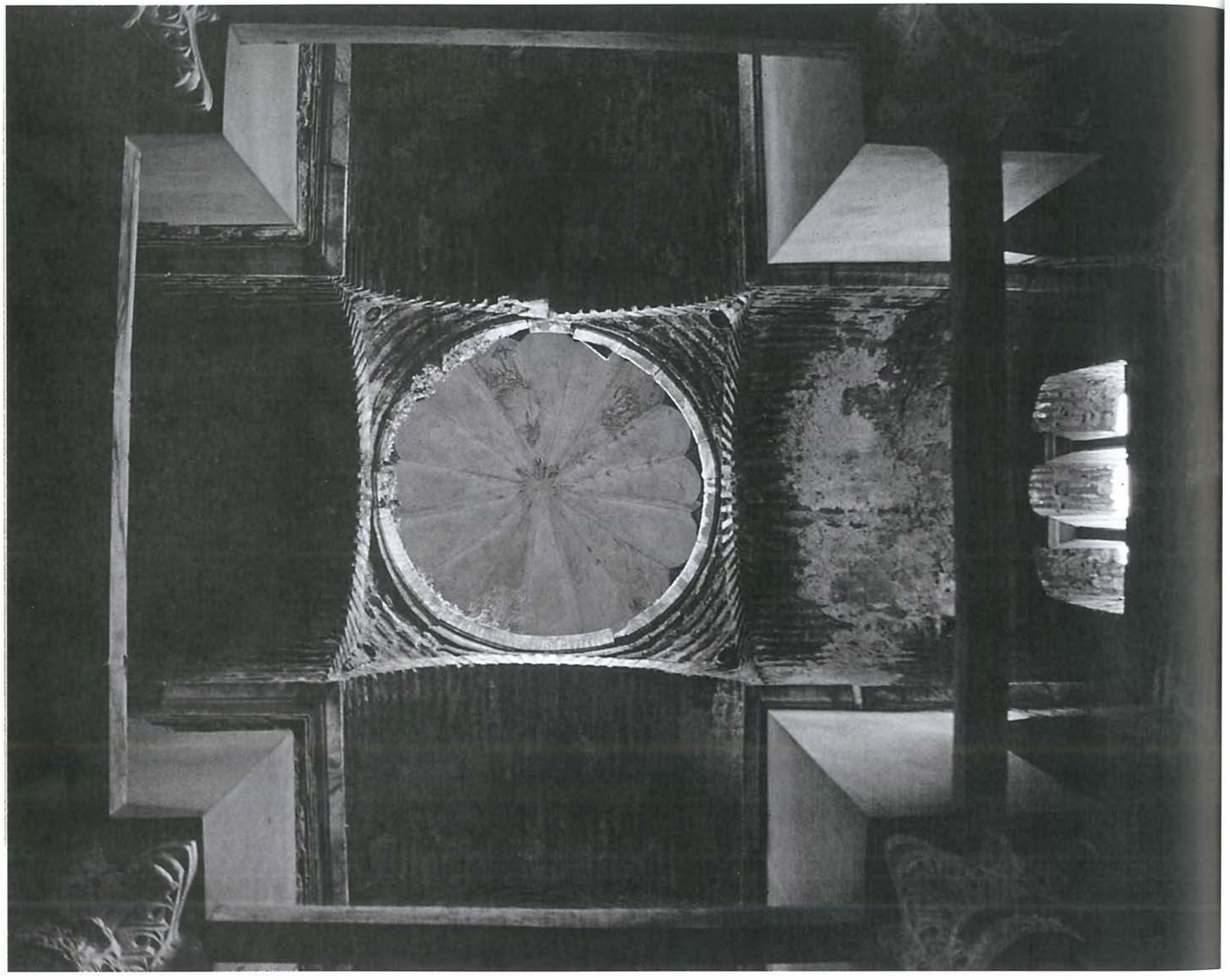
replicate exactly the dimensions of the church of the Archangels. Their interior layouts are significantly different, however. The church has a naos whose central east–west arms of the cross are markedly longer than the north–south ones. The narthex recalls that of St. Paraskeve, including the position of a stair within the thickness of the wall separating the narthex from the naos. The church of the Pantokrator, despite its own vicissitudes, is better preserved than either the Archangels or St. John Aleiturgetos. In this case we have a preserved chamber (perhaps *katechoumenia*) accommodated within a tower-like structure. The tower is covered by a blind dome, its overall height slightly lower than that of the main dome of the church. The vertical proportions of the church interior are particularly stressed, a characteristic that deviates from the proportional relationships in Constanti-

722A Mesembria (Nesseb'r): Pantokrator plan



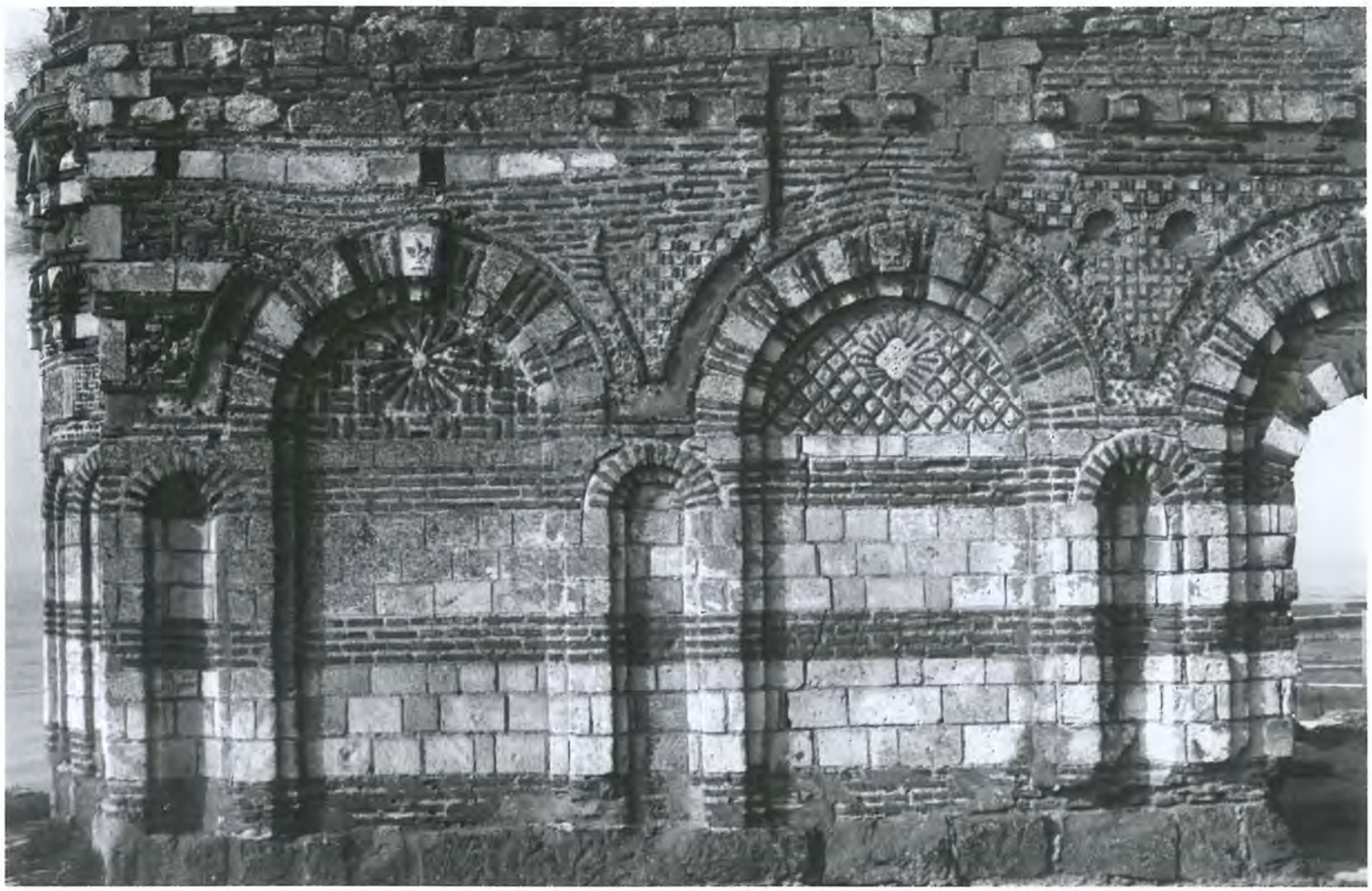
722B Mesembria (Nesseb'r): St. John Aleiturgetos; plan





723 Mesembria (Nesseb'r), Pantokrator, interior; view of dome from below

nopolitan architecture. The emphasis on verticality is given a particular form of expression on the dome drum. Above the conventional undulating eaves over the window frames on each of the eight faces of the drum rise as many as eight superimposed tiers of decorative glazed ceramic jars. Although the present arrangement is a reconstruction, old views of the building indicate that the church had them, although the number of tiers may not have been as great as the restorers decided. Despite some of the deviations from Constantinopolitan norms, including the one just alluded to, the church of the Pantokrator does display certain affinities with architecture in the Byzantine capital. Above all, one should stress the scalloped form of the interior of



724 Mesembria (Nesseb'r), St. John Aleiturgetos; north façade, detail

the dome and its drum, the use of slender marble window shafts, and the banded building technique shared by all of the Mesembria churches (fig. 723).

The most remarkable of all Mesembria churches, St. John Aleiturgetos, is in many respects a unique monument. Surviving in ruins, this, in all likelihood monastic church sits at the water's edge, its south façade turned toward the sea. The church, measuring 10.25 × 18.5 meters in plan, is the largest late medieval church in Mesembria (fig. 722B). It belongs to the four-column cross-in-square type in which Constantinopolitan rules of planning appear to be rigorously employed. The naos is a perfect square, and the four columns, occupying the strict geometric center, once upheld the main dome, whose diameter must have been around 3.3 meters. A tripartite sanctuary is spatially defined by three apses and by a characteristic pair of piers that provides for an eastern extension of the sanctuary, in keeping with Constantinopolitan planning norms. These piers also defined the position of the iconostasis. The unusual aspect of the church occurs at the level of vaulting, for the two piers do not support the type of low barrel vault that normally abuts the eastern arm of the cross in Constantinopolitan churches. Instead, here we find a large blind dome, 3.3 meters in diameter, positioned in such a way that it would have straddled the original iconostasis. This was certainly an experimental solution and one that must have presented painters with some interesting challenges as far as the layout of the fresco program was concerned. All of the vaulting was executed in brick, also in keeping with Constantinopolitan practice. The fact that the vaulting springs not from pilasters but from wall brackets can also be related to developments in Constantinople around 1300.

It is the exterior of St. John Aleiturgetos that has attracted most attention. Its façades display the standard banded construction technique featuring three courses of stone ashlars alternating with four courses of dark red brick. Furthermore, the façades are enlivened by blind arcading comparable to that seen

725 Mesembria (Nesseb'r), St. John Aleiturgetos; east end

on other churches at Mesembria. In keeping with the general non-tectonic approach, this arcading displays variations that cannot be explained in any other way than as deliberate aesthetic, ad hoc choices. Thus, the south façade has six blind arches, whereas the one on the north side has only five. The south arcade follows closely the principles of articulation seen on the other churches we have discussed. The north arcade, however, is very different (fig. 724). Here the pilasters supporting the blind arches are themselves articulated by tall narrow niches set into the face of each of the pilasters. The large tympana under each of the blind arches are filled with a different decorative scheme executed in brick. Each arch was also capped by three tiers of decorative glazed ceramic jugs set into mortar. The spandrels between the main arches were filled with different decorative patterns made of stone and brick. All of the decorative features have parallels in the Late Byzantine architecture of Constantinople. The degree of decorative attention given to the north façade demonstrates that this was its main façade, clearly visible from the monastic courtyard. Since the church had no door on the west façade, it must have been actually entered from the north side.

The decorative "fireworks" were evidently reserved for the east façade of this church (fig. 725). Relatively well preserved, it allows us to explore the extraordinary vocabulary of decorative elements that involve not only different materials, but also different media (relief sculpture, ceramics). Variations on the same theme, as well as the repetition of certain features, appear to be characteristics of this decorative display. Particularly notable are the stone brackets decorated with acanthus leaves executed in a manner that emulates Justinianic carving. On the other hand, the ogee arches in the corbel-table appear also in Constantinopolitan architecture, at the Pammakaristos and Chora monastery churches. Linking them to Western influences in the architecture of Mesembria constitutes one of the many gross oversimplifications of a larger, complex problem.

This analysis of church architecture of Mesembria points to several different aspects, above all the persistence of certain stylistic and technical characteristics over a long period of time. Unfortunately, its length cannot be determined with precision. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that the number of different builders and artisans involved in these projects must have been considerable. The assumption that all of them came from Constantinople would also be a highly simplistic point of view. Instead, we must think of Mesembria as having become a subcenter in which the initial training of builders in the principles and standards brought by a few masters from Constantinople no doubt did occur. Thus, the "Constantinopolitan" manner of building must have also become the "local" manner. At the same time, Mesembria, as a major building center, must have functioned as a supplier for other centers – such as Cherven – where related architectural solutions have been noted.

Serbia

Serbia's fortunes in the aftermath of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire followed a very different trajectory from those of Bulgaria. The second half of the thirteenth century witnessed a steady growth in Serbia's economic strength, owing largely to the opening of new mines and the improved exploitation of natural resources. A significant impetus in these developments came from German miners, the so-called Sasi, who first came to Serbia under King Uroš I (1243–76). The development of mining and the resulting growth of Serbia's economy paved the way for its territorial expansion. This process was aided by the growth of

commercial ties, especially with the cities along the Adriatic littoral, a large part of which was in Serbian hands at the time. Married to a French princess, Uroš I, despite his Orthodox faith, was more inclined to make alliances in the West than with the Byzantines. His son and eventual successor, King Milutin (1282–1321), continued his father's pro-Western policies by initiating a war against Byzantium shortly after assuming the throne, thus reaping considerable benefits. The crowning achievement of Milutin's territorial expansion was the conquest of Skopje and the establishment of a new border with Byzantium much farther south, along the line just north of Ohrid and Štip. Skopje, formerly an important Byzantine stronghold, never reverted to the Byzantines eventually becoming the capital of the Serbian state, and it remained in Serbian hands for the next eleven decades. The hostilities between Serbia and Byzantium turned Macedonia into a major theater of war, resulting in the extensive construction of new fortifications and the restoration of old ones. It was in these circumstances that Thessaloniki again became a center of prime importance for Byzantium. Serbia's southward expansion was eventually stopped diplomatically in 1299 with a negotiated peace treaty, whose architect was the Byzantine grand logothete Theodore Metochites. According to the terms of this treaty, King Milutin was married to the youngest daughter of Emperor Andronikos II and was allowed to retain his already conquered Byzantine territories.

The eventual accession of King Milutin's grandson Dušan (1331–55) marked the beginning of another period of hostilities between Serbia and the Byzantine Empire. In 1330 Serbia had won an important battle against the Bulgarians, thus assuming the leading role among the regional powers. Taking full advantage of the civil war in Byzantium and of Bulgarian internal problems, Serbia's territorial expansion reached as far south as the Gulf of Corinth and almost as far east as the city of Sofia. Dušan's ambitions were greater and his actions far more decisive than those of any of his predecessors. Establishing his court at Skopje, on Easter Day 1346, he was crowned there as "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks." His early death in 1355 marked the end of his short-lived "empire" and the beginning of the rapid unraveling of the Serbian state. The process was accelerated by the emergence of the Ottomans on the Balkan scene. Having won a major battle against the Serbs in 1389 on the field of Kosovo, the Ottomans effectively took control of the central Balkans. In a shrunken form, as a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, Serbia survived for another seventy years, in large measure thanks to the major setbacks that the Ottomans themselves suffered following their humiliating defeat at the Battle of Angora (Ankara, Turkey) in 1402. Despite its territorial implosion, Serbia's mines continued to function, yielding necessary revenues for the state's survival. During the last seven to eight decades of its life Serbia's building output reached a new high point. This phenomenon and the architecture it produced are of considerably broader, regional significance, for they offer some important clues regarding the end of the Late Byzantine building tradition in a more general sense.

FORTIFICATIONS

Fortification architecture in Serbia emerged as a significant component of the building industry only in the fourteenth century.[170] Prior to *circa* 1300 Serbian patrons and builders apparently had a limited amount of experience in fortification construction. The older, inherited Byzantine fortresses, particularly those built during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, may have proven sufficient for local needs. It was only after the process of rapid expansion to the south had begun after *circa* 1300 that direct encounters with Byzantium brought about, among other things, Serbian engagement in matters pertaining to military architecture.[171] During the first decades of the fourteenth century the area of central Macedonia, as we have seen, became the focus of military activity and a region of most intensive fortification construction. During the remainder of the fourteenth century, with growing intensity, the construction of fortresses took place over the entire territory of Serbia.

The first relatively well-documented and one of the best-preserved fortresses is Maglić, 20 kilometers south of Kraljevo, in central Serbia (fig. 726).[172] Situated on top of a rocky eminence rising steeply above a bend in the River Ibar gorge, the fortress was clearly built with a strategic role in mind. The Ibar valley throughout the Middle Ages was one of the main north–south thoroughfares, a role it still retains today. Though the precise circumstances of its construction remain murky, we know that the fortress enclosed the residence of the Serbian archbishop Danilo II (1324–37). The sources refer to his palace and a church within the fortress, while archaeology has confirmed these claims with precise finds. The interior court contained also a number of other, utilitarian buildings, as well as two cisterns. From the military point of view, the fortress occupies the narrow ridge of the hill. Its outer walls, 8–12 meters high, are 2.5 meters thick, equipped with a continuous walkway behind tall crenelations. The fortress is equipped with eight projecting towers. Three of these, unusually closely spaced and fully enclosed, make a formidable-looking cluster on the southwest, short side of the fortress. The northeastern end of the fortress is enclosed by the largest of all the towers, based on an elongated polygonal plan. The remaining four towers, all rectangular in plan, are spaced along the long flanks of the fortress, two on each side. These towers are characterized by the fact that they are fully open toward the interior of the fortress. Their floors were made of

726 Maglić, Fortress; aerial view from S

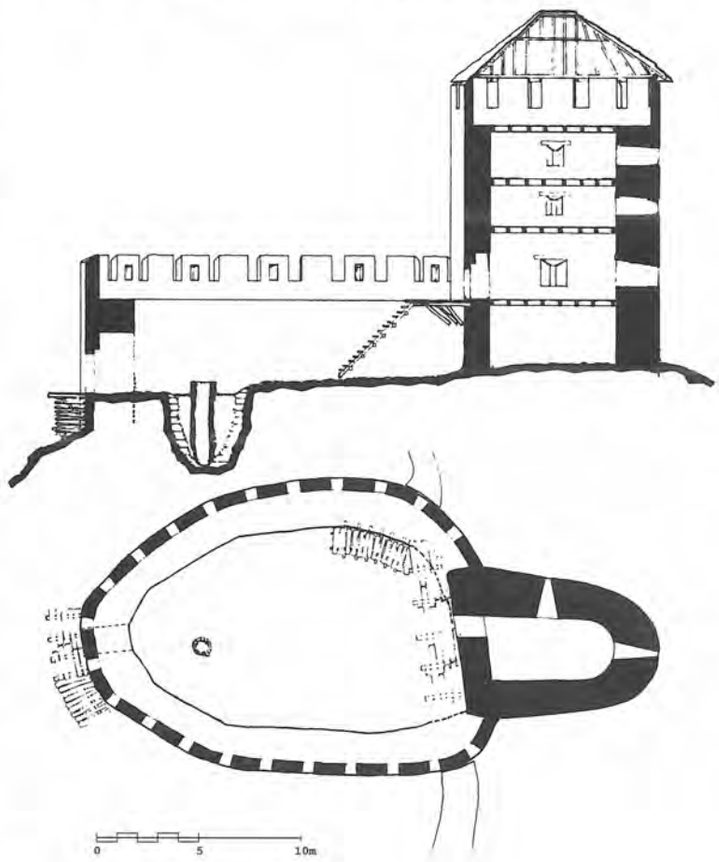
wood, and were connected with wooden stairs. This type of tower became the most common variety in late medieval fortification architecture throughout most of the Balkans, and especially in Serbia. Whether it came to Serbia from Byzantium, where it was used, albeit rarely, or whether it may have come from the western Balkans, cannot be answered with certainty. It is important to bear in mind that most of the construction at Maglić utilized local stone, while brick was generally avoided.

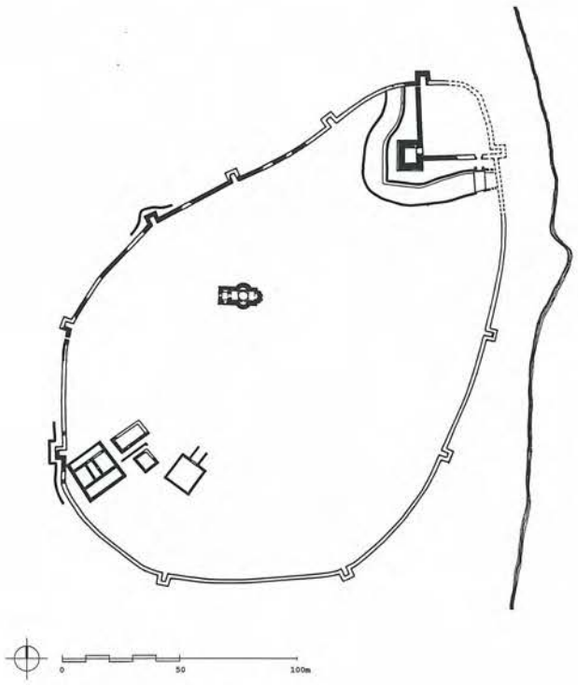
The appearance of private forts built by powerful local strongmen on their own territories left a special mark on the development of fortification architecture in Serbia during the second half of the fourteenth century. This became especially pronounced after the Serbian state began to unravel. One of the early examples of these private strongholds is the fortress of Užice in western Serbia.[173] The exact date of its construction is unknown, but the date of a siege and the capture of its second owner, Nikola Altomanović, in 1373 provide an important *terminus ante quem*. Substantially expanded in later times, especially under the Ottomans, the fortress was built on a characteristically inaccessible location, typical during this period, on the peak of a rocky formation surrounded by the River Djetinja (fig. 727). This natural topography recalls sites such as Maglić. The original fort was a relatively small oval enclosure, with a round-ended, multistoried tower occupying the highest point of the enclosure and projecting on its north side (fig. 728). Measuring merely 15 × 30 meters, the enclosure was entered on the south side. Its small courtyard contained a well related to a cistern for the collection of rainwater and equipped with a special water-filtering system.

The rapid expansion of the Ottoman state into the Balkans during the second half of the fourteenth century, especially after the Battle of Marica (Evros) River in 1371, induced many significant changes. Not only was there a dramatic intensification in fortress construction, but also a constant shifting of administrative centers, on account of the territorial shrinking of all the Christian states. Within just over six decades, for example, the state of Serbia was compelled to change its capital three times. After the loss of its southern territories, it was first moved to Kruševac, subsequently to Belgrade, and ultimately to Smederevo, where it remained until the final fall of the Serbian state in 1459. The fortified town of Kruševac was the stronghold of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović (1371–89), who emerged as the ruler of Serbia following the disastrous defeat of a large Serbian army at the Battle of Marica, which claimed the lives of several top members of the Serbian aristocracy along with scores of its best troops.[174] Thus Krusĕvac, practically by default, became the capital of Serbia. Its fortified complex consisted of a roughly oval enclosure with a heavily fortified citadel at its northeast corner (fig. 729). The scheme displays remarkable similarities with the fortress of Gynaikokastro, built several decades earlier. As at Gynaikokastro, the citadel of Kruševac included a massive, multistoried tower, the only partially preserved part of the fortress that is still standing. Common wisdom would suggest that Prince Lazar's palace was situated within the walls of the citadel, but the badly preserved surviving portions of the citadel have not been archeologically explored. An archaeological discovery of a large building at the opposite side of the main enclosure,

727 Užice, Fortress, general view in the 19th century; engraving (S. Gopčević)

728 Uzice, Fortress, original medieval state; plan and section





729 Krusevac, Fortified town; plan

close to the city gate, has been labeled "the palace."[175] Surviving only in its foundations, this building qualifies as a "palace" almost exclusively on account of its size. The fortress of Belgrade, constructed under Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427) was the next major fortress to be built in Serbia. We will discuss it, however, under the "Urban Developments" section below.

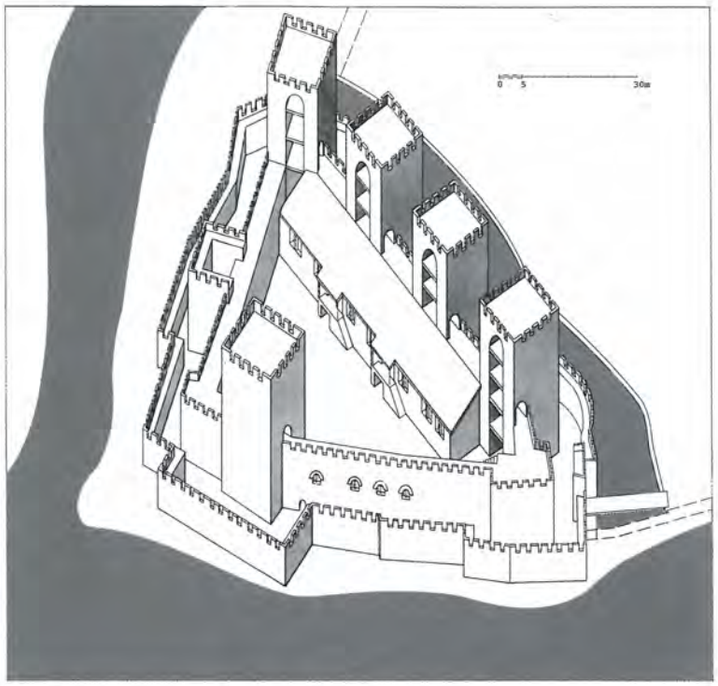
By far the largest and historically most important fortification complex in Serbia was its last fortified capital on the Danube – Smederevo (fig. 730).[176] Following the loss of Belgrade to the Hungarians, after the death of Despot Stefan Lazarević in 1427, his successor, Djuradj Branković, made the decision to build a new capital at Smederevo. The great fortress was built in two main stages. The first, from 1428 to 1430, involved the building of the citadel with the despot's palace. The second, from 1430 to 1439, witnessed the construction of the city walls. The site chosen for the new capital was a flat piece of land naturally defined by two bodies of water – the Danube and its small tributary, Jezava. The initial construction phase involved building the citadel at the very confluence of the two rivers, as an independent fortification accommodating Djuradj Brankovćs's palace and further protected by a moat connecting the two rivers (fig. 731). Thus,

730 Smederevo, Fortified town; present state, aerial view

the citadel was effectively made into a small island surrounded by water on all sides and accessible only via a drawbridge. Organized around a triangular court, the palace had two main wings, one of which was attached to the interior, southern wall, and another one, with a large ceremonial hall overlooking the Danube, on the north side.[177] The remaining Late Gothic windows of that hall are the only tangible architectural features of the entire palace to survive. As in the Byzantine Empire, so also in Serbia, no palace from this or any earlier period has been preserved. Better preserved are the walls of the citadel, initially fortified by five projecting towers, while a sixth was added later. One of the five original towers – the donjon – was slightly larger than the rest. Fully enclosed, it was also characterized by the use of vaulting. One of the four towers facing south features on its exterior wall an elaborate decorative display executed in brick (fig. 732). This consists of a giant double cross and an inscription 10.65 meters long and 1.2 meters high. The two-line inscription in Old Church Slavonic records the name of Despot Djuradj and gives a date, 1430, the presumed completion date of the citadel. As noted earlier in this chapter, monumental façade inscriptions, particularly the type executed in brick, became quite common in Late Byzantine architecture, appearing on churches as well as on fortifications.

Preceded by a moat, the four towers facing the interior of the large enclosure must have been conceived initially as an important line of defense against possible land invasion. At the time of its implementation here, however, this age-old defensive principle had been rendered obsolete by the introduction of firearms and the resulting ability of an enemy to bombard the fortification from a distance, from both land and ships. The introduction of firearms as the major innovation in warfare technology coincided with the Ottoman incursion into the Balkans. The casting of cannon is recorded in Dubrovnik as early as 1351. Its first use in Serbia is recorded in 1373, but its actual impact on the design of fortifications lagged decades behind the deployment of the new weapon. The citadel of Smederevo, completed in 1430, may in fact be one of the earliest, if not the very first, instances where provisions were made for the defensive deployment of twenty light cannon as an integral part of new construction. This involved niches with specially designed loopholes within the massive thickness of the outer, lower wall, just bellow the crenelated walkway suitable for cold-steel warfare. We have no indication that Byzantine builders used such features in their fortification architecture. Their use in Serbia came too late to be of any consequence in the last years of its independence.

The triangular layout of the large enclosure, conceptually resembling Constantinople though on a considerably smaller scale, was arrived at by extension of the miniature model of the initially built citadel. The enclosed main area, originally popu-



731 Smederevo, Citadel; axonometric reconstruction

732 Smederevo, Citadel, main tower; south face

733 Smederevo, Danube line of fortifications

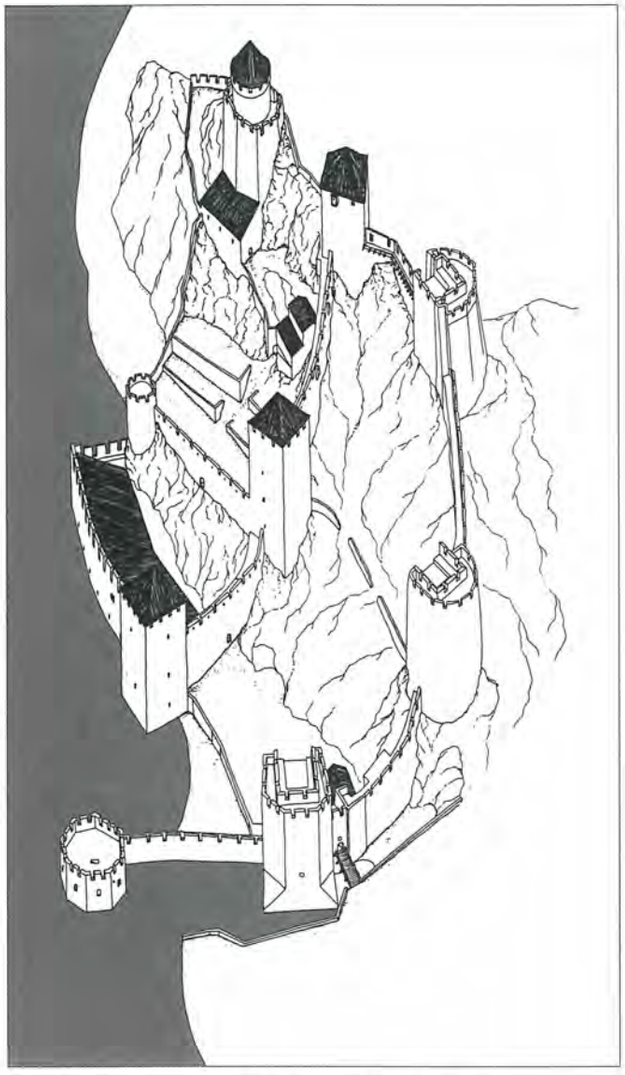
lated, covered approximately 10 hectares. Approached through the main gate in the south wall, the town could also be entered through several smaller, secondary gates. The enclosure features projecting towers, but these reveal differences of design and are not regularly spaced as might be expected. With the exception of two towers that are semicircular in plan, all of the remaining nineteen are rectangular. The four towers facing the Danube were abutted against the curtain wall, initially built without any towers, so that their lower parts were closed to the interior of the fortress. All of the other towers were open on the inside from the ground up. It is not inconsequential that the four towers facing the Danube are also the only ones to employ a rich decorative brickwork vocabulary (fig. 733). Since we happen to know from historical sources that Greek builders were to some extent involved in the construction of Smederevo, it may be possible to associate these four towers with their activities. On the other hand, rectangular open towers were commonly built in Serbian fortifications already in the fourteenth century, whereas they were relatively rare in Byzantine fortifications during the same period. This problem, needless to say, requires further study. In all other respects the general principles of fortification construction correspond to those in use in Serbia during the preceding century. A comparison with Maglić, built at least a century earlier, confirms that the articulation of towers, curtain walls, crenelations, and all other details appears to have remained standard during the last century of Serbian military architecture. One could go as far as proposing that during a century of generally intensive fortification construction, a tradition based on continuous need, training, and practice evolved into a specifically Serbian paradigm. Despite some modest efforts to adapt to new warfare technology, the general characteristics of this paradigm reveal its essentially conservative nature, and Smederevo in many respects stands out as a fortification in a class of its own, not least by virtue of its size. It was also the first major fortress

734 Golubac, Fortress; aerial view

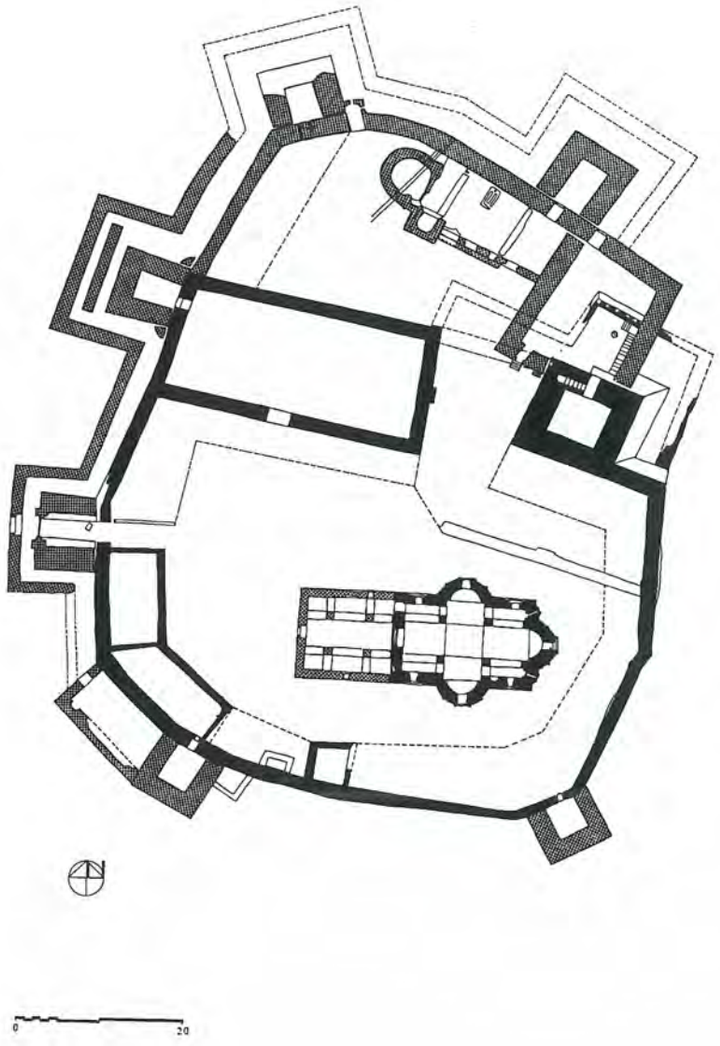
in the Balkans to be built on flat land since Justinian I gradually abandoned the practice, in favor of building fortifications on elevated peaks. The return to flat terrain displays another historical irony – Smederevo was built on the banks of the Danube, the very frontier the Byzantines were compelled to abandon as the Avar and Slavic tribes began their incessant raids into the Balkan peninsula nine centuries earlier.

One of the most impressive and at the same time most enigmatic fortresses from this period is the fortress at Golubac, also on the Danube, some 80 kilometers downstream from Smederevo (fig. 734).[178] Built on a spectacular rocky formation at the entrance into the Iron Gate gorge, we know practically nothing about its history. The sources suggest that it was in existence by 1335, but this might apply only to an upper part of the fortress. The rest appears to have been the work of the later fourteenth century or the first half of the fifteenth. The fortress is divided into an outer and an inner part by a transverse wall with a tower – a feature encountered elsewhere during this period (fig. 735). Each of the two parts is also subdivided into a lower section, close to the river, and an upper section. With the exception of the tower at the highest point, all six of the other main towers were originally rectangular in plan. The outer towers were modified by the additions of exterior masonry, adding thickness to their walls and creating smoother exterior surfaces better suited for deflecting gunfire. The date of these interventions is unknown. It was the Ottomans who probably added the low octagonal tower, to shield a small harbor. The interior part of the fortress, along the bank of the Danube, contained a monumental palace, whose characteristics have much in common with the one at Smederevo, though its state of preservation is equally poor.[179]

Before leaving the discussion of Serbian fortification architecture, it is important to consider another specifically regional phenomenon, whose appearance sheds additional light on the particularly troubled times of the period. We are referring here



735 Golubac, Fortress; aerial reconstruction drawing



736 Ravanica Monastery; plan

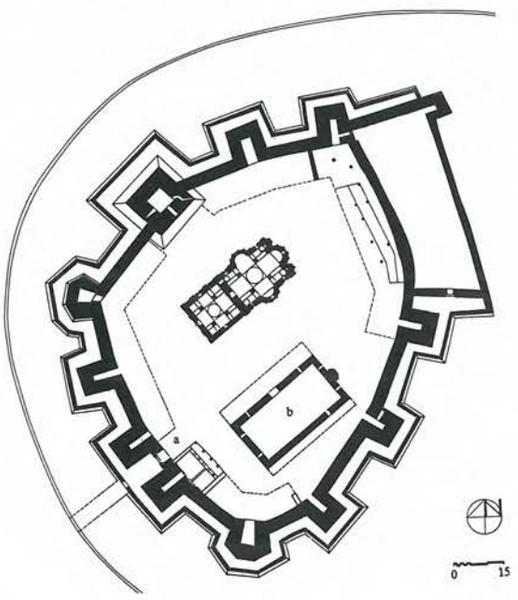
to two heavily fortified monastic complexes that appeared in Serbia during the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth. The older of the two – Ravanica Monastery – is located 11 kilometers from Ćuprija, Serbia, in a secluded green valley on the banks of a small river (fig. 736).[180] Founded by Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, Ravanica became known for a number of reasons. Its church, among other things, was to become the mausoleum of its founder, and as a result of his martyr cult, it also became a martyrium and a pilgrimage center of prime importance. The church will be a subject of a more detailed discussion later in this chapter (p. 674). Second, within its scriptorium, monks participated in the writing and copying of manuscripts. Thus, behind the fortified walls of this monastery flourished one of the most important cultural centers in Serbia of the time. Its fortifications were built in two successive stages. During the first the monastery was surrounded by a roughly oval wall focused on the main church situated in the center. To the northwest of the church arose the main monastery tower, measuring 11 × 11 meters in plan. The massive construction of its walls, almost 3 meters thick, indicates that it had several stories, though only the lowest two survive. Equipped with a chapel, the tower was part of a longstanding tradition of such structures. The monastery enclosure had no other towers; even its entrance was intitially protected by a gate alone. Sometime after the completion of the monastery, it underwent an expansion to the north acquiring a massive system of new fortifications. The northern expansion was enclosed by a new exterior wall integrally built with two new towers. Four comparable towers were added at the same time to the old enclosure wall. One of these towers provided special protection for the main

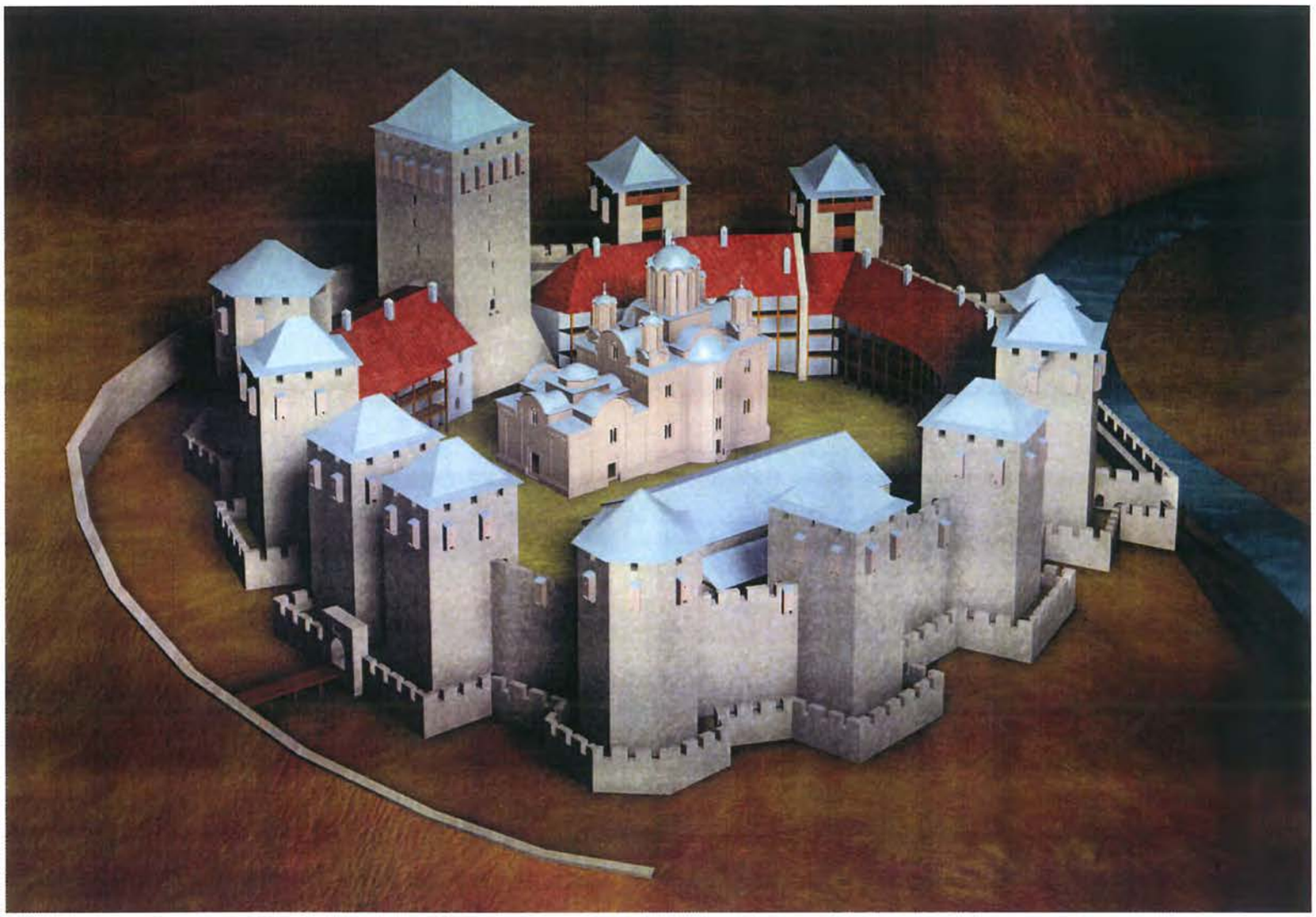
737 Manasija Monastery; aerial view

gate. Finally, a lower wall separated by a ditch from the main line of the enclosure was built around two-thirds of the complex at least. These interventions clearly point to the growing need for greater security as a result of more frequent Ottoman incursions, especially after the fatal Battle of Kosovo in 1389. Since we know from the sources that Ravanica itself was specifically targeted in one of these early raids in 1398, it is likely that the strengthening of its fortifications occurred then, though firm proof for the construction date is lacking. Regardless when the fortifications of Ravanica were upgraded, at the time of its completion with its seven towers Ravanica Monastery must have not only resembled, but also must have functioned, as a veritable fortress in its own right.

Built by Prince Lazar's son and successor, Stefan Lazarević, Manasija (also known as Resava) Monastery, clearly suggests that

738 Manasija Monastery; plan





739 Manasija Monastery; hypothetical reconstruction, computer model

the second phase of the defensive construction at Ravanica must have been complete by that time (fig. 737).[181] Manasija Monastery, even if it were not renowned for its church architecture and frescoes, would certainly have been noted as an important monument of military architecture (fig. 738). Its roughly oval layout is based on the general concept of a walled monastery enclosure customary in Serbia since the end of the twelfth century.[182] Here, it was also ascribed a symbolic role, as an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The established monastic enclosure was transformed into a mighty fortress by a system of walls with eleven massive projecting towers, enveloped by another, lower wall separated from the main line of defenses by a ditch (fig. 739). Two of the eleven towers are polygonal, while the rest are rectangular in plan. All but one are open toward the interior enclosure, in a manner consistent with noted Serbian practice. The complex is entered through a gate on the west side flanked by a pair of narrowly spaced towers. Such a twin-tower entrance is essentially unknown in the Late Byzantine world, although it was fairly common in the West. The possibility of its having been derived from Western military architecture should not be dismissed, any more than its symbolic role as a city gate of the "Heavenly Jerusalem." A much lower, outer wall surrounded the entire complex, enhancing the effectiveness of the defenses. The fortress is dominated by a single massive tower, the so-called donjon, a masterpiece of military architecture in its own right (fig. 740).[183] Measuring 14.6 × 14.6 meters in plan (20 × 20 m at the bottom of its battered base), it rises seven stories to a height of 35 meters. As such, this is one of the largest medieval fortified towers in the Balkans. Its penultimate story has a system of corbelled enclosed machicolations, another

740 Manasija Monastery; general view from N

apparently Western concept that may have made its first, delayed appearance in Serbian architecture in this very building.

Serbian fortifications of the late fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth reveal the extent of the effort to build effective defenses against the inevitable – a massive Ottoman invasion whose arrival was only a question of time. As the Byzantines and the Bulgarians had attempted to do before them, the Serbs invested in a major way in military architecture. At the very end of this period of utmost anxiety, they recognized the meaning and value of the cannon – a new weapon that was bound to revolutionize the history of warfare and military architecture. The collapse of Serbia in 1459, however, preempted any serious development of fortification design in that direction. Ironically, it would be left to the Ottomans to carry forward the "modernization" of some of the conquered Serbian fortresses for their own needs.

URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

The urbanization of Serbia was a slow process that began with the establishment of the state in the late twelfth century. The process is inadequately known and has been the subject of limited studies by local historians and essentially none by the outsiders.[184] The problems of approaching the subject are multiple, ranging from the difficulties of interpretation of medieval terminology, to the dismal state of preservation of urban centers and the archaeological inaccessibility of material in modern urban contexts. The term *grad* in Old Church Slavonic has a number of meanings ranging from a "city" or "town" as a settlement, to a fortified stronghold, with or without an urban settlement in its vicinity. Thus, identification on the basis of a strictly textual reference referring to a *grad* can be misleading,

unless it can be supported by archaeological evidence. Another discouraging aspect of urban studies within the framework of medieval Serbia is the fact that no larger medieval urban fabric has been preserved anywhere; only bits and pieces have come to light through limited excavations. We will highlight the main known aspects of four important Serbian urban centers from the period.

Skopje

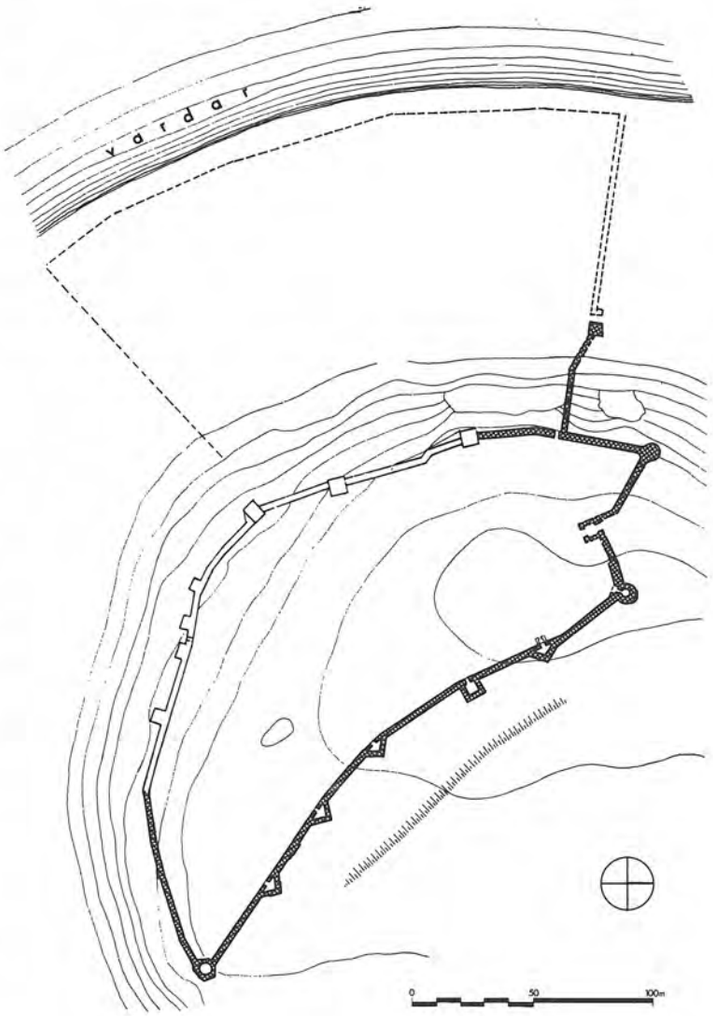
The Serbs took Skopje (now the capital of the FYROM), along with a large swath of Byzantine territory, in 1282, following a tumultuous period in its history.[185] During the thirteenth century Skopje had changed hands nine times, never remaining in anyone's possession for more than a few years. The Byzantines, who had made Skopje into an administrative center in the eleventh century, conceded its final loss to the Serbs as part of the negotiated peace treaty with King Milutin. Skopje was to remain in Serbian hands until the Ottomans stormed it in 1392. Historical sources refer to many buildings from the Serbian period, but none has survived and none has even been pinpointed archaeologically. Only the ruins of its fortress, Kale, atop a hill rising above the River Vardar (Axios in Greek) and dominating the surrounding area, remain a testimony to the city's medieval past (fig. 741). The location may have been first selected for the construction of a fortress at the time of Justinian I, but it continued to be used and modified in later centuries. The Serbs contributed to that process, especially under King Milutin and his grandson, Stefan Dušan, who made Skopje the capital of the Serbian state. It was in Skopje that Dušan was crowned the "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks" in 1346, and where in 1349 he issued, in the good imperial tradition, his own law code. During the fourteenth century a settlement below the walls of the fortress was surrounded by its own walls, whose sides reached up to the walls of the main fortress. The city is said have had four royal palaces, two built by Milutin, and two by Stefan Dušan. King Milutin is known to have restored the cathedral church of the Mother of God Tricheiroussa ("The Three-Handed Virgin"), originally built in the eleventh century by the Byzantines. He is also credited with the building of the churches of SS. Constantine and Helena "in the city" and St. John the Baptist "in the town below the fortress." Other churches, referred to only by their names – St. George, two churches of St. Nicholas, St. Prokopios, and the Savior – were located in the city, but their donors and locations are unknown. Various archaeological finds discovered out of context are basically all that remain of the Serbian capital referred to in the sources as the "glorious imperial city."

Nonetheless, much can be learned about medieval Skopje and the architectural activity associated with it – at least in general terms – if one considers some of the surviving churches situated in its vicinity that belong to the period under consideration.[186] Built largely, though not exclusively, as privately funded monastic churches, the surviving monuments in the immediate and in the more distant surroundings of Skopje point to a concentration of builders in the region that marks Skopje as one of the most important architectural centers of the fourteenth-century Balkans. Its rise took place during the second decade of the fourteenth century, at the same time that the other two important regional centers – Thessaloniki and Ohrid – experienced a period of decline. In part this can be explained by the general decline of imperial patronage in Byzantium, but it cannot be fully understood if the swift economic rise of Serbia is not taken into account. It was sometime around 1310 that King Milutin, who had built very little during the first twenty years of his reign, suddenly emerged as the major patron of architecture, essentially wresting that role from the Byzantine emperor. Inasmuch as we have no surviving evidence of his building activity in Skopje itself, the small church of St. Niketas near the village of Čučer-Banjani on its outskirts provides some useful insights into the beginning of this new pattern of patronage (fig. 742). The church, possibly built in 1307 but decorated with frescoes only *circa* 1320, provides us with the first evidence of the import of builders and artists from Byzantium into Serbia under the auspices of the enterprising Serbian king. The church belongs to a local variant of the cross-in-square type, its naos slightly elongated and its dome supported on four piers rather than columns (fig. 744A).[187] Measuring 7 × 11 meters, this is a relatively small church, of a type that became quite popular in this region over the following decades. It is articulated externally by means of triple recessed blind arcades that appear to relate to the structural disposition of the interior. The seemingly conservative solution was not implemented fully, for the interior walls are smooth and have no matching pilasters, as would be normal in Middle Byzantine architecture in this part of the Balkans. Its building technique, and especially the form and the execution of its dome, point unmistakably to Thessaloniki as the source of the builder. On the whole, the church fits the description of the "Thessalonikan paradigm" defined earlier (see fig. 691B).

A quarter of a century later, under King Stefan Dušan, a new wave of intensive construction took place in and around Skopje. A considerable number of local noblemen, inspired by the royal example, became engaged in endowing private monasteries. As in the case of Constantinople under Andronikos II, women evidently also played an important role here.[188] *Circa* 1330 a woman by the name of Marena, together with a certain Radoslav, and another woman, Vladislava, commissioned the church of Vavedenje Bogorodice (the Presentation of the Virgin), also known as Sv. Spas (Holy Savior) in the village of Kučevište, on the out-

skirts of Skopje (fig. 743).[189] The church uses a variant of the plan seen at Čučer-Banjani, but it has identical dimensions – 7 × 11 meters (fig. 744C). It is an elongated cross-in-square type, the main exception here being that the southeastern compartment is completely blocked off and accessible only from the sanctuary. Furthermore, the tiny, chapel-like compartment is two-storied, its second level made accessible by wooden stair. The church is marked externally by a system of blind arcades of similarly conservative nature to those at Čučer-Banjani and also without a clear structural relationship to the interior. Its main apse exterior is remarkable for its series of five semicircular niches, deeply cut into the masonry and reminiscent of Constantinopolitan churches. The dome again unmistakably points to Thessaloniki as the most likely source of its builders. The same may be said for the church of St. Nicholas in the village of Ljuboten on the slopes of Skopska Crna Gora, built in 1337 by another aristocratic lady by the name of Danica.[190] This church is also based on a plan of the same type as St. Niketas, and is only slightly larger, measuring 8 × 12 meters (fig. 744E). Its system of exterior articulation, as well as its building technique, closely resembles the church at Kučevište, while its dome appears to have been a close copy of the two churches already identified with Thessalonikan builders. Badly damaged, the dome was incompetently restored in 1928, altering its original appearance.

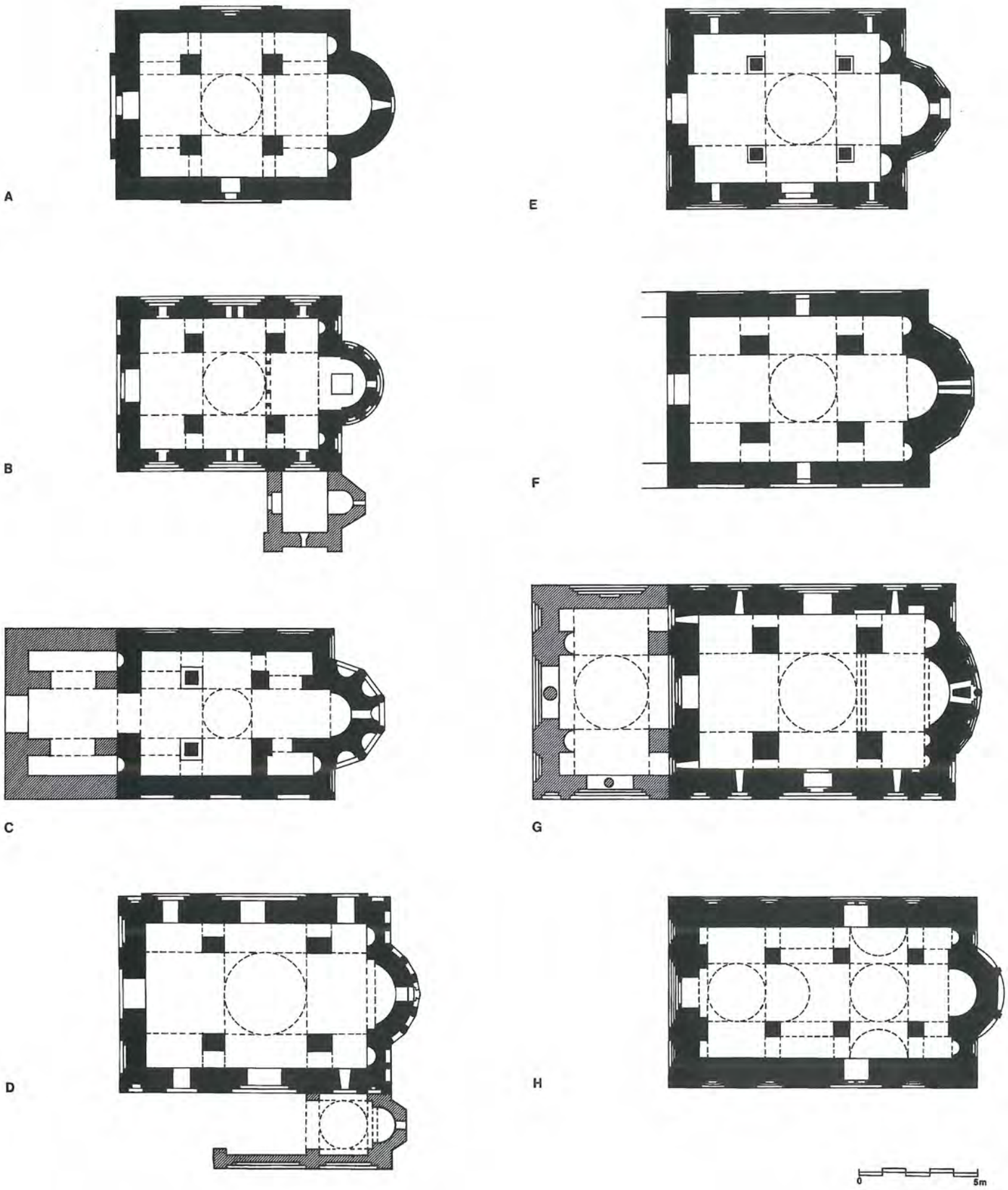
Whereas Thessalonikan influence appears to have dominated the architectural development of Skopje during the first decades after 1300, by the fifth decade a local architectural idiom appears to have taken over. The phenomenon has not been sufficiently illuminated, but its origins must be understood as a result of the intensive building activity in Skopje following its elevation to



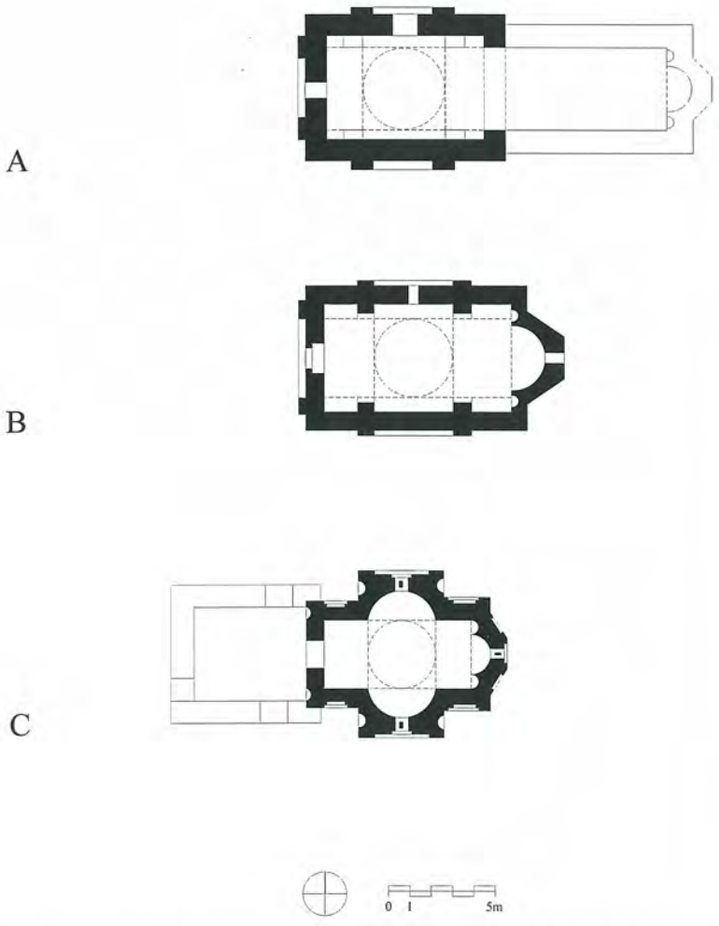
741 Skopje, Kale and fortified lower town; plan

742 Čučer-Banjani, St. Niketas; general view from NE

743 Kučevište, Presentation of the Virgin; general view from NE



744 Private churches: (A) Mušutište; (B) Cučer-Banjani; (C) Kučevište; (D) Štip, Holy Archangels; (E) Ljuboten; (F) Konče; (G) Lesnovo; (H) Psača; plans



745 "Skopian paradigm" churches: (A) Šiševo; (B) Matka (C) Andreaš; plans

746 Šiševo, St. Nicholas at Nir; general view from NW

the status of the capital of Serbia. At that moment, the role of leadership in architectural production in the eastern Balkans fully passed from the Byzantines to the Serbs. The architectural idiom that evolved is labeled here the "Skopian paradigm" (fig. 698C). As in the case of the Thessalonikan input, we can gain the sense of the "Skopian paradigm" not from the buildings in Skopje itself – for none survives – but from churches preserved in the city's vicinity. The greatest concentration of the relevant medieval churches survives in a gorge of a small mountain river, Treska, northwest of the city.[191] This area of spectacular wilderness, dominated by the vertical cliffs of the gorge, was apparently a particular attraction for fourteenth-century monks. Among the buildings that have survived, three will be singled out for our analysis. The two older ones are not dated precisely, though all indications point to the mid-fourteenth century as the probable time of their construction. The monastic church of Sv. Nikola at Nir, near the present-day village of Šiševo, displays all of the principal characteristics of the "Skopian paradigm" (figs. 745A and 746). Situated on a small plateau, the church and the former monastic compound were elevated atop a sheer cliff, some 200 meters above the Treska. Built as an addition to a small single-aisled, barrel-vaulted church, the mid-fourteenth-century structure has all of the markings of a single-aisled domed church, though it occupies the position of a narthex. Measuring only 5 × 6.5 meters in plan, the domed component is a prismatic form dominated by a tall drum that rises from a cubical base with four cross arms visible above the roof of the main building form. The ends of these arms are marked by slightly projecting archivolts resting on pilaster strips, the only projecting features on the otherwise plain façades. The archivolts contain decorative diaper patterns and carefully placed sculptural accents (fig. 747). These involve small oculi, cut into a rectangular slab. The surface of the slab surrounding the oculus on the south façade is decorated with sculptural representations of foliate motifs, various animals, and curious mythological creatures. These features are of significance for they signal the beginning of a trend in Serbian architecture whose full synthesis became manifest only during the last

747 Sisevo, St. Nicholas at Nir; south façade, tympanum

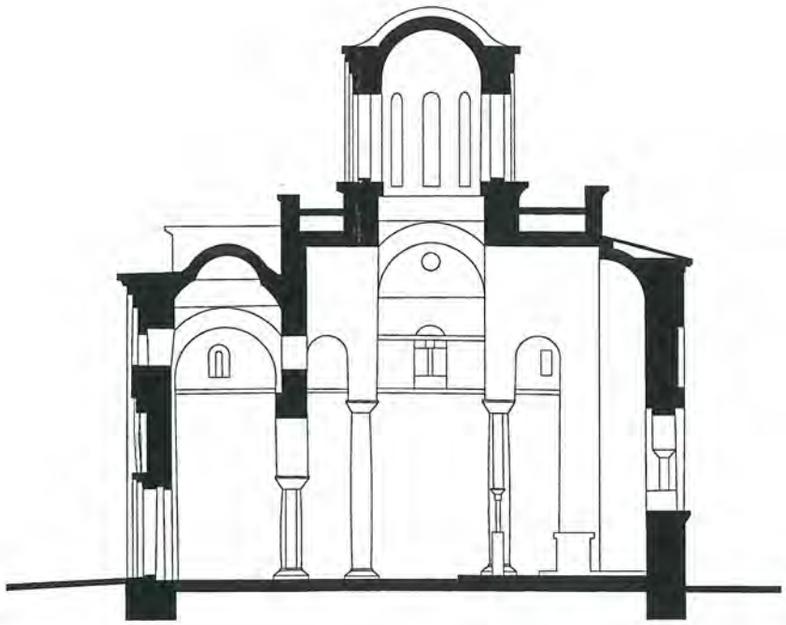
quarter of the fourteenth century. The paradigm that the church of St. Nikolas helps define involves also aspects of construction that were hallmarks of the entire group of churches. Here particularly one should stress the banded construction of the drum and of the arches framing the archivolts on the façades. Closely related to Sv. Nikola at Nir is the church of the Mother of God at Matka, measuring 5 × 9 meters in plan (fig. 754B). Its layout, the formal articulation of the exterior, elongated proportions, and banding of the archivolts and the drum match those of Sv. Nikola (fig. 692C). The two churches appear to be contemporary. We will turn to the third church of this group – belonging to Andreaš Monastery – after we consider two royal foundations, built at the same time as the first two churches of the Treska group.

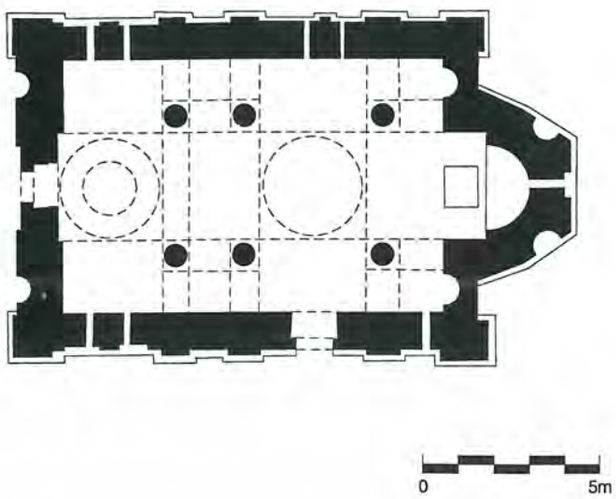
The small monastic churches at Nir and Matka were probably private foundations. Rulers, or members of their immediate families, commissioned two other, larger churches belonging to the same architectural idiom. The first of these, in the village of Sušica in the vicinity of Skopje, belongs to the monastery known as Markov Manastir.[192] Construction of the church began under the auspices of Vukašin Mrnjavčević in 1341, before he became king, and was apparently finished by his son Marko, after his father's death in 1371 (fig. 748). The church, dedicated to St. Demetrius, is one of the finest monuments of this group. Measuring 10 × 16 meters, it belongs to the cross-in-square type, in which the naos and the sanctuary are both contained within the basic square (fig. 749). Four octagonal stone columns support the main dome. Two shorter octagonal columns form a type of

a tribelon that separates the naos from the narthex. The church displays the characteristics of the "Skopian paradigm." Shallow pilaster strips on its façades articulate the layout of the bays within the building. Here the façade articulation is echoed by a related system of pilaster strips in the interior, reflecting a keen sense of structural thinking on the part of the master builder. The church is also characterized by the banded construction of its dome drum and the banded arches framing the archivolts. Archivolts contain fields of decorative patterns with roundels or other centralized motifs in the center of the panel. All of this, it will be recalled, could be seen on the small church of Sv. Nikola. The main difference between the two churches, and other members of the group, lies in the construction technique. Sv. Nikola at Nir, Matka, and several other churches were built using fieldstone and brick in a rather rough manner. St. Demetrius, by contrast, was built of neatly cut sandstone ashlars alternating with two and occasionally three courses of brick. The basic correspondence of other architectural features – pilasters, stone pilaster capitals, tympana, and their decorative ensembles – suggests that the same aesthetic principles were sought, but that they were achieved by different means. Here again one should recall that plastering and painting churches externally was quite common. In fact, Sv. Nikola at Nir has remnants of plaster on its exterior, indicating that the church may have been entirely plastered and painted in imitation of the building *opus*. Later churches in Serbia, as we will see, clearly indicate that the procedure continued to be routinely employed even then.

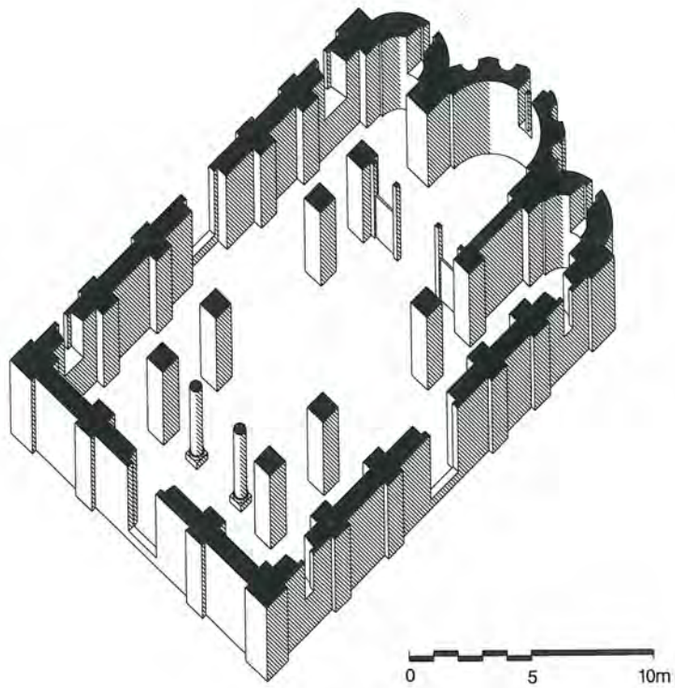
The most representative monument belonging to this period is the church of the Mother of God at Matejić Monastery, on the eastern slopes of Skopska Crna Gora (fig. 751).[193] Though physically quite removed from the immediate environs of Skopje, this important church provides us with the clearest indi-

748 Markov Manastir, St. Demetrius; general view from SE





749 Markov Manastir, St. Demetrius; plan and section



750 Matejić Monastery, Mother of God; axonometric

cation that the "Skopian paradigm" was an architectural product of building practice in Skopje generated under the auspices of the Serbian royal family. The smaller churches that we have seen, though constituting the majority of surviving buildings, must have been offshoots of major, royally sponsored projects. The church at Matejić is a large building, measuring 14 × 24 meters (fig. 750). It features a Constantinopolitan type of cross-in-square plan characterized by a square naos, an extended sanctuary to the east, and a narthex as wide as the church. A large twelve-sided dome carried on four barrel vaults, in turn supported by four piers, crowns the church. Observed in plan and elevation, each of the four piers is part of a cluster of four vertical supporting members. All of the structural components are clearly outlined by means of pilaster strips, matched also by their exterior equivalents. The façades of the church, in fact, constitute one of the clearest expressions of the structural logic of a Byzantine church in all of Late Byzantine architecture with a clear link to Middle Byzantine prototypes. The narthex is separated from the church by a tribelon, while the sanctuary is screened off by an iconostasis. The delineation of spatial units is crystal clear, very much in the spirit of Middle Byzantine architecture, though the similarity between the two traditions stops there. In addition to the main dome, the church is also crowned by four subsidiary domes – two over the eastern pair of compartments flanking the bema, the other two over the outermost bays of the narthex. The church of Matejić thus employs a five-domed scheme, which must have reached Serbia via Thessaloniki. The five-domed church type became very popular at the time. All of the known five-domed churches in Serbia were built under royal auspices, but so far no common functional reason for their construction has been identified. For the church at Matejić we know that it was the foundation of the wife of Stefan Dušan, Jelena, who appears on a fresco as a joint donor with her son and future

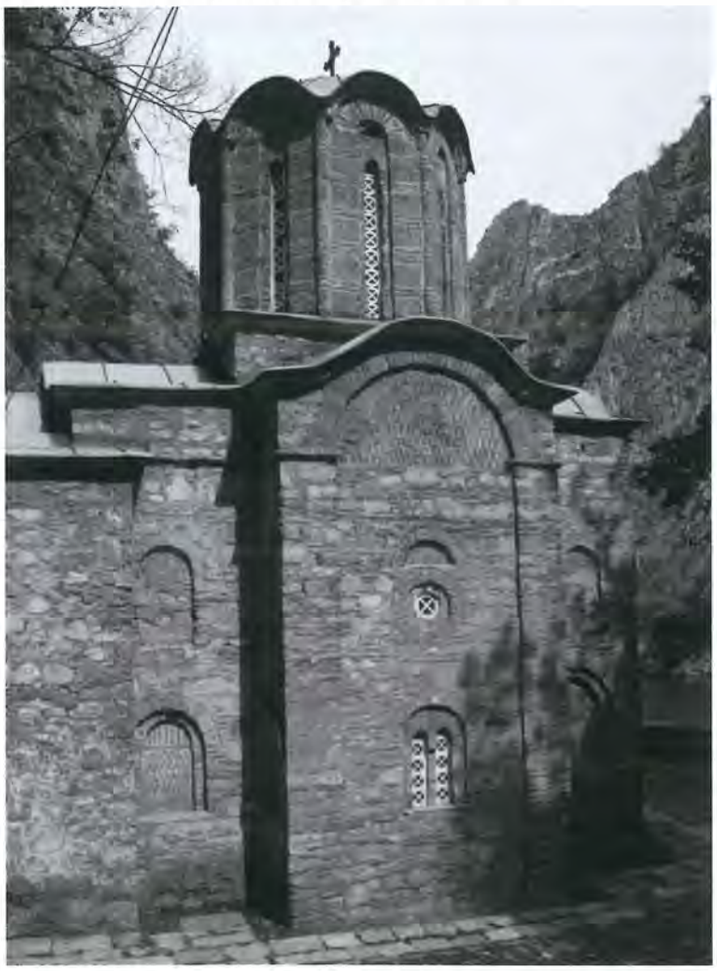
751 Matejić Monastery, Mother of God; general view from SW

emperor (*tsar*), Uroš v. Originally thought to have been built after the death of Stefan Dušan in 1355, the church is now considered to have been started as early as 1343 and to have been completed, together with its fresco decoration, in 1352. It has been proposed that the church may have been built as a mausoleum for Jelena, though all evidence in this regard is circumstantial.

Built nearly four decades later, in 1389, the monastery church of St. Andrew on the Treska, in the so-called Andreaš Monastery, illustrates the persistence of the essential characteristics of the local architectural idiom over a span of five decades (fig. 752).[194] St. Andrew reveals certain idiosyncrasies in its plan, but at the same time a certain adherence to the norms established in the 1340s. The church is a relatively small building measuring 7 × 9 meters in overall dimensions, the narthex being a later addition (fig. 745c). It has a plan in which a free-cross scheme is combined with that of a triconch. The basic body of the church has

the appearance of a single-aisled building, at the center of which two lateral apses open up from the naos. The location and the size of these apses correspond exactly to the position of the dome. The two apses are contained within externally rectilinear masses that rise to the roof level and form the arms of the cross, terminating in arched tympana visually supported by shallow pilaster strips in a manner characteristic of the "Skopian paradigm." The church also follows the tradition of construction typical in the region. Banded arches and the dome drum, as they appear here, echo such a manner of building on all of the other churches we have examined. Furthermore, the walls are built of rough fieldstone and brick with large quantities of mortar. In this case, however, we have unmistakable proof that it was entirely plastered externally and painted with an imitation of a building *opus*. Furthermore, at the bases of the archivolts on the lateral façades are also preserved fragments of an inscription, painted in red letters in obvious emulation of such inscriptions executed in brick.

752 Andreaš Monastery, St. Andrew; general view from S



The "Skopian paradigm" in architecture reached a level of full maturity in the 1350s, on the eve of the Ottoman westward expansion. The full impact of this paradigm would not be felt to the south – although several examples are worth noting – but to the north. In fact, it is safe to say that subsequent development of church architecture in Serbia owes most to the ideas, principles of design, and methods of construction developed in and around Skopje during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Prizren

Second in importance only to Skopje among the Serbian cities of the fourteenth century, Prizren, like Skopje, was a city with a long history. Established by the Romans as Theranda, it played an important role under the Byzantines, known to them as Prisdriana. Disputed by the Byzantines, Bulgarians, and Serbs during the second half of the twelfth century, it passed into Serbian hands in the thirteenth and remained under their control until 1455, when it was taken over by the Ottomans. Prizren, in the region of Kosovo and close to the modern Albanian border, sits at the eastern edge of the Prizren plain, at the point where the River Bistrica emerges from a mountain gorge and begins its meandering course through the plain. Since ancient times the course of a road linking the Adriatic coast with the interior of the Balkans paralleled the Bistrica. Its link to this vital route was Prizren's major asset. From very early on it became a center of commerce, with a large market frequented by traders from different parts. Some of these, as was the case with the merchants from Dubrovnik, had their permanent quarters in Prizren and played an important role in its economic and political life. The Byzantines made Prizren the seat of a bishop in the eleventh century, an ecclesiastical role subsequently retained by all who controlled the city. Under the Serbian king Milutin, Prizren reached a high level of prosperity that it was to maintain until the 1370s, when its steady economic decline began. The wealth accumulating in Prizren during the first half of the fourteenth century affected its urban growth, spurred by private patronage of architecture, following, as in the case of Skopje, the local royal initiative. One of the most picturesque cities in the Balkans and one with a most impressive historical urban matrix, reflecting the city's multicultural makeup throughout its history, thereby gained international recognition.[195] This, unfortunately, did not spare it the wanton destruction during a two-day spree of violence in March 2004, which left six of its Serbian medieval monuments and a section of the upper town either destroyed or extensively damaged.[196]

Protected by its medieval fortress, situated prominently on a hilltop above the urban area, Prizren developed partially in the plain and partially on the slopes of the hill upon which the fortress sits. The lower part of the town was focused on a large market area, surrounded by various facilities related to the com-

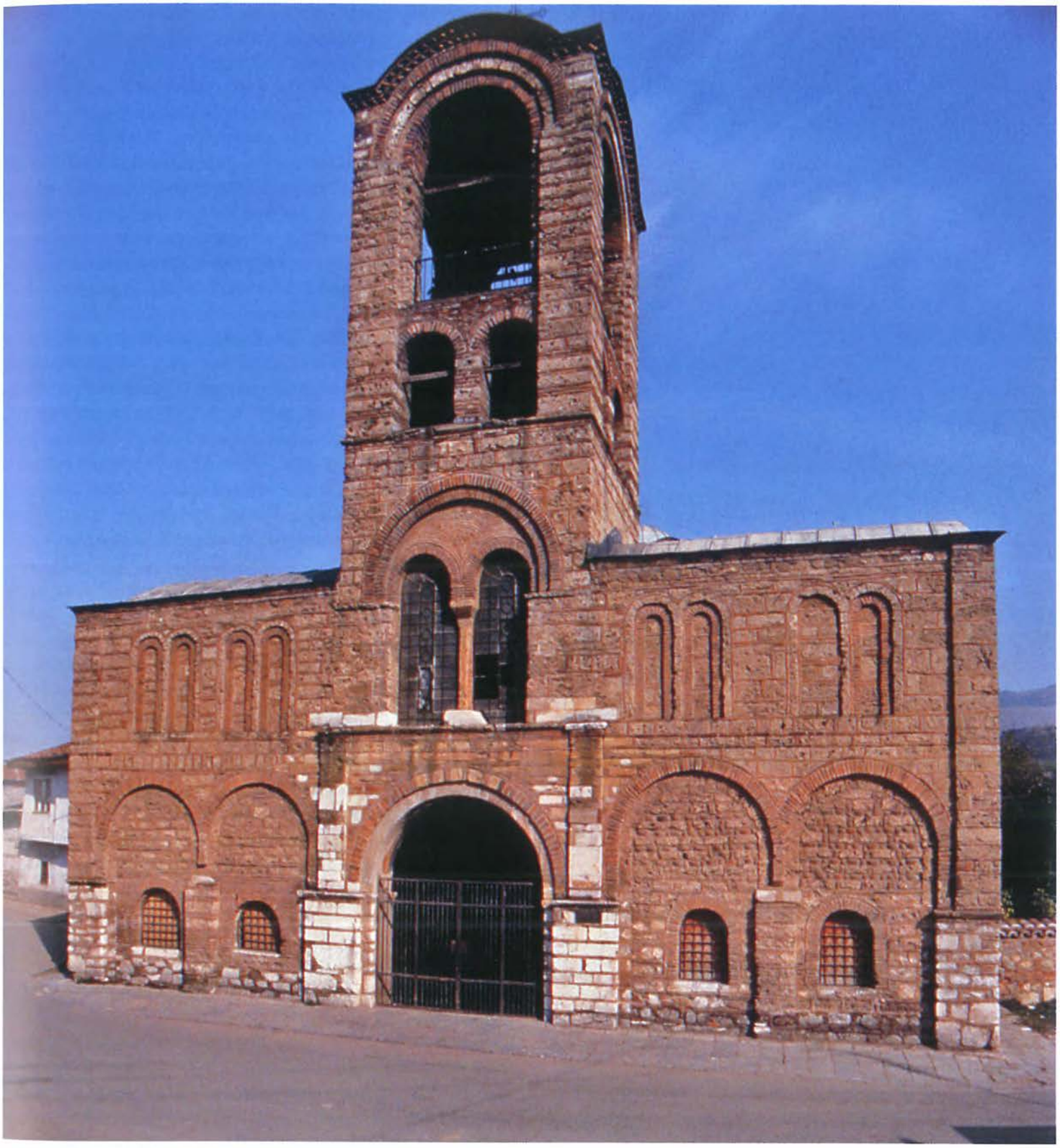
mercial activities that took place there. The residential quarters of the city were situated predominantly on the slopes of the hill. The city is known to have had royal palaces, mentioned in fourteenth-century sources. No traces of these have been preserved. Medieval structures that survived in Prizren were exclusively churches. Pride of place among the Serbian medieval churches in Prizren belongs to the Bogorodica Ljeviška (Mother of God Ljeviška), severely damaged during the March 2004 outpouring of violence. Built on the remains of two older churches, the present building incorporates substantial portions of its immediate predecessor (fig. 753).[197] The new church is a unique building in several different ways. Above all, it is the only Serbian medieval cathedral church to survive. Turned into a mosque as late as the eighteenth century, the church has also preserved its medieval belfry, the only such feature that has survived in any city under Ottoman control. Constructed between 1306 and 1309, this is the first of the three five-domed churches commissioned by King Milutin. The building of the church was

753 Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška; general view from SW

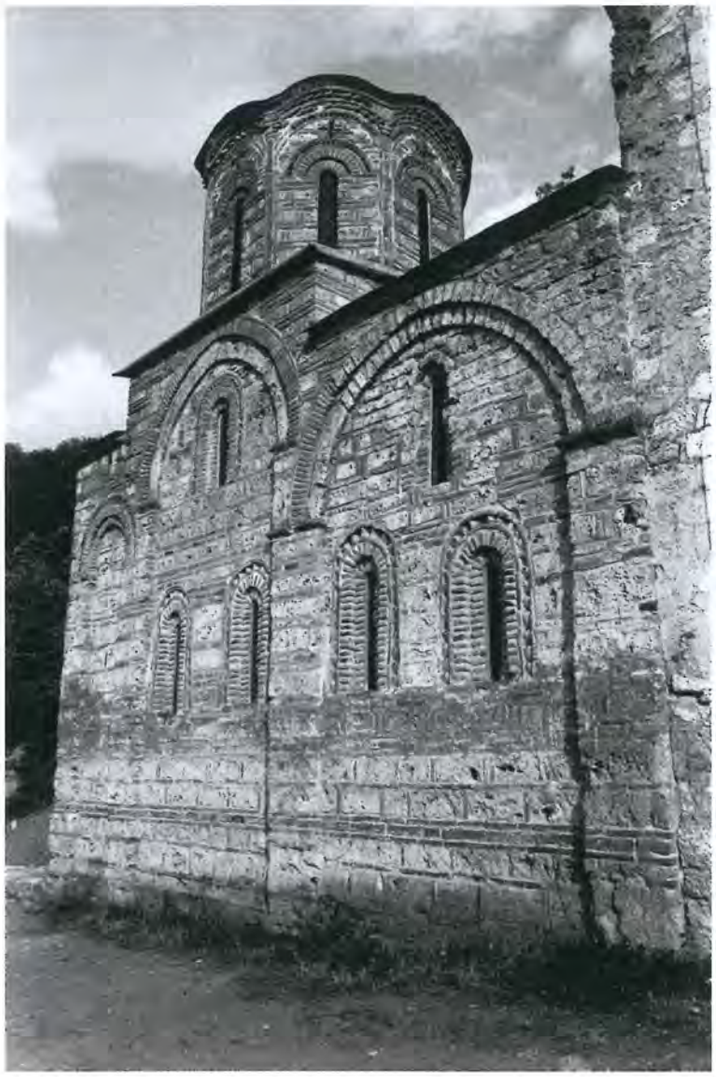
754 Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška; south tympanum

755 Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška; east façade

entrusted to builders from Epiros. It is logical that Prizren, located on a major road that linked the interior of the Balkans with the Adriatic littoral, should have been exposed to the influx of artisans from those parts, as opposed to Skopje, where links were maintained with the Aegean littoral and, above all, with Thessaloniki. Bogorodica Ljeviška has an elongated plan inherited from the eleventh-century basilica and its thirteenth-century successor on the site. The basilican form of the building was completely negated in the superstructure of the new building, where the five-domed cross-in-square scheme was employed. The five-domed church scheme was known in the Epirote context, as we saw in the Parēgorētissa at Arta. The disposition of the domes, their character and scale, as well as the overall proportions of the building, however, could not be more different. The composition of the east façade of the church, the building technique, and various details reveal unmistakably an Epirote master builder of the highest caliber. Particularly revealing is the use of specially cut tiles and ceramic tubular elements for producing decorative effects on the façades. The tympanum on the south side of the church reveals another curiosity – its arch is pointed, in contrast to all the other arches on this building and in contrast to the general form of arches in Byzantine architecture (fig. 754). This has been noted, but it appears to be far more complex than an idea promoted initially and linking this to "Gothic influence" would suggest.[198] The church is also characterized by the presence of monumental inscriptions on its east façade, in this case cut into special tiles made for the purpose (fig. 755). The inscriptions, in Old Church Slavonic, are of major historical significance, mentioning the patron, King Milutin, his dynastic lineage, and his father-in-law, the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II. Moreover, mention is made of two successive bishops of Prizren, Damjan and Sava. The final aspect of this important church that deserves mention is its west façade, dominated by a tall, axially placed belfry (fig. 756). The open arcaded floor of the exonarthex, subsequently enclosed, was clearly intended to relate to some sort of an urban space in front of the



756 Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška; west façade



757 Prizren, Holy Savior; general view from NW

church, as was the case with St. Sophia in Ohrid. In Ohrid, the church also had a belfry that rose above its narthex, but it was dismantled by the Ottomans. The combined evidence of these two churches – Bogorodica Ljeviška and St. Sophia in Ohrid – allows us to contemplate the urban character of cathedral churches in the fourteenth century. This process requires imagination on the part of the reader, for none of the surviving buildings that would have created the "urban setting" survives, and even the two churches mentioned here have been modified. Nonetheless, the information is invaluable in offering unique insights into the role of the urban setting and characteristics of cathedral churches of the period.

The church of Bogorodica Ljeviška is significant for another reason. During its construction, which lasted several years, its master builder must have developed a workshop of sorts in which young apprentices acquired their training. On the slopes of the hill above Bogorodica Ljeviška stands the small church of Sv. Spas (Holy Savior), built in the 1320s or the 1330s by a local man of means, Mladen Vladojević, whose wife and son, are mentioned as the owners of the church in a document of 1348 (fig. 757). The small church, measuring 4.5 × 9 meters in plan, shares many characteristics with Bogorodica Ljeviška, though the quality of its construction is inferior.[199] Among other related features we find also the pointed form of the central archivolt on the lateral façade of the church, surrounded by round-headed arches. Along with other similar cases, the church of Sv. Spas illuminates the general mechanisms of the dissemination of formal and technical aspects of architecture and helps us to understand how specific "paradigms" became established in a certain area. Prizren witnessed widespread church construction during the first half of the fourteenth century, most of them privately funded and quite small in size. The ones that had survived included two churches dedicated to St. Nicholas (one founded by a Dragoslav Tutić and his wife, the other by someone named Ranko), St. George (a Runović family foundation), St. Kyriaki (founded by Prince Marko), and St. Demetrius. All of them were seriously damaged or destroyed during the March 2004 upheaval in Prizren. The number of privately built churches, of which the list of "survivors" is merely a statistical indicator, reflects the level of Prizren's prosperity during the first half of the fourteenth century.

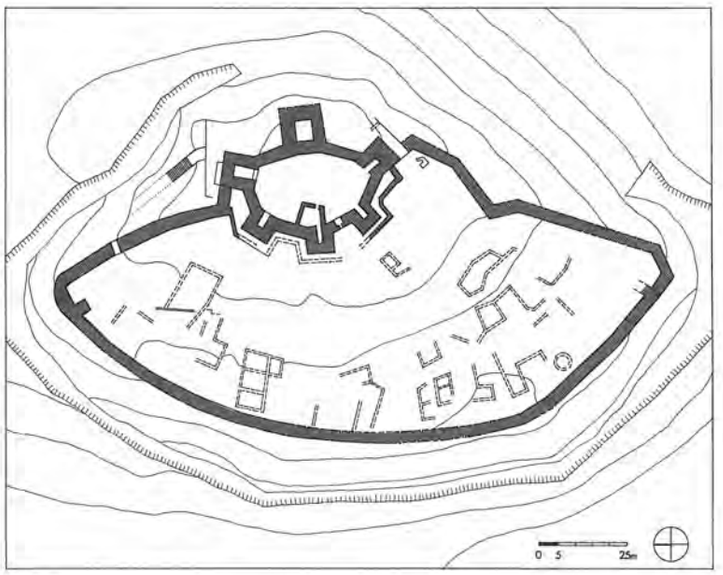
Under the favorable economic conditions spurred by increased activity along the commercial route passing through the city, the "Epirote paradigm" must have reached Prizren via Ohrid. In the waning years of the thirteenth century, as we have seen, the center of activity of Epirote builders had drifted away from Arta, establishing Ohrid as its main new base. Prizren, as a lively commercial center, played an important if relatively short-lived role in the development of architecture in Serbia during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Novo Brdo

Like Prizren, Novo Brdo, also in the region of Kosovo, on account of its economic prosperity, also played an important role in the development of architecture in Serbia around the middle and during the second half of the fourteenth century.[200] The sources of Novo Brdo's wealth, however, were very different from those of Prizren. Novo Brdo came into being as a mining community, situated in the proximity of some of the most important lead and silver mines, which ultimately proved to be the most important source of state revenues. In contrast to Skopje and Prizren, Novo Brdo was essentially a new town. The settlement grew on the eastern slopes of the Mala Planina, about 40 kilometers east of Priština. The mountain peak (altitude

1,100 m) was occupied by a massive citadel, linked on its west side with a walled-in part of the settlement.

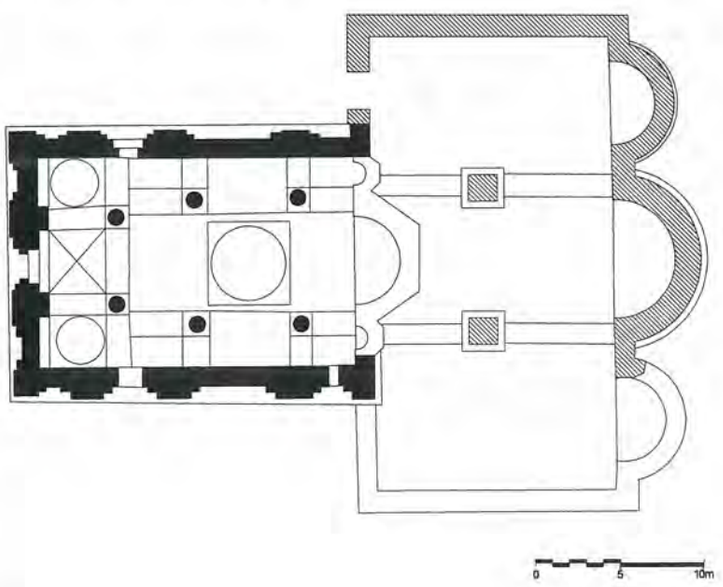
The precise date of the citadel's construction is not known, but it must have happened after 1319, the date of the first written record of the town itself. The citadel, whose roughly oval plan measures 50 meters along its longer axis, occupies the apex of a conical hill and is heavily fortified with six massive towers (fig. 758). One of these was fully enclosed and apparently taller than the rest. This may have been the donjon, which may also have had a residential function. The other five towers, much like the four towers at Maglić and in other fortresses in Serbia, were completely open toward the interior court of the citadel. The entire citadel was built exclusively of local fieldstone in a very rough construction technique. Polychromatic decorative effects were achieved by using hard reddish stone for quoins on all of the towers, and for a large cross in the middle of the exterior face of the main tower.

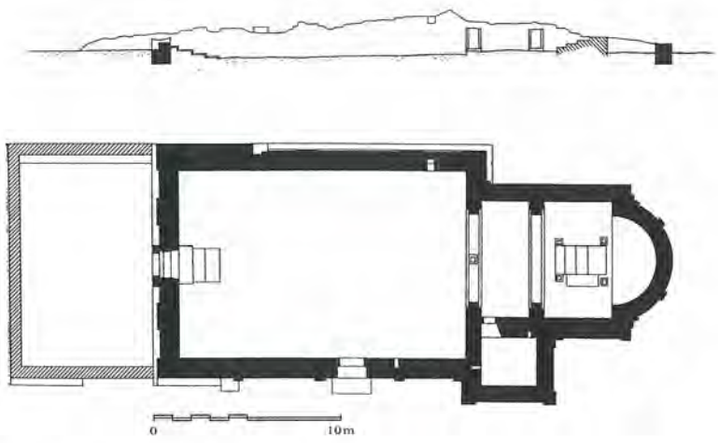


758 Novo Brdo, Citadel; plan

A wealth of medieval sources reveals that the town of Novo Brdo was renowned for its rich cultural profile and its ethnic diversity. From the documents preserved in the Dubrovnik archives, it is clear that the majority population was Serbian, but other groups lived there as well, among them Italians, Greeks, Albanians, and Jews, as well as citizens of Dubrovnik and other cities from the Adriatic littoral – Kotor, Bar, and Ulcinj. The actual urban area of the town has been explored only sporadically, though the position of a large number of buildings has been recorded on the basis of the visibility of their walls below rubble, under which their remains lie buried. Several churches have undergone somewhat closer scrutiny, facilitating some general comments. The most important church that has been investigated in some detail was the town's cathedral, situated northeast of the citadel. The building is highly unusual in several respects. It was built in two distinct phases, each of which is deserving of attention in its own right (fig. 759). Its first phase saw the construction of a church measuring 11 × 17 meters in plan, whose layout recalls the somewhat smaller church of St. Demetrius at Markov Manastir, with which it may well be contemporary. The church was also characterized by façades enlivened by a system of blind arcades, but they were marked by triple skewbacks, echoing the more conservative design approach. While the layout and the conception of the façade articulation may be comparable to the stylistically Byzantine architecture prevalent in Serbia at the time, its actual execution reveals masters more in tune with Western building practice. The church was built entirely of stone, using alternating layers of lighter and darker ashlars, resulting in a banded exterior effect. Most important is that the building was externally decorated with low-relief sculpture, closely related in character to architectural sculpture found in Serbia after 1370. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of this very important building; we do not even know its dedication. General consensus places its construction around 1350. At a somewhat later time, the east end of the church was demolished and a large new extension added beyond the limits of the original church, which now effectively became a type of a narthex, the floor area of the building effectively tripling in size. The new church is 20.5 meters wide and 14.5 meters long; the total length of the building with the old part included reaching 28.5 meters, made it a relatively large

759 Novo Brdo, Cathedral; plan





760 Novo Brdo, "Saska crkva"; plan

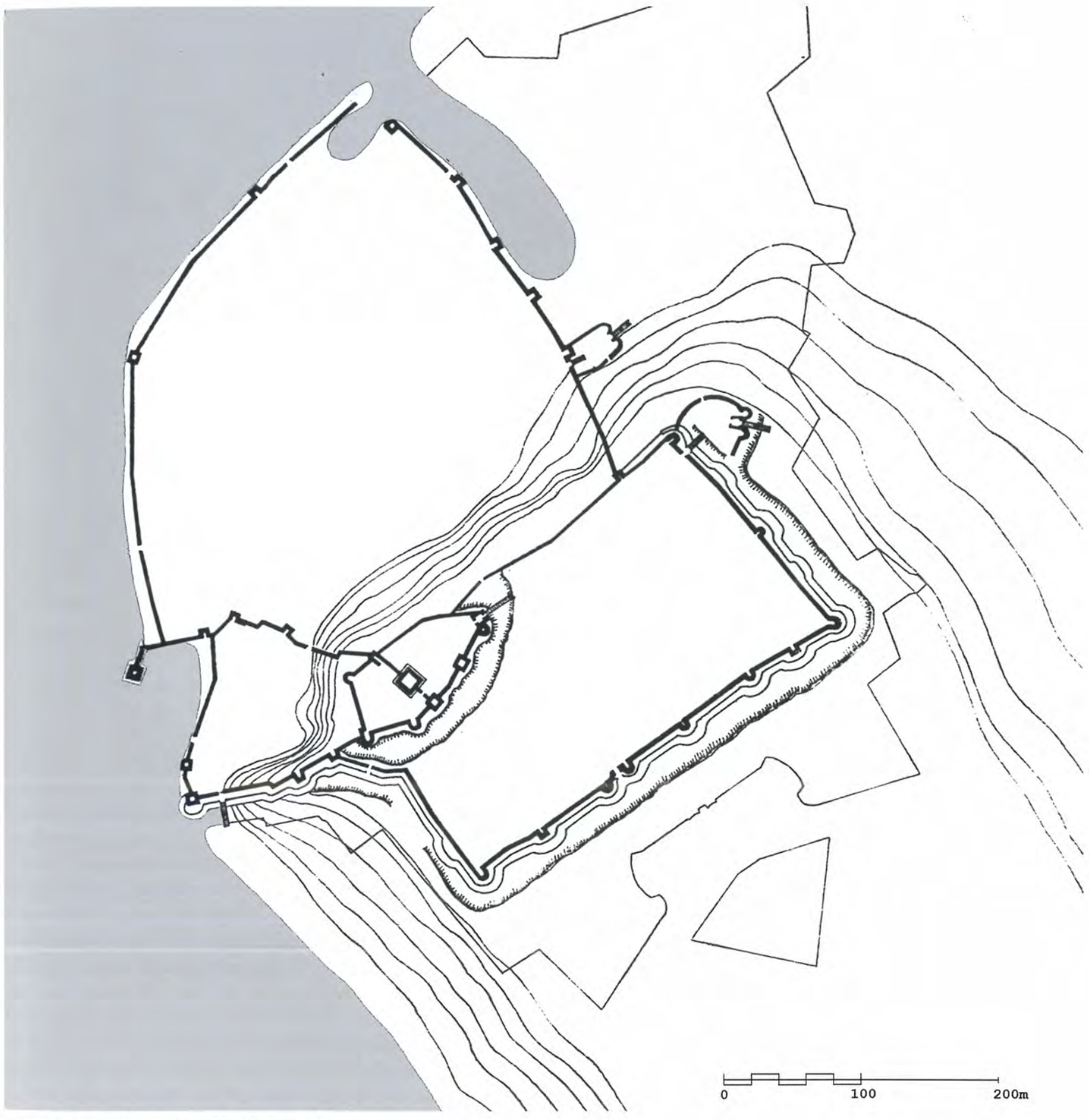
church by contemporary standards. The addition consisted of a large rectangle articulated on the east side by three apses, round both inside and outside. The interior space was subdivided into three aisle-like spaces by two massive square piers, measuring 1.5 × 1.5 in plan. The exact structural role of these piers is unclear. The most remarkable aspect of this part of the church is that it contained built as well as rock-cut tombs under the floor, filling the available space almost entirely. The appearance of tombs in the main church as well as around it – more than 900 individual tombs were archaeologically recorbded – is indicative both of the population size and of the fact that this church was of central importance for the community of Novo Brdo. Like the original church, the addition was built of alternating courses of different colored ashlars, but their architectural schemes otherwise seem to have had little in common. In its building technique, architectural conception, and the extensive accommodation of floor tombs throughout, the second-phase building reveals strong Western influence.

The second excavated church deserving of notice in Novo Brdo is known as the "Saška Crkva." Situated approximately 1 kilometer southeast of the citadel, in an area that was evidently not too heavily populated, this church has been identified in scholarship as the Catholic church of St. Mary, referred to in the sources as "Santa Maria de Nouomonte in Dogni Targ." It was surrounded by a walled enclosure also containing subsidiary buildings that might have had a monastic function. The church, measuring 12.5 × 28 meters, is a fairly large structure in its own right (fig. 760). It is a single-aisled building consisting of a large nave, probably covered by a wooden trussed roof, and a smaller presbytery, probably vaulted and, in this case, terminating in a sizeable round apse. Fitted between the presbytery and the nave is a square chamber identified as a sacristy and possibly also the base of a belfry, but this cannot be confirmed. The church was built using a technique of alternating courses of limestone ashlars and thin brick, though parts of the building – thought to be older – were built in a much cruder technique. The use of stone and brick signals the presence of masons familiar with Byzantine building techniques, and their involvement with a Catholic church may be yet another example of a distinction between the ethnic and religious affiliation of the artisan and those of the patron. Another interesting dimension of this issue is that the numerous fresco fragments discovered during the excavations bore inscriptions in both Latin and in Old Church Slavonic.

The town of Novo Brdo, built under the particularly favorable economic circumstances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while being unique in that sense, provides a wealth of information about late medieval cities in Serbia. Further archaeological work on this important site would no doubt provide much new material that would be helpful in expanding our knowledge about this transitional era.

Belgrade

As the state of Serbia continued to shrink territorially in the course of the later fourteenth century, the need to move its capital became a recurrent necessity. After 1371 Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović had been instrumental in moving the capital from Skopje to Kruševac, in the Morava river basin. After the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and Price Lazar's death, his son and successor, Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427), who acquired the title of despot in 1402, moved the capital once more – to Belgrade, a city with major strategic advantages and a long history. Despot Stefan's decision to move the capital of Serbia to the banks of the Sava and the Danube was followed by an extensive building program that lasted to the end of his life. The centerpiece of this building program was the strengthening of the city's fortifications and the establishment of his official residence.[201] The expanded fortification encompassed an area of 16 hectares, large by the then current standards. Much of the fifteenth-century planning was predetermined by the older fortifications on the site (fig. 761). Starting with a great second-century Roman legionary camp, followed by a twelfth-century Byzantine citadel, all left clear imprints in the shape and the layout of Despot Stefan's upper city. Situated on the edge of a flat plateau overlooking the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, the Byzantine citadel, in fact, determined the location and the plan of the fifteenth-century citadel that, unlike its Byzantine predecessor, became only a relatively small, albeit heavily fortified component of a much larger fortress. The new Belgrade citadel clearly followed closely many of the Byzantine planning features. This included the location of the despot's residence within its walls with a large



761 Belgrade, 15th-century city fortifications; plan

762 Belgrade, "Nebojša Tower"; general view from S

donjon-like tower in the middle. As at Pythion, the main tower was an integral part of a partition wall separating the innermost part of the citadel and accommodating its gate. While the Byzantine input in planning is undeniable, the almost total absence of brick suggests that the actual building teams were local and had no direct contacts with Byzantine practice. Despot Stefan's residence and a large portion of the upper city fortifications were blown up in the late seventeenth century during the Austrian siege of the city.

The quality of the fortifications of Belgrade built under Despot Stefan was tested on two occasions during the fifteenth century. Only thirteen years after his death, Sultan Murad II laid the first (unsuccessful) siege in 1440. Following this, the eastern gates of the upper and lower fortresses were strengthened by the addition of projecting barbicans with large cylindrical twin towers flanking the fore-gates. The so-called Zindan Gate of the upper fortress has preserved its original form intact. Though not entirely on a par with the latest developments in military architecture in the West, the Zindan Gate barbican was equipped with positions for seven cannon, an indication of the preparations undertaken in anticipation of the next Ottoman attack. The attack came relatively soon, in 1456, when Sultan Mehmed II, son and successor of Murad II, returned at the head of an enormous army, but this attempt also ended in failure. The Ottomans finally took Belgrade in 1521, under Süleyman the Magnificent.

Despot Stefan's building program, however, was not focused exclusively on fortifications. Other buildings with which he is credited involve the harbor facilities, the city's cathedral with the adjacent Palace of the Metropolitans, and a hospital, all of which were built within the so-called lower city, surrounded by fortified walls in its own right. None of these buildings survives, but archaeological excavations have succeeded in bringing the remains of the Palace of the Metropolitans to light.[202] In a city situated at the edge of two worlds, as Belgrade was in the early fifteenth century, the Palace of the Metropolitans provides the clearest proof of Serbia's links with the central European architectural tradition, specifically with that of Hungary. In practically all respects this impressive complex belonged to a world very different from that of the bygone tradition of Byzantium. It should be noted that within the conservative societal and cultural framework, the window for the influx of external influences in architecture appears to have been the private residences of the ruling class. As always in the past, those who wielded power dictated the choices pertaining to matters of taste or style. Unfortunately, this important thesis cannot be tested more fully in this context, since the other two main buildings in Belgrade at the time – the cathedral and the despot's palace – have vanished practically without trace.

MONASTIC DEVELOPMENTS AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The tradition of founding and nurturing monasteries goes back to the very origins of the Serbian medieval state. The principal role in these matters was in the hands of the members of the ruling dynasty – the Nemanjićs – who grasped the potential role of monasticism and invested in a major way in the building of monasteries. Several distinctly "Serbian" characteristics stand out. The first was the political element. The development of a structured form of monastic movement, closely tied to the official Church and to the dynasty, was in all likelihood a deliberate departure from the Byzantine experience, where the political views of the monks and those of the state, or for that matter of the official Church, were not always on the same track. Second, in a land that initially had practically no urban centers of long standing, monasteries became the exclusive centers of cultural activity. Third, and not the least important, is the tradition that each ruler would establish his own monastery, in which the main church would be designated as his eventual place of burial, following the model of Nemanja's founding of Studenica Monastery. In addition, because Nemanja had retired from the

763 Hilandar Monastery; aerial view from SW

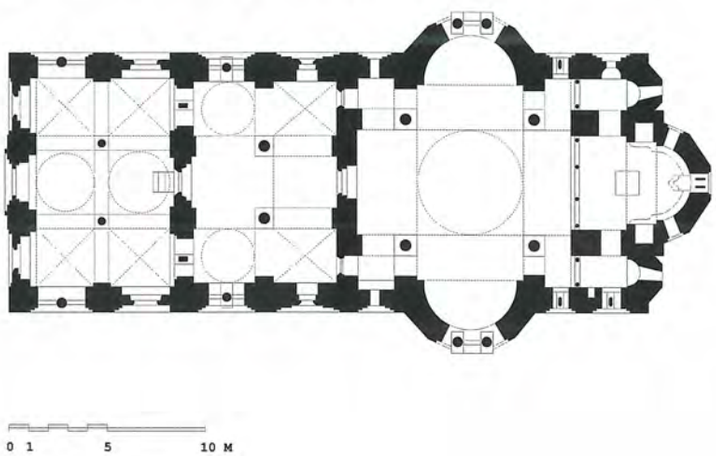
position of the ruler to become a monk, many monasteries may have also been created with the intent of giving their own founders the same eventual option.

The most important monastic complex for the understanding of architectural developments in both the Byzantine and the Serbian realms during the period in question is Hilandar (Chelendari) Monastery on Mount Athos (fig. 763).[203] Although its history goes back to an uncertain period, possibly in the tenth or eleventh century, its foundation in its present form can be linked precisely to the last years of the twelfth century. This is intimately linked with the activities of the Serbian monks and later saints, Simeon and Sava. St. Simeon, in secular life Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian medieval state and its ruling dynasty, retired to Mount Athos in 1196. There he joined his youngest son Rastko, who had left Serbia for Mount Athos before him and became a monk by the name of Sava (Sabbas). The two jointly appealed to the Byzantine emperor to grant them permission to restore a small abandoned Byzantine monastery on the site of the present monastic complex. The early history of this monastery is unusually well documented, thanks to the preserved monastic charters issued by the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos (June 1198 and June 1199), charters issued by Simeon (second half of 1198), and his son and successor Stefan (1200–01), as well as two monastic *typika* compiled by St. Sava. Although the exact form of the monastery at the time of its founding by SS. Simeon and Sava is no longer visible, its outlines have been traced.[204] The original monastic enclosure was evidently an irregular rectangle, probably resembling the enclosures of the original monasteries of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi (see pp. 300–07). The original monastic katholikon, built by Simeon and Sava, was later replaced, along with most of the surrounding monastic buildings. Parts of the original enclosure have been preserved to a greater or lesser degree.[205] The best preserved of the enclosing structures is the tower of St. George, situated along the southern flank of the complex. Recent research has shown that it is the oldest standing building there, possibly belonging to the Byzantine monastery found abandoned in ruins by Simeon and Sava. In its present form it is crowned by a dome elevated on a tall drum that rises high above the roof of the tower. The dome, the result of a nineteenth-century rebuilding, is related to a chapel, itself a thirteenth-century addition to the top of the original tower.

The second intensive period of reconstruction and expansion took place in the early years of the fourteenth century, under the auspices of the Serbian king Milutin. From this period survive the tower of St. Sava (its upper part), the refectory, and the

764 Hilandar Monastery, Tower of St. Sava, general view from NW

765 Hilandar Monastery, Katholikon; plan

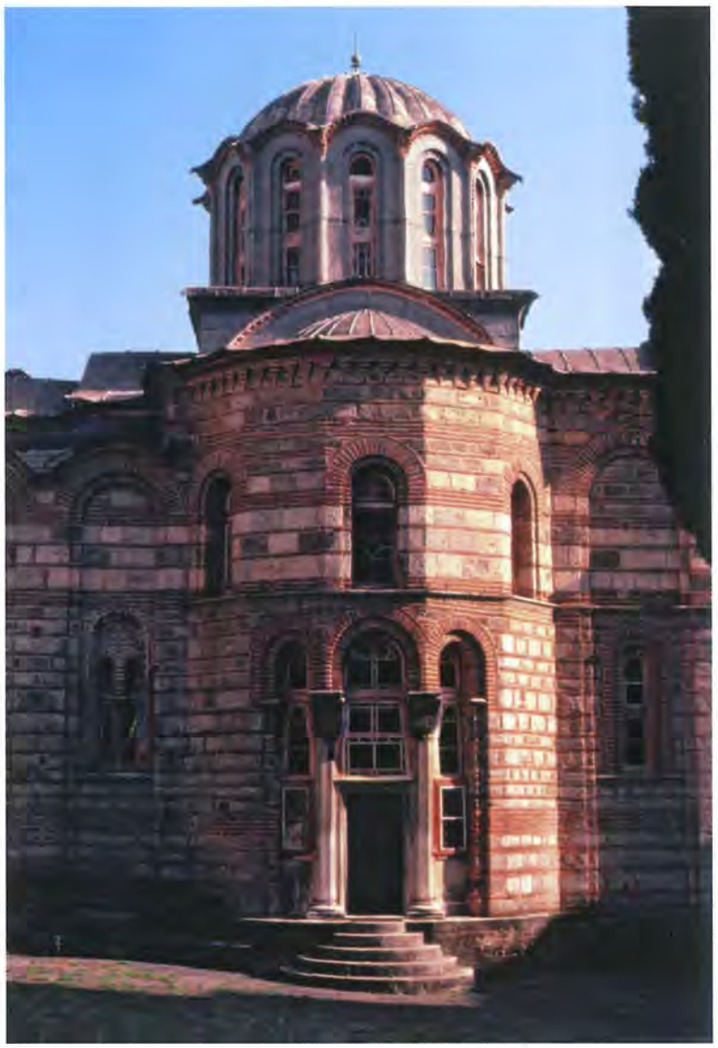


imposing new katholikon. The tower of St. Sava was originally built as part of the Serbian reconstruction of the monastery in the late twelfth century (fig. 764). In size and form related to the great tower at Vatopedi Monastery, it was clearly modeled on its predecessor. Vatopedi, on account of the fact that both St. Sava, and after him St. Simeon, were initially monks in this monastery, played a particularly important role in the shaping of the new Serbian monastery. The lowest three stories of this tower, built predominantly of stone, date from this period. Its upper part, marked by the abundant use of brick, belongs to the early fourteenth century, when the tower was heightened and given a new chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The decorative brick articulation of the upper faces of the tower reveals characteristics typical of contemporary construction in Thessaloniki and its sphere of architectural influence. The refectory, situated in the southwestern corner of the complex, was also the result of two main construction phases – late twelfth and fourteenth century – as well as several subsequent alterations. Measuring 7.72 × 23.25 meters, the refectory is a grand hall, originally covered by a pitched wooden roof. Marked by a series of blind arcades and a large apse on its short, north wall, in many respects it recalls late antique secular halls. On account of the sloping terrain it is situated above a large, massively built basement used as storage space. The original furniture, consisting of marble sigma-shaped tables for the monks and a round table for the *hegumenos*, survived *in situ* until 1925.

Unquestionably the most impressive building at Hilandar is the katholikon, built, according to the results of the latest research, either between 1300 and 1303, or between 1306 and 1311.[206] In all likelihood the building replaced a smaller predecessor of unknown type. Measuring 13 × 28 meters (36 m including the later exonarthex), the new katholikon of Hilandar was based on a cross-in-square naos scheme with projecting lateral apses as large as the main apse, forming what by then had become a standard Athonite triconch formula (fig. 765). Unlike its probable model, the katholikon of Vatopedi, the lateral apses of Hilandar were perforated with doors, permitting communication with the exterior. For this reason, though not for this reason alone, the standard explanation that these spaces had always been intended to accommodate the monastic choir singers needs to be reexamined. While we cannot undertake that task in this context, we should recall the presence of lateral chambers in religious architecture and their functional relationship to the cult of relics, which has been noted repeatedly throughout this book. The naos is extended eastward into a deep tripartite sanctuary separated from it by an iconostasis. The original marble iconostasis is preserved, but is hidden behind a tall, elaborate wooden one belonging to a much later reconstruction. Four imposing freestanding marble columns

define the central square and carry the vaulting superstructure crowned by the large main dome. The twelve-sided, internally scalloped dome, with an interior diameter of 5.3 meters, exhibits architectural characteristics of unmistakably Constantinopolitan origin. Other features linked to the architecture of the capital unequivocally support this notion. It is important to note that these similarities find their closest parallels in the eleventh- and twelfth-century architecture of Constantinople, and not in its fourteenth-century buildings (fig. 766).[207] This, in turn, suggests that the builders of the Hilandar katholikon may have come to Mount Athos possibly from Nicaea, where the architectural style prevalent in Constantinople before 1204 may have been preserved during the course of the thirteenth century. Though we possess no documentary proof of such developments, there are many other indicators to suggest that the Komnenian characteristics of Constantinopolitan architecture may have reached Mount Athos via Nicaea, and hence found their way to Thessaloniki. Similarities, but also differences, between certain architectural characteristics of churches in the capital, that of Hilandar, and also of certain churches in Thessaloniki during the first decades of the fourteenth century, point to Nicaea as a common yet unexplored source with different branches stemming from it independently. Other features of the Hilandar katholikon are stylistically conservative. These include its superb marble floor with inlay designs and its architectural sculpture. The former finds its closest parallels in marble floors in the katholika of Vatopedi and Iviron, though floors in smaller chapels and different floor fragments, stylistically and technically similar, have been noted at several locations on Mount Athos, in Thessaloniki, and also in Nicaea. Owing to the fact that very few original floors in Byzantine churches have been preserved, our knowledge of them and the workshops that produced them is rudimentary. The architectural sculpture of the Hilandar katholikon is enormously diversified. Much of it is clearly in secondary use, possibly recycled from the late twelfth-century katholikon, though a number of pieces are older, while only some were made specifically for the new building.

An aspect of the Hilandar katholikon that unmistakably bespeaks its fourteenth-century date is the design of its twin-domed narthex, a feature that functionally and formally belongs to this period.[208] The example of the Hilandar narthex appears to have influenced a number of solutions elsewhere, underscoring once more the significance of Hilandar as a major center of architectural influence at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its leadership in this respect seems to have continued toward the middle of the fourteenth century when, possibly under the patronage of Emperor Stefan Dušan, the katholikon acquired its single-domed, initially open exonarthex.[209] Repeating the six-bay scheme of the original narthex, the exonarthex was evidently intended to accommodate a holy water stoup that, before its construction, may have been located under a separate baldachin in front of the original narthex. Its open design along with its single dome situated on axis, are part of yet another new trend in church architecture around the middle of the fourteenth century. The exonarthex of Hilandar, much like the narthex at the time of its initial construction, appears to have played a significant role in the shaping of new church architecture in Serbia, about which more below. Most relevant in this context were its painted façades and its distinctive architectural sculpture, which does not otherwise appear on churches in Serbia before *circa* 1370 (fig. 767). Their appearance here *circa* 1350, in my opinion, signals the unique role of Hilandar in the development of Serbia's architecture during the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth.



766 Hilandar Monastery, Katholikon; central part from N

767 Hilandar Monastery, Katholikon, Exonarthex; north façade, northwestern bay

In contrast to Hilandar, with its unmistakable links to the Byzantine architectural tradition, several major royal monasteries in Serbia from the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth reveal affinities with the Western building tradition long since rooted in Serbia on account of its direct or indirect links with the region along the southern Adriatic littoral. Here we must mention Gradac Monastery, the foundation of the Serbian queen Jelena (Helen), the wife of Uroš I, the founder of Sopoćani Monastery (see Chapter 7). Queen Jelena, possibly descended from the French royal family of Anjou, was an important figure in the cultural and political events being played out in Serbia during the last decades of the thirteenth century and first decades of the fourteenth, especially after the death of her husband in 1276. Mother of two Serbian kings, Dragutin (1276–82) and Milutin (1282–1321), she was the witness, and participant, in the political, religious, and cultural disputes that flared up in Serbia at the time. As a prominent royal figure, she participated actively in the founding of several churches and monasteries – both Catholic and Orthodox. Eventually, she retired and died as an Orthodox nun, and was buried in her mausoleum church at Gradac Monastery.[210] Founded over the remains of a much older, probably monastic settlement whose beginnings may go back to the fifth or sixth century, Gradac Monastery was built in the tradition of earlier, thirteenth-century Serbian royal foundations. The katholikon, begun before the death of King Uroš in 1276 and dedicated to the Annunciation, was envisioned as the mausoleum of Queen Jelena from the outset. Reliant specifically on the model of the church of the Mother of God at Studenica, the building was constructed by a group of capable builders apparently brought from elsewhere. Emulating the spatial composition of the Studenica katholikon, these builders displayed on the one hand their building and carving skill in the Gothic tradition and, on the other, their difficulties in constructing a dome (here an awkward cloister vault with a maximum span of 5 m) over the main space of the naos.

The monastery church most clearly reflecting the continuation of this tradition in Serbia toward the end of the thirteenth century is that of Arilje Monastery in western Serbia.[211] A foundation of the former Serbian king Dragutin, who abdicated in 1282 in favor of his younger brother, Milutin, the monastery and its church were built probably during the 1290s, though the date indicating that the completion of the frescoes took place in 1296 is the only indisputable historical datum. The complex was built on a site with a long history stretching back to Roman times. A large church, probably a type of basilica, stood on the site in the fifth and sixth centuries. The first Serbian archbishop, Sava, is known to have established one of the episcopal sees with a monastery on this location around 1220. The entire complex underwent reconstruction toward the end of the thirteenth century, as recent archaeological excavations have unmistakably shown. The monastery, of irregular, elongated oval shape, as built in the 1290s, followed the distinct tradition of Serbian monasteries that began with the building of Studenica a century earlier.[212] The foundations of some of the monastic buildings, including a large tower have survived, but the only substantially preserved structure is the katholikon. An impressive domed building built in a curious hybrid style characteristic of thirteenth-century architecture in Serbia, the church is dedicated to Sv. Ahilije (Hagios Achileios), the famous saint from Larisa, whose relics were moved to Prespa under the Bulgarian ruler Samuel in the late tenth century and, apparently, finished their long journey at Arilje. The name Arilje, in fact, derives from the saint's name. The church, 13 meters wide by 26.5 meters long (including the later exonarthex), in most respects follows the planning tradition of Serbian ecclesiastical architecture of the thirteenth century. Based on a single-aisled,

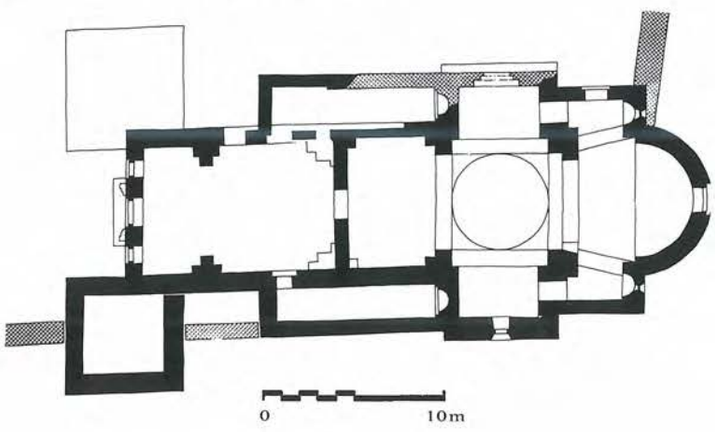
domed plan, the building features lateral rooms that give a characteristic basilican form on the exterior. Most important in this context are the transept-like wings that open up from the central domed bay, marked by very attenuated proportions. The dome, rising to a total height of 18 meters, has an interior diameter of only 3 meters. The use of pointed arches in the upper parts of the domed bay, along with its proportions, have been interpreted as evidence of possible Gothic influence. Despite its Western-looking exterior details and its general "basilican" qualities, the katholikon of Arilje displays surprising consciousness of Byzantine aesthetic principles. This came to the fore during recent conservation work, when it was revealed that the church was externally plastered and painted in emulation of an elaborate Byzantine-looking building *opus*.[213] The katholikon of Arilje clearly continued a tradition established in Serbian architecture a century earlier, with the building of Studenica. Similarities to Studenica and a number of other intervening churches are not simply of a formal or stylistic nature. They are conceptual and also reflect certain attitudes and principles. However, none of this, in my opinion, can be interpreted as the product of the same "school," referred to routinely as the "Raška School," since Gabriel Millet introduced the term in 1919.[214]

The inaptness of the term "Raška School" is made manifest by four additional royal monastic complexes with monumental churches, all of them built during the first half of the fourteenth century. The first of these is the monastery of Banjska, Kosovo, Serbia, built from 1312 to 1316, whose remains have emerged in recent decades as a result of painstaking excavations.[215] Situated on a low plateau, the complex replaced an older monastic establishment, itself built over much older, probably Roman remains. The area is noted for its mineral water springs, which may have been exploited by the Romans. The monastery was a foundation of King Milutin, who envisioned the katholikon as his mausoleum. Richly endowed, the monastery was issued a royal charter signed by the king, his mother, his brother Dragutin, and Archbishop Sava III. The charter provides several important insights into the building of the monastery, whose construction was entrusted to Danilo, the king's trusted confidant and the *hegumenos* of Hilandar Monastery, who abandoned his post and returned to Serbia to supervise the implementation of the king's wishes. The wording of the document implies that Danilo, the future Serbian archbishop, may have been in charge of the actual process of construction. The layout of the monastery has not been fully explored, but its form appears to have been roughly oval, therefore following the practice in monastic planning throughout the thirteenth century.[216] The most detailed information available concerns the monastery's western end, where the remains of a monumental gate, a large refectory, and a massive tower, near the gate, have come to light. The tower, measuring 13 × 13 meters in plan, was comparable in size to the "Tower of King Milutin" near Hilandar Monastery, from which it differs in the articulation of the corner buttressing. The remains of the refectory indicate that it had marble furnishings and that its walls were decorated with mosaics, a technique virtually unknown in medieval Serbia. By far the most impressive building in Banjska Monastery was its katholikon, the church of Sv. Stefan (St. Stephen), the patron saint of the Nemanjić dynasty. Sources tell us that the church was built "in the image of Studenica." Though the similarity between the two churches is hardly a close one, the intent clearly was on a building mode that, generally speaking, adhered to thirteenth-century church planning and to a Western, Romanesque style of execution. This may seem somewhat surprising in the context of Serbia, culturally "Byzantinized" following Milutin's marriage to the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II. It appears that the Western style of Banjska may have had strong political connotations and that it may even have been a concession forced on King Milutin by his pro-Western internal adversaries, led by his mother, Dowager Queen Jelena, and his brother Dragutin.[217] The style and quality of execution of Sv. Stefan are strong indications that the craftsmen of different trades may have come to Banjska from Dubrovnik.[218] Faced with finely cut stone blocks in three different colors, the church is unique in its application of polychromy (fig. 768). Its interior derives from the single-aisled, domed church scheme, here expanded laterally by fully fledged transept arms. Characteristically for earlier churches of this type, the sanctuary is marked by a large apse, semicircular internally as well as externally (fig. 769). The naos was preceded by a large narthex flanked by two massive belfries. This, in its own right, was an antiquated scheme, emulating such early churches as St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija and the church of Djurdjevi Stupovi ("Pillars of St. George"), near Novi Pazar (see pp. 492–93). The church functioned as the royal mausoleum. King Milutin was interred in it, as was the mother of the future king and emperor Dušan.[219] Practically nothing of the tombs survives. The relics of the king, canonized a few years after his death, were removed from Banjska already in 1389 and eventually ended up in Sofia, Bulgaria, were they are still preserved. The building has suffered repeatedly through history and in the process has lost all of its interior furnishings, frescoes, and sculptural decoration. Only sculptural fragments have been retrieved from excavations, or have been found reused as building material in nearby village houses. Converted into a mosque in the seventeenth century, the church underwent major modifications that involved also the construction of a new blind dome in place of the original one, which must have been elevated on a drum perforated with windows.

King Milutin's son and successor Stefan Dečanski, together with his son Stefan Dušan, was responsible for the expansion of

768 Banjska Monastery, St. Stephen; general view from SE

769 Banjska Monastery, St. Stephen; plan



the monastery of St. Nicholas in Dabar (also known as Banja Monastery), near Priboj, Serbia. The complex has been partially explored and appears to have the main characteristics – an oval plan, a tower within the enclosure, and a refectory to the west of the church – in common with other Serbian monasteries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[220] The best-preserved component of the monastery here, as in many other cases, is the katholikon, the church of St. Nicholas, with the chapel of the Dormition attached to the south side of its narthex. The church was commissioned and built under the auspices of Stefan Dečanski and Stefan Dušan in 1329. The building underwent extensive restoration and remodeling *circa* 1570. Even so, the original design and most of the walls retain their original form. The church is of enormous importance for the understanding of the processes current in the development of architecture in Serbia. Its plan reveals unequivocally Byzantine roots. Measuring 12 × 21 meters, the church consists of a cross-in-square naos preceded

by an oblong domed narthex, in front of which stands an arcaded open portico. The cross-in-square unit, featuring a slight elongation of proportions in plan, as well as four piers instead of columns, displays similarities with church architecture built under the auspices of the Serbian aristocracy in Macedonia during the first half of the fourteenth century. While similarities with Byzantine architecture in plan are unmistakable, it should be pointed out that the church was built exclusively in stone, using small limestone blocks in a manner of construction similar to that of the katholika of Mileševa and Sopoćani. These stone walls with their characteristically non-Byzantine construction technique were not intended to be visible, as careful restoration of the church has revealed. The final aesthetic effect was achieved by means of plastering and painting the façades in emulation of a building *opus*, as was done at Arilje (fig. 770). Such plastering and painting of church façades, as we have seen in several instances, was not an unusual practice in Byzantine architecture. What *is* unusual here is that the emulated building *opus* does not look Byzantine at all. Instead, the technique that was selected for emulation was the colored checker pattern we saw at Banjska. Completed a decade and a half earlier, the Romanesque building *opus* of Banjska became an object of emulation in a distinctly Byzantine painting technique applied to the walls of a church whose forms were also Byzantine, but whose actual building technique was not. This curious blending of ideas and formal expressions is difficult to understand and explain. What it unmistakably points to, however, is that the builders – in this case locally trained – must have had at their disposal a Byzantine plan that they were intending to construct. They also must have been familiar with the plastering and painting of building façades, as were the masters at Arilje. In this case, however, the final aesthetic effect was Western, notwithstanding the fact that so many of the features of the church, including the very painting technique whereby that effect was achieved, were of Byzantine derivation.

770 Banja Monastery, St. Nicholas; south façade, detail

Around the same time that the monastery of St. Nicholas was being rebuilt, Stefan Dečanski and his son Stefan Dušan were jointly engaged in another major monastic project – the building of the monastery of Dečani.[221] One of the largest and most impressive of the royal foundations, this is also, relatively speaking, the best preserved. Also based on an oval plan, only fragments of the original enclosure are preserved – the main gate within the lowest level of the lost multistory tower and the foundations of a refectory, substantially rebuilt in modern times. The principal building at Dečani, its monumental katholikon dedicated to Christ Pantokrator, is one of the masterpieces not only of Serbian, but also of medieval architecture generally (figs. 772 and 773).[222] Built between 1327 and 1335, the church was begun under Stefan Dečanski, but was finished by his son. The actual building of the katholikon was entrusted to one Vita (Vitus), a Franciscan friar from Kotor. This information carved in a stone inscription on the south church portal provides important clues about the mechanisms of transmission of ideas, techniques, and other aspects of architecture from one cultural sphere to another. For Serbia, its links with the Adriatic coast, notably with Dubrovnik, Kotor, and other important centers, were of vital importance for the periodic "revivals" of Western architectural traditions that never actually fully died down, despite the fact that it was substantially superseded by the Byzantine tradition after 1300. The second important observation gleaned from our knowledge about Fra Vita is the fact that personal religious affiliation never stood in the way of employing individuals of great professional merit. Thus here a Serbian Orthodox king employed a Catholic friar to build for him an Orthodox church. This gives us a unique opportunity to observe the lines of division between matters pertaining to functional requirements and

771 Decani Monastery, Christ Pantokrator; general view from SW

those aspects that had to do strictly with the aesthetics of a church, where exactly these lines were drawn, and who exactly was in the position to make what decision.

The katholikon of Dečani is a large building, measuring 22 × 33 meters in plan (fig. 773). Its plan adopts a new, more open approach to church planning in contrast to the thirteenth-century standards. The lateral chapels flanking the western part of the church, an idiosyncratic feature of thirteenth-century Serbian royal foundations, were eliminated, probably as a result of a Church reform introduced in 1319 by the Serbian archbishop Nikodim.[223] Instead, the church has a huge narthex that appears to have absorbed some of the functions previously accommodated within such lateral chapels. The vast space of the naos is ingeniously fused with the subsidiary chapels, that of St. Demetrius on the north and that of St. Nicholas on the south. Functionally, the space of the naos is delineated by means of tall parapet slabs that enclose the central cruciform area to accommodate the "monastic choirs" within the arms of the cross, in this case made visible only at ground level. The dome is carried on tall, massive piers that define the core of the naos. The lack of walls conventionally defining this central space in a Byzantine church reflects the application of a structural system that betrays Romanesque and Gothic thinking. The use of tall octagonal columns that carry rib vaults also signals a complete departure from Byzantine structural thought. The impact of this Western structural system on the articulation and the accommodation of the fresco program was considerable, and has been commented on from that point of view.[224] In terms of its exterior articula-

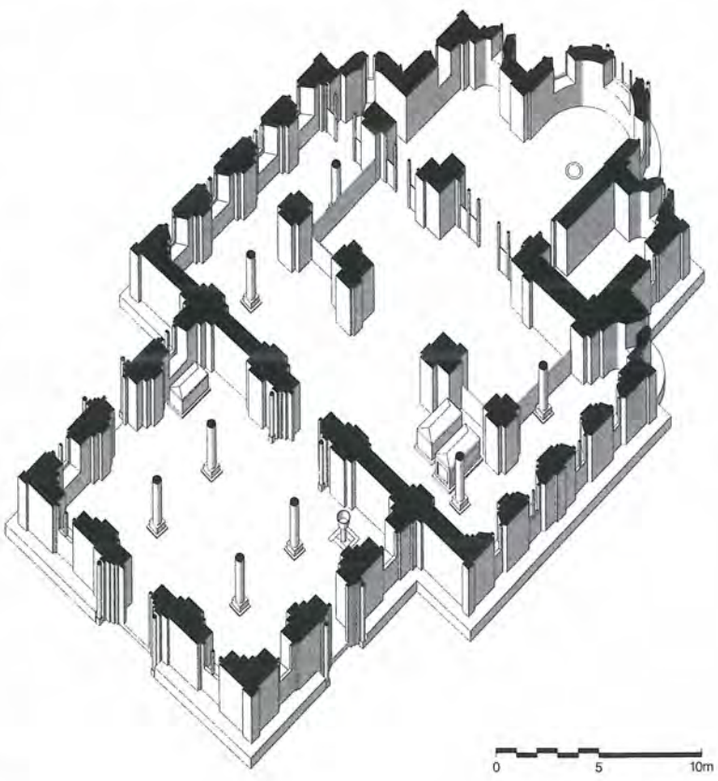
tion, the dome, though resting on a tall drum, also reveals the impact of Romanesque and Gothic aesthetic principles. Another aspect of the aesthetics of Dečani involves the extensive use of sculpture on the exterior as well as the interior (fig. 773). Though more correctly defined as Romanesque in terms of its style, the sculptural decoration of Dečani reveals a basic adherence to Orthodox theological thought.[225] The lessons of Dečani are innumerable, but one that stands out is the carefully articulated willingness to accept "foreign" input. While aspects of style and aesthetics, more generally, reveal a degree of flexibility, the content – in other words the iconography of the sculpture and painting – demonstrates a strict adherence to Orthodox theological prescriptions. The same, of course, may be said of the layout of the interior space. Though contained in a shell that has no parallels in the Orthodox world, all of the essential functional arrangements of an Orthodox church are evident on the ground level of the Dečani katholikon.

The church was built as the mausoleum of King Stefan Dečanski. Interred in it along with his wife, their tombs with cenotaphs in the form of sarcophagi are still preserved. The king was canonized several years after his death and his body was accordingly exhumed and placed in an elevated, specially decorated wooden shrine placed directly in front of the iconostasis. The church contains tombs of other individuals as well, and preserves practically all the original church furniture, including its marble iconostasis, its giant bronze *choros* (a ring for candle lights suspended from the base of the dome), and the marble royal seat. In this regard, the katholikon of Dečani is unique not only in a Serbian context, but also within the wider Byzantine sphere, where no church interior dating from the fourteenth century has survived in a comparable state of preservation.

At the height of his power, after 1343 King Stefan Dušan initiated the construction of his own mausoleum church within a monastery he founded. Built near Prizren, one of Serbia's major urban centers, the monastery of the Holy Archangels was an architectural and artistic achievement that was intended to match other crowning achievements of Dušan's reign – the introduction of the new law code, the proclamation of the Serbian patriarchate, and his coronation as the "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks." By the time that the monastery of the Archangels was completed, in 1347, all of Dušan's other major ambitions had been achieved. As a concept, Dušan's new monastery followed the established tradition in medieval Serbia that began with Stefan Nemanja at the end of the twelfth century. As a ruling monarch he was establishing a place for his burial, but at the same time creating favorable conditions for his potential canonization and a suitable pilgrimage center for the eventual celebration of his own cult. The latter goals never materialized – Dušan was never made a saint and his monastery was in Ottoman hands only a few decades after his death in 1355. The ultimate destruction of the church of the Archangels, in 1615, dealt the final blow to this extraordinary complex. Thanks to the comprehensive archaeological excavations, it has been possible to retrieve much invaluable information and to rescue the great monastery from oblivion.[226]

772 Decani Monastery, Christ Pantokrator; general view from SE

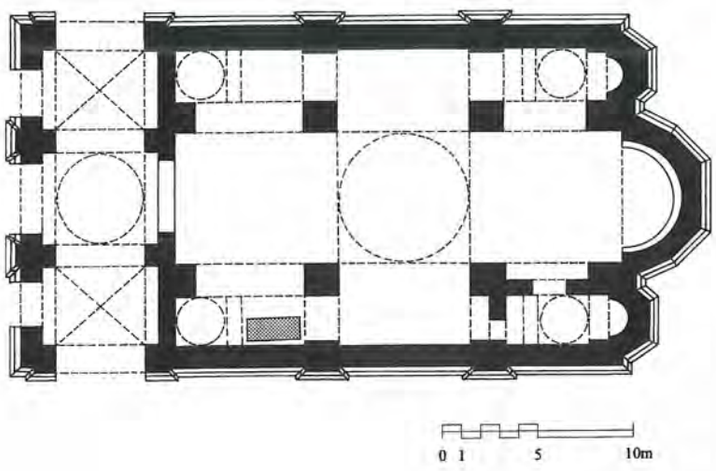
773 Decani Monastery, Christ Pantokrator; axonometric



Built on the left bank of the River Bistrica as it winds its way through a gorge approximately 2 kilometers east of Prizren, the monastery of the Holy Archangels occupies a relatively flat, more-or-less triangular site.[227] Originally surrounded by walls and accessible only via a bridge through a guarded gateway, the monastery was also linked to a fortress atop a steep hill directly above the monastery, whose function was to protect it in times of trouble. The central space in the monastery was occupied by the freestanding katholikon – the church of the Holy Archangels. Slightly to the southeast of the main church was another, smaller church dedicated to St. Nicholas. Directly opposite the west entrance of the katholikon stood a large cruciform refectory. Other monastic buildings, including the cells, the hospital, the kitchen, and various facilities were predominantly situated peripherally and attached to the outer walls of the complex.

The church of the Holy Archangels was a large building that in several ways deviated from the established tradition of Serbian royal mausoleum churches. Measuring 17 × 33 meters in plan, it was slightly smaller that the katholikon of Dečani, but it differed from it completely in terms of its interior layout (fig. 774). The naos employed the elongated cross-in square scheme familiar in Byzantine architecture of the first half of the fourteenth century. The church was preceded by a large open portico-narthex within which stood a large phiale, fragments of which have been retrieved. The main dome was supported by four massive piers, each measuring 1.5 × 1.5 meters in plan. The excavations also revealed that the church had a twelve-sided main dome that was internally scalloped, but also that there must have been at least one minor dome. The indication of the existence of two dome types led the excavator to conclude that the church was five-domed. Though this possibility cannot be dismissed, it cannot be taken for granted either. Nor are the conclusions about the upper parts of the building unequivocal. The possibility that the dome drum may have consisted of alternating bands of brick and stone is also not out of the question, although the postulated reconstruction suggests that the building was entirely faced in stone. Brick may also have been employed for vaulting and the dome shell, though these issues are better left without definitive answers. All of this is of considerable relevance in determining the exact nature of this important, but unprecedented building. On account of its exterior facing, preserved at least in its lower parts with exquisitely polished stone blocks, and on account of the fact that the church featured extensive architectural sculpture of Romanesque and Gothic derivation, it has been generally accepted that the church of the Holy Archangels, as was the case with the katholikon of Dečani Monastery, was the work of a builder from the Adriatic littoral. As such, together with other royal mausolea, the church was classified as a member of the so-called Raška School. This classification, as already noted, introduces more problems than it solves. The church, as we have seen, has a distinctly Byzantine plan. Its domes were internally scalloped, which points to the probable influence of Constantinopolitan building standards. The same could be said for its elaborately inlaid marble floor, whose design and technique reveal strong affinities with Byzantine church floors, especially with that in the south church of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. Yet none of these similarities is absolute. Differences between the planning scheme, the technique of wall construction and sculptural decoration, the forms of the dome drums, and various other elements suggest that the building must have been the work of a team of builders with different backgrounds and building experiences. In discussing the problems of architecture at the church of the Mother of God at Studenica Monastery, a general conclusion has always been that the church, initially built by a Romanesque master mason, was finished by a Byzantine builder who was responsible for the construction of its dome. The church of the Holy Archangels provides other types of clues, introducing the possibility of looking at such problems in a different manner and understanding how a building of this type may have been built and by whom.

774 Monastery of the Archangels, Church of Archangels; plan



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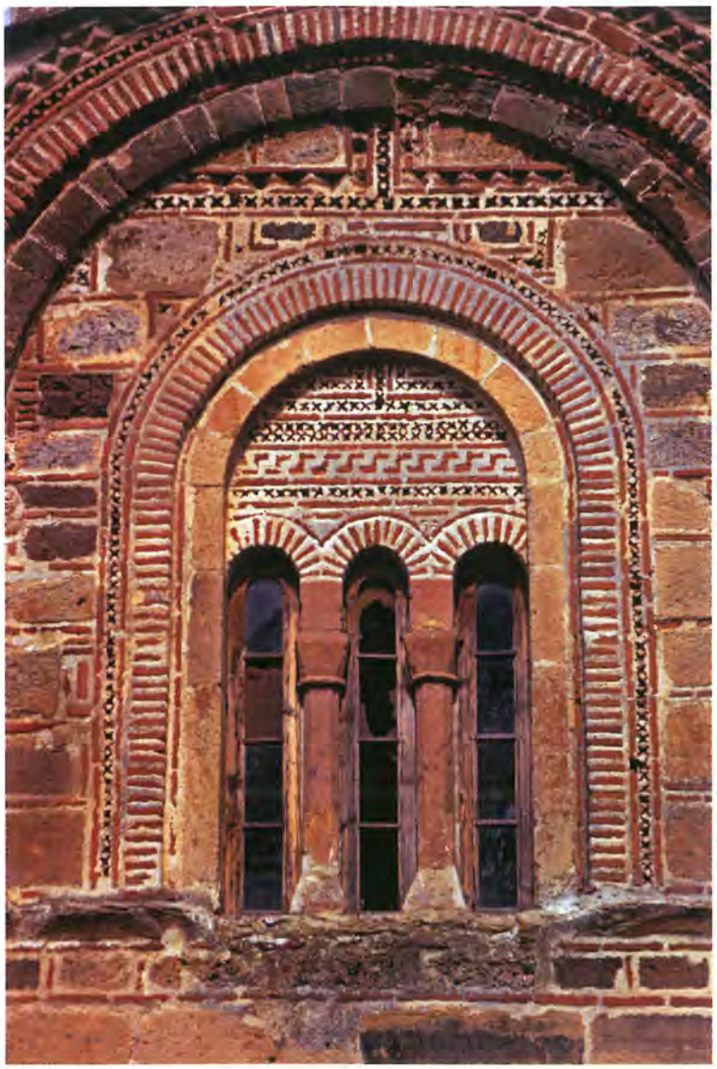
In contrast to the monasteries built in Serbia during the later thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth that display continuing links with Western building traditions in style and construction via the Adriatic littoral, another group of monasteries built during the first half of the fourteenth century reveals strong Byzantine influence. This trend began around 1300, shortly after King Milutin's marriage to the Byzantine princess

775 Staro Nagoričino, St. George; general view from SW

Simonis in 1299. This Byzantine influence was long thought to be the result of the southward expansion of the Serbian state into Byzantine territories, where Byzantine-trained builders would naturally be found. The explanation is more complex and cannot be understood outside its political context.[228] It should be noted first that Serbia's southward expansion had begun already in 1282 with the conquest of Skopje, the main Byzantine center in the area. However, no Byzantine-style churches were built under King Milutin's auspices until after 1300. Clearly, this points not to a pragmatic coincidence, but to a calculated choice. After his marriage to Simonis, Milutin began to view himself as a peer of the Byzantine emperor. The programmatic "Byzantinization" of Serbia that ensued also involved the patronage of architecture, now built in an overtly Byzantine style and by the best Byzantine builders. Economically strong and driven by great ambition, Milutin was capable of competing directly with the Byzantine emperor in cultural matters, which he did to the fullest extent. In matters of architecture and art, Serbia took over the leadership role from Byzantium during the first decades of the fourteenth century. At this crucial junction, after 1300, the best works of Byzantine architecture and fresco painting were actually executed under the direct patronage of the ruler of Serbia.

Practically nothing is known about the monastic complex associated with the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino, FYROM (hereafter Staro Nagoričino), but the church itself survives in good condition. Built under the auspices of King Milutin in 1312–13, this is one of the four most important surviving buildings commissioned by this ambitious king.[229] As was the case with Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, Staro Nagoričino was constructed on the remains of an older building, but here the remains of the earlier structure – a bulky rectilinear building with a semicircular apse entirely made of large, carefully cut ashlars – are plainly visible on the exterior (fig. 775). Despite the fact that both – Bogorodica Ljeviška and Staro Nagoričino – are five-domed churches, elongated because of the inherited preconditions, and the fact that they have many stylistic traits and



776 Staro Nagoričino, St. George; south tympanum

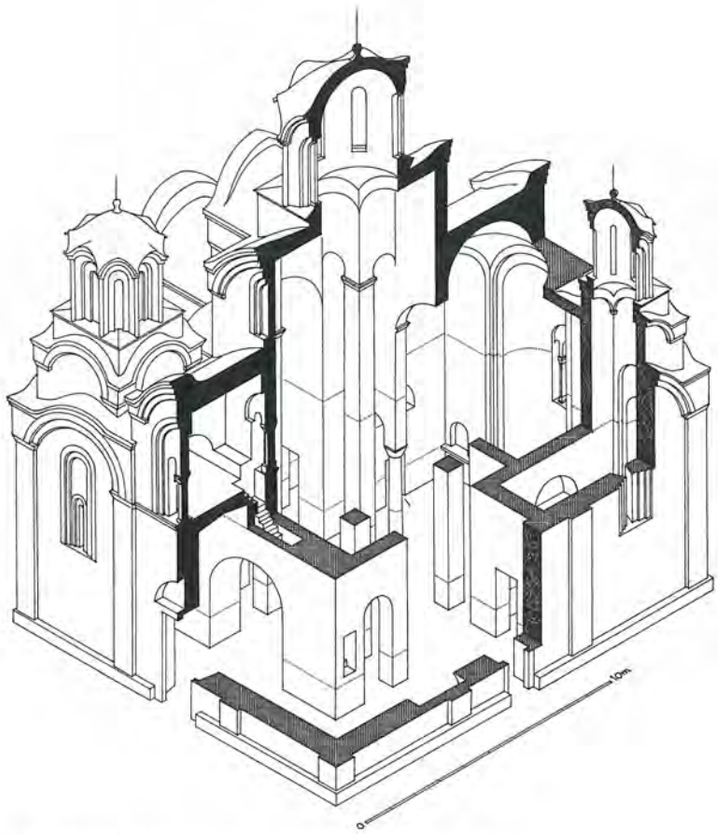
constructional details in common, the interior dispositions of the two buildings are radically different. While the naos of Bogorodica Ljeviška took over the form of the preceding basilica and thus became unusually elongated, essentially the same overall form at Staro Nagoričino incorporated the functions of both a naos *and* a narthex. Measuring 10 × 20.5 meters, the main part of the building is internally subdivided by two massive cruciform piers that separate the narthex from the only slightly larger and curiously proportioned naos. The tendency to make the narthex proportionally much larger than had previously been the case appears to have gained momentum in Serbian architecture toward the middle of the fourteenth century, as we have seen. Undoubtedly, this was related to the fact that the narthex assimilated several functions previously accommodated in special lateral chapels. These chapels disappeared in Serbian church architecture after the introduction of the new Church typikon by Archbishop Nikodim in 1319. The architectural concept of the twin-domed narthex, as we have seen, first emerged somewhat earlier, the oldest surviving example being the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery, also a church commissioned by King Milutin. Staro Nagoričino, then, would be the second manifestation of this phenomenon in Serbian architecture under the patronage of Milutin. The problem, as important as it may be, cannot be fully resolved here and is better left for future further investigation.

The upper part of Staro Nagoričino displays remarkable affinities with the superstructure of Bogorodica Ljeviška. Basic forms, such as the windows and their framing, as well as the basic decorative vocabulary employed in the articulation of the façades, are so similar that one is inclined to postulate that their builders must have been closely connected if not, indeed, the same individuals (fig. 776). Especially telling is the employment of specially cut decorative tiles and of hollow cross-shaped jars used for framing and highlighting niches and window openings. The architectural characteristics seen on Staro Nagoričino and on Bogorodica Ljeviška have their closest parallels in the architecture of Epiros. It would seem that the master builder of Bogorodica Ljeviška was brought to Serbia from Epiros. As a distinguished builder, but not yet having completed Bogorodica Ljeviška, he was apparently transferred to another major construction site (possibly in Skopje), before he probably arrived at Staro Nagoričino around 1312.[230]

Unquestionably the crowning achievement in the context of King Milutin's architectural patronage was the church of the Annunciation (subsequently Dormition) at Gračanica Monastery (hereafter Gračanica), Kosovo, Serbia. This extraordinary building was built as the katholikon of an important monastery, all medieval traces of which have disappeared, while the church itself, remarkably well preserved, remains shrouded by a veil of mystery as far as the date of its construction and the names and the origins of its builders are concerned. The only reasonably secure date is related to the monastery's charter, a copy of which in fresco bearing the date of 1321 is preserved on the west wall of the church's southeast chapel.

Gračanica constitutes the epitome of Late Byzantine church architecture.[231] In it are embodied the most sophisticated aspects of contemporary church planning, combined with finesse of formal design and mastery of execution. Measuring 13 × 16.5 meters in plan, Gračanica reveals proportions very different from either Bogorodica Ljeviška or Staro Nagoričino, despite the fact that it, too, is a five-domed building (fig. 777). Although it was built on the foundations of older churches, the builder of Gračanica acknowledged only the original locus of the altar, but made no use of any of the preexisting walls. Consequently,

777 (*facing page*) Gračanica Monastery, Annunciation; general view from E



778 Gracaniča Monastery, Annunciation; axonometric

Gračanica displays an "ideal" design, a planning scheme free from practical constraints and developed in accordance with current design experiments, most notably those employed in the Thessalonikan churches of Hagia Aikaterinē and the Holy Apostles.[232] The core of Gračanica, as in the Thessalonikan churches, constitutes a cross-in-square unit. Unlike the Thessalonikan examples, this core is enveloped by functionally distinct elements – inner narthex, sanctuary, eastern lateral chapels, and "ambulatory" passages – all of which were rigorously composed into a unified volume that gives the building its imposing sense of formal unity, symmetry, and monumentality (fig. 778). The architecture is characterized by yet another formal achievement. Its five domes are displayed to full advantage, so that the form of each assumes a balanced, highly visible role in the overall composition. To achieve this the architect was compelled to elevate various parts of the building to unprecedented heights, ensuring their external visibility. As a result of these formal considerations, the interior proportions were subjected to daring transformations. This is best reflected in the increased number of horizontal zones of painted scenes on the interior walls – from the standard three in the Middle Byzantine period to as many as seven here. Although Palaeologan fresco programs are generally characterized by a reduction in the size of the individual scenes and by their multiplication, the question of the relationship between the needs of the fresco programs and the character of the architecture in general has not yet been adequately explored. Regardless of any general conclusions that may be reached in this regard, Gračanica is distinguished by the extraordinary attenuation of its proportions. The proportions of the space under its main dome reveal an unprecedented ratio of 1:6.12, in contrast to 1:4.2 at Bogorodica Ljeviška and 1:4.4 at Staro Nagoričino. New programmatic needs in fresco painting, therefore, could not have been the sole factor in affecting the verticality of the building.

In addition to its height, the exterior of Gračanica is also marked by other unusual aspects. Its walls are built in a cloisonné technique that reveals restraint and conservatism when compared with contemporary buildings such as Bogorodica Ljeviška and Staro Nagoričino. There can be no doubt that the master builder of Gračanica had a different training and background from the builders of the two other five-domed churches of King Milutin. The domes of Gračanica bespeak links with the contemporary architecture of Thessaloniki, although the rest of its construction does not support such a notion. Its builder must have had considerable previous experience, yet it is very difficult to determine where he, or probably "they," may have come from. A lesson here is that, although a large number of buildings from this period survive, not all of them do, and the temptation to reconstruct the total picture becomes at once more inviting and more frustrating. Gračanica was the last architectural achievement of King Milutin, as his donor portrait and the date on the charter (1321) preserved in the church indicate.

King Milutin's patronage of architecture also had other dimensions. Although building on a grand scale and in a manner that ensured his lasting reputation as a great builder, he also supported more modest building enterprises that, at first sight, do not betray a man of his ambitions. Such was the case with the church of St. Niketas at Čučer-Banjani, discussed above. Even smaller is the tiny church of SS. Joachim and Anna, also known as the King's Church, in Studenica Monastery, Serbia, built in 1313–14.[233] Situated in the immediate vicinity of the venerable church of the Mother of God, it was conceived as a personal tribute to the dynastic founder and the first Serbian national saint, whose body reposes in the main monastery church. Dedicated to Christ's ancestors (the parents of the Virgin Mary), the church was conceived as a truly dynastic cult building. Intertwining the idea of Christ's earthly ancestry with that of his own dynastic ancestry, King Milutin was encroaching on the Byzantine claim that their earthly empire was modeled, according to their political theory, upon that of the Heavenly Kingdom, an exclusively Byzantine prerogative. Notwithstanding its miniscule

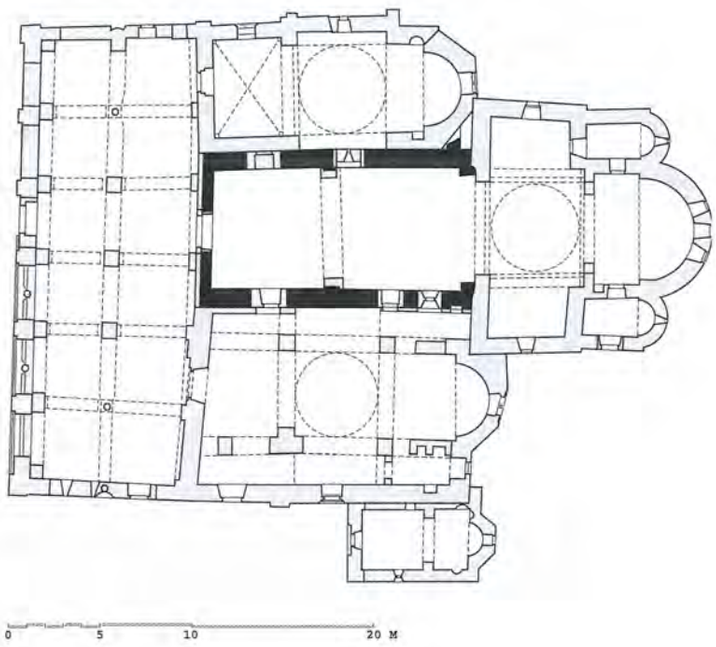
form and modest construction, this building and its decorative program constitute one of the most sophisticated creations of the later Middle Ages in the Balkans. At the same time, this was the most eloquent challenge to Byzantine political and cultural leadership in the Balkans articulated to date. Measuring only 7 × 9.5 meters in plan, the church is essentially a cube topped by a single dome, 3.6 meters in diameter, of identical dimensions to that of Bogorodica Ljeviška, though on account of its considerably lower height giving a sense of far greater monumentality. Various other architectural elements of the "King's Church," if not its building technique, appear to be based on the prototype of Bogorodica Ljeviška. Built almost entirely of sandstone and painted externally, and despite the insignificance of its physical dimensions, this is a true benchmark in the changing realities of the fourteenth-century Balkans.

The growth of Serbia and its economic prosperity was also accompanied by the rise of a powerful landed aristocracy. The patterns of patronage of this new wealthy class appear to follow Byzantine precedent. It is of little surprise that the first cases of private Serbian church patronage began to occur during the reign of King Milutin and following his lead. One of the most remarkable and perhaps the very first church in this category was the church of the Mother of God in the village of Mušutiste, Kosovo, Serbia (figs. 744B and 825).[234] Built in 1314–15 by a local nobleman, Jovan Dragoslav, his wife Jelena, and their children Staniša and Ana, this was a church whose plan, measuring 8 × 11.5 meters, was essentially a replica of that of St. Niketas at Čučer-Banjani built a few years earlier. The church had all the Byzantine and, more specifically, Thessalonikan architectural characteristics. Its walls were built in a manner typical of several churches of early fourteenth-century Thessaloniki, including idiosyncratic decorative patterns and, above all, the unmistakably "Thessalonikan" all-brick dome. The historical importance of this small church was encapsulated in a lengthy inscription carved on a stone lintel above its main entrance. This architectural and historical gem is now only part of historical memory: along with a number of other medieval monuments in Kosovo, it was deliberately blown up by Albanian nationalist extremists in July 1999.

The pattern of strong royal leadership in relation to the patronage of monasteries and churches continued in Serbia under Milutin's successors – his son, Stefan Dečanski (1321–31), and his grandson, Stefan Dušan (1331–55). Likewise, the pattern of inspired private patronage also continued and, in fact, intensified with the passage of time. Architectural production in Serbia during this period cannot be the subject of a detailed study within the framework of this book. Several important churches will be singled out, however, since they highlight the most important directions in the development of Orthodox Christian architecture in the Balkans during these critical times. The reader should be reminded that architectural activity in Constantinople practically came to an end after 1320, and that with the exception of a few churches of importance built in Thessaloniki and Mistra, practically nothing of significance was being constructed on the remaining territories of the Byzantine Empire. The torch of leadership in these matters had passed fully into Serbian hands, where architectural production continued unabated well into the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Three of the main architectural projects, undertaken jointly or individually by Stefan Dečanski and Stefan Dušan – the monasteries of Banja, Dečani, and the Holy Archangels – have already been discussed as part of the tradition continually dependent on Western influence via the Adriatic littoral. A parallel, Byzantine tradition that had made major inroads in the development of architecture in Serbia during the reign of King Milutin also continued after his death in 1321. Some of the monuments also belonging to this group in the region of Skopje have likewise been discussed. Among the most important churches built in a monastic context during this period, but not yet taken into account in our discussion, two stand out – the churches of St. Demetrius and of the Mother of God, both added to the central, older church of the Holy Apostles at Peć, in the region of Kosovo (fig. 779).[235] The monastic complex at Peć had been the formal seat of the Serbian Orthodox archbishops since the last decades of the thirteenth century, when it was moved there from Žiča Monastery following a disastrous Mongol raid of that

779 Peć, Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, complex of churches; plan



monastery. Enlargements to the original church may have had to do with this change of function, but they also must have taken into account other factors, among them the need for burial spaces for the Serbian archbishops. The church of Demetrius was built first (1321–24) under the auspices of Archbishop Nikodim, whose links with Hilandar, as well as his role in the implementation of the new Church typikon (1319), have already been mentioned. The new church replaced the original north lateral chapel of the Holy Apostles and was intended to contain the tomb of its founder. The new church was a single-aisled building in plan, measuring 7.3 × 15 meters, featuring a relatively low cross-vaulted western bay, a domed central bay, and a relatively shallow barrel-vaulted sanctuary bay with a large apse, semicircular internally and three-sided on the exterior. The architectural character of this building points to strong Byzantine influence, in all likelihood reaching Serbia via Hilandar Monastery. The only details that are distinctly not linked to the Byzantine building tradition are its Romanesque-Gothic stone window frames in the apse and in the western bay. These suggest that some local builders were also participating in the construction of this building, whose master builder either came directly from the Byzantine Empire or was at least trained in the Byzantine building tradition.[236]

The church of the Mother of God, added along the south flank of the church of the Holy Apostles, also as a replacement of a small original lateral chapel, was constructed between 1324 and 1330 under the auspices of Archbishop Danilo II, one of the most influential ecclesiastical figures in medieval Serbia, as a place of his eventual burial. The church is based on a somewhat elongated four-pier, cross-in-square plan type that had become extremely popular during the first decades of the fourteenth century. Measuring 10.5 × 17.5 meters in plan, it is somewhat larger than average private churches of the period that commonly employ the same scheme. As was the case with the church of St. Demetrius, the forms as well as the technique reveal the work of Byzantine or Byzantine-trained builders. Similarly, multiple stone Romanesque-Gothic window frames on the building suggest that local artisans were also members of the construction team. The architectural patronage of the complex at Peć by Archbishop Danilo II was completed with the addition of the chapel of St. Nicholas at the southeast corner of the church of the Mother of God and by a spacious narthex in front of all three main churches. The narthex is characterized by its extraordinary size and distinctive features. Although it may have replaced earlier narthex constructions in front of the churches of the Holy Apostles and St. Demetrius, the narthex as envisioned by Archbishop Danilo was designed to function not as an exonarthex, but actually as a narthex for all three churches. In its present form, the narthex is the result of a major reconstruction carried out in the sixteenth century after the restoration of the Serbian patriarchate in 1557. Prior to that time and following the Ottoman conquest of these territories in 1455, the complex of the patriarchate was abandoned and the narthex with a belfry in front of it substantially damaged. The sixteenth-century reconstruction followed the original concept and incorporated practically all of the remaining portions of the fourteenth-century structure. The main differences were that the narthex was no longer an open structure and that it no longer had a belfry, on axis with the church of the Holy Apostles, standing in front of it. Following a detailed study of the complex of churches at Peć, it is now known that the narthex as completed under the auspices of Archbishop Danilo II was a large open construction featuring six large arches on its main, west façade and a pair of arches on its short south and north façades. Measuring 9 × 25 meters in plan, the structure was subdivided into two rows of six vaulted bays supported by a row of five freestanding columns. A partial reconstruction of its original form is possible from the various preserved elements, as well as its depiction on the painted model of the churches shown in the hands of Archbishop Danilo II in his donor portrait in the church of the Mother of God (fig. 951). The open character of the narthex as completed *circa* 1330 may be usefully compared with other similar ones built during the first half of the fourteenth century in Serbia, and also in Byzantium. A particularly important aspect of the complex of the churches at Peć, including the great narthex, involved the elaborate painted decoration of their exteriors. Large sections of this original paint survive, providing invaluable insights into the original appearance of this complex of buildings, but also in the aesthetic principles of this period. Especially relevant is the appearance of certain decorative elements, which anticipate their later forms executed in stone.[237]

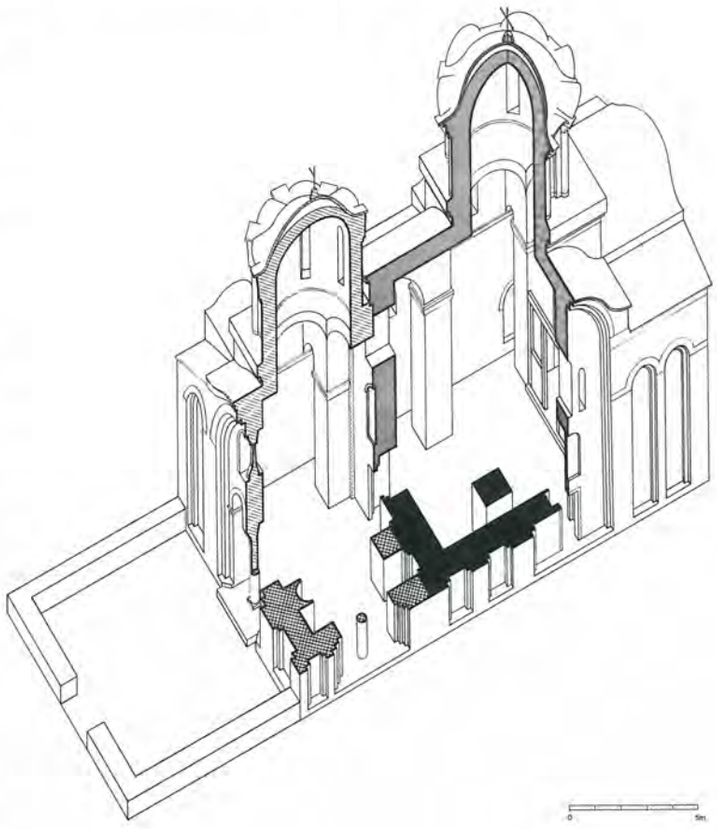
Equally important for the period between *circa* 1330 and *circa* 1360 within the Serbian realm was the increasing activity of wealthy private patrons, whose foundations at this time grew in numbers, size, and quality of construction. For our purposes we will consider only three of the several that survive. The first and the oldest of the three is the church of the Archangels at Štip, FYROM. Built in 1332, the church was commissioned by Vojvoda Hrelja, a high-ranking noblemen in Dušan's state and the owner of vast estates east of the River Vardar. The same Hrelja (Khrelio) was responsible for the building of the monastic tower, still preserved at Rila Monastery (see pp. 522–24). The church of the Archangels employs the same basic plan type as that seen at Čučer-Banjani, and has roughly the same dimensions (8 × 12.5 m) (fig. 744D). Tall niches, some of which relate to the interior spatial volumes, while others have strictly decorative functions, articulate its exterior wall surfaces. Most of the aspects of this church, especially its all-brick eight-sided dome drum, find close parallels in the contemporary architecture of Thessaloniki.

The church of the Archangels at Lesnovo Monastery, FYROM, was the foundation of another powerful nobleman in Dušan's state, the *sevastokrator*, later Despot Oliver, with his wife Maria and their two sons. It is exceptionally well preserved and reveals the high level of quality that was possible under private patronage at this time (fig. 780).[238] In this case the church was built in two stages, under the auspices of the same patron. The naos, as in the case of the church of the Archangels at Štip, is based on the four-pier, slightly elongated cross-in-square scheme, measuring 9 × 13 meters. Built in the years 1341–46, the church was expanded by the addition of a domed narthex, as wide as the church and adding 5.7 meters to its total length (fig. 744E). The addition of the narthex in the years 1347–49 may reflect the fact that the church became the seat of a local bishop following the Council of Skopje in 1347. The dates also coincide with major changes in the Serbian state. Stefan Dušan was crowned "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks" in 1346, while his protégé, Oliver, was given the title of despot. The new despot lost no opportunity to commemorate the occasion. The entire north wall of the narthex was given over to giant portraits of the imperial family, with the despot and his wife depicted directly below. Political ideology with its unmistakable Byzantine roots played an important, if not central role in the addition of the single-domed narthex in front of the church of the Archangels at a crucial moment in the history of the Balkans. It should be recalled in this context that a single-domed exonarthex might have been added at the very same time to the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos under the patronage of Stefan Dušan.[239] Both the original church of the Archangels and its narthex display close affinities with the architecture of Thessaloniki, demonstrating that links – by this time probably indirect – with this important Byzantine center continued for several decades after they had begun in the early 1300s.

The church of St. George at Položko Monastery, near Kavadarci, FYROM, is situated farther southwest, on Crna Reka, now on the banks of the artificial Lake Tikveš. Difficult of access, this is a remarkable, though relatively unknown monument. Some monastic ruins are still visible in the vicinity of the church which itself survives in good condition. Commissioned by one Jovan Dragušin, a relative of Stefan Dušan, it was donated by Dušan to Hilandar Monastery, as a royal charter of 1340 attests. The church was evidently built shortly before as the mausoleum church of Jovan Dragušin, who died quite young. Not much is known about this man, though he may have been related to the Bulgarian branch of Dušan's family.[240] The church is an elongated, single-aisled, domed structure (figs. 781 and 782). Measuring roughly 5.5 × 18.5 meters, it consists of the main, older part and a narthex. The older part, about 13 meters in length, is subdivided internally into three bays by two pairs of massive pilasters that carry transverse arches supporting the dome. The exterior of the building is enlivened by two tiers of blind arcades, while in the central bay, corresponding to the position of the dome, a tall wide arcade creates the illusion of a transverse barrel vault. The rich decorative vocabulary reveals the participation of masons probably linked to Thessaloniki. St. George is especially instructive because of the addition of the narthex. Probably created shortly after the completion of the church itself, this narthex, much like that at Lesnovo, may be a reflection of the changes that took place after Dušan's coronation as emperor. Here, as at Lesnovo, the narthex accommodated royal portraits, as well as the portrait of Jovan Dragušin and his wife, and a baptismal font. The narthex in this case was clearly the work of masons from Ohrid. Thus, at Položko, two predominant Late Byzantine architectural paradigms – that of Thessaloniki and that of Epiros (via Ohrid) – met on the same building, providing a good opportunity for the examination of their differences side by side. More to the point, the case of Položko clearly underscores the notion of the availability of builders, as well as their mobility.

The church of St. Nicholas at Psača, FYROM, is the latest of the three churches, built under private auspices.[241] Commis-

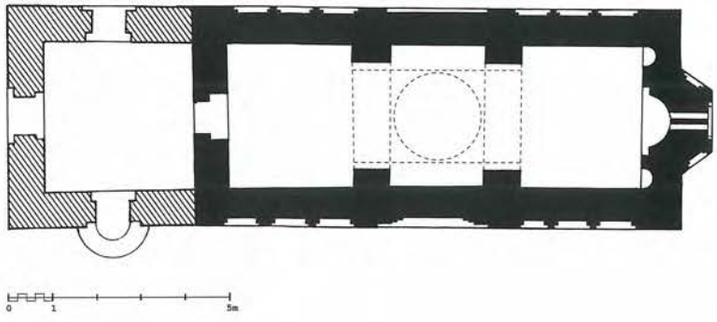
780 Lesnovo Monastery, Archangels; general view from SW



781 Pološko Monastery, St. George; general view from S

sioned by another of Dušan's noblemen, one Vlatko, the church was finished before the emperor's death in 1355. Measuring 8 × 14 meters, it is based on a plan in which the four-pier, cross-in-square scheme is fused with a single-domed narthex (fig. 744H).

782 Pološko Monastery, St. George; plan



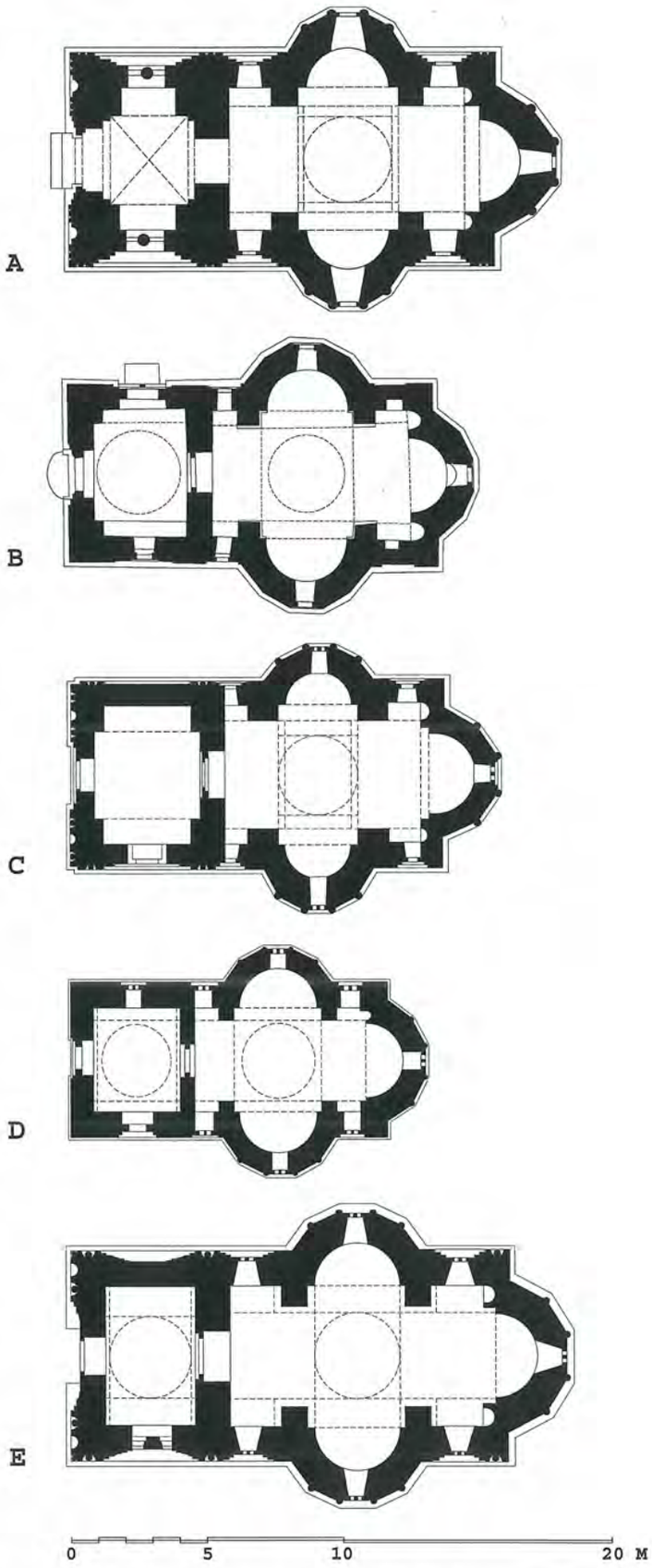
Displaying a construction technique of inferior quality compared with Lesnovo, Psača is clearly the product of local masons who, by this time, had acquired skills from Thessalonikan master builders, having worked for them as apprentices on one of the more important building commissions during the preceding decades.

Dramatic changes took place in Serbia following the death of Stefan Dušan in 1355. Succeeded by his widow Jelena and their young and ineffective son, Stefan Uroš V, the state underwent a process of rapid disintegration. Caught between mounting Ottoman pressure from the east and widespread internal rivalry between the strongmen who had supported Stefan Dušan during his lifetime, Serbia was quickly reduced to a patchwork of feuding private domains. The final blow came with the disastrous defeat of a hastily assembled Serbian coalition army at the Battle of Marica, fought at Chernomen, not far from Adrianople, in 1371. Most of the key players in the Serbian state and

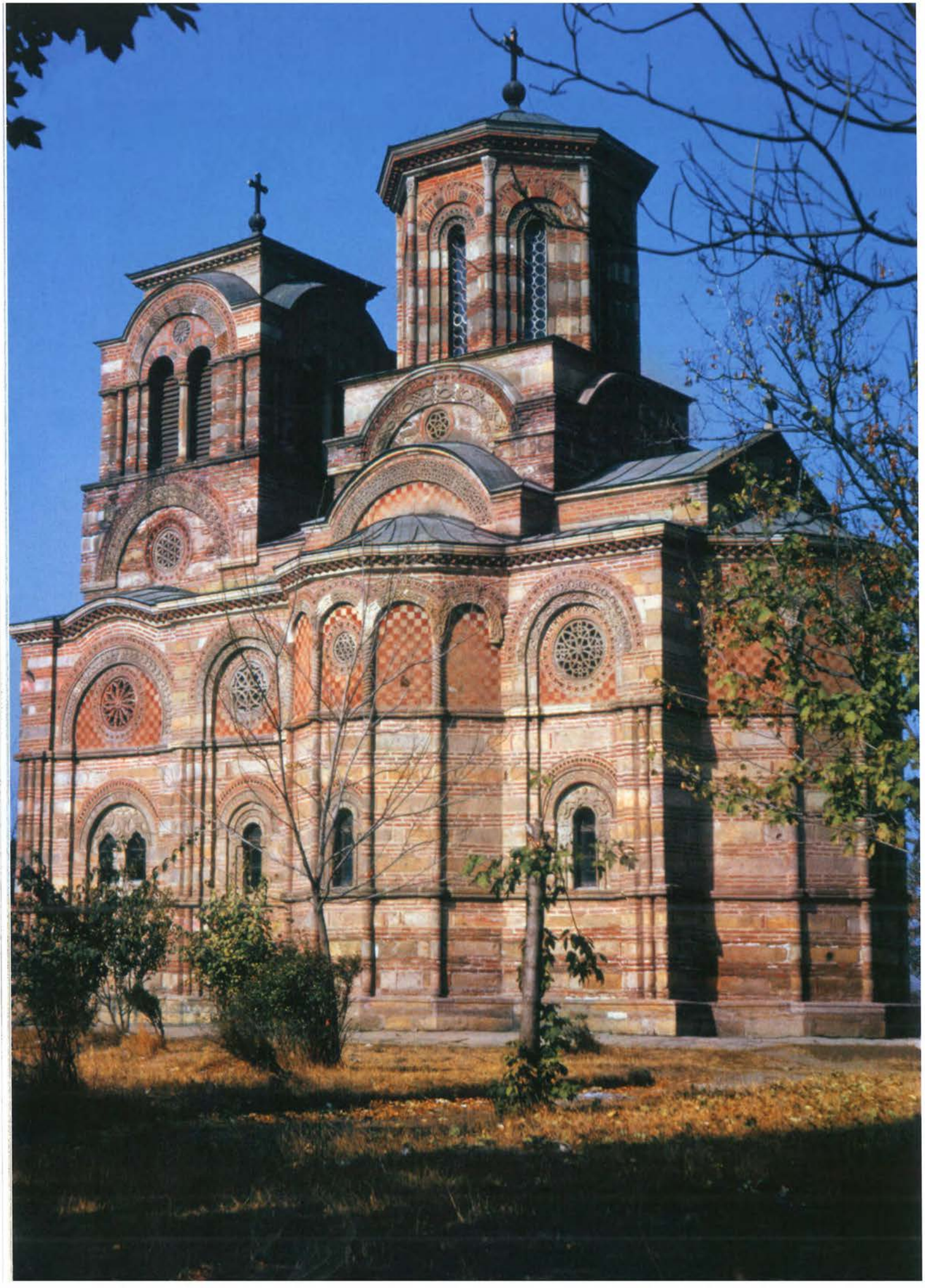
the cream of its aristocracy were killed in this battle, flinging the door to Ottoman expansion wide open. The Ottomans wasted no time. By 1373 they had taken Serres, thus establishing their first firm foothold in the central part of the Balkans. The contraction of the Serbian state northward was accelerated particularly after the second major defeat of the Serbian armies on the field of Kosovo in 1389.

Despite the politically and economically adverse circumstances, cultural activity on the reduced territory of Serbia not merely continued, but actually intensified. Architecture was no exception, and the phenomenon has been duly noted in historiography. Labeled "L'École de Morava" ("The Morava School") by Gabriel Millet, who thought of it as a strictly "national style of Serbian architecture," it has been uncritically viewed in those terms ever since.[242] Several problems exist in the methodological approach to the study of architecture in Serbia after 1371. The adopted label "Morava School" is merely a screen that conceals a range of issues that have not been recognized and adequately explored. Among the issues that have preoccupied scholars are the following: first, the stylistic unity of most monuments situated on the shrunken territory of Serbia during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth; second, the appearance of elaborate architectural sculpture that plays a major role in the exterior articulation of church buildings;[243] and third, the typological unity of the church plans belonging to the so-called Morava School, assumed to reflect the direct impact of Mount Athos on architectural developments in Serbia.[244] The approach employed thus far has dealt with issues too narrowly and rigidly, thus ignoring the possibility that similar phenomena, both from the point of view of style and from the point of view of church planning, may have been affecting a territory much larger than that of Serbia after *circa* 1375. Furthermore, insufficient attention has been paid to the issue of the mobility of master builders and artisans, many of whom may have come to Serbia during these crucial times from elsewhere. Last but not least, the fact that certain conservative traits, especially in the realm of construction techniques, survived from earlier times and were fused with the new style – though observed – has never been adequately explained.

This is not the place for a thorough discussion of the architecture of Serbia between *circa* 1375 and *circa* 1450. Only a few of the most important churches and monastic complexes will be explored. In addition to the creation and adoption of the label "Morava School," scholarship has been responsible for the creation and perpetuation of another myth – that the "Morava School" had a spontaneous beginning under the auspices of a single patron, Lazar Hrebeljanović, Prince of Serbia (1371–89). Though the role of Prince Lazar was undeniably significant, it has been unduly inflated by dubious attributions to his patron-



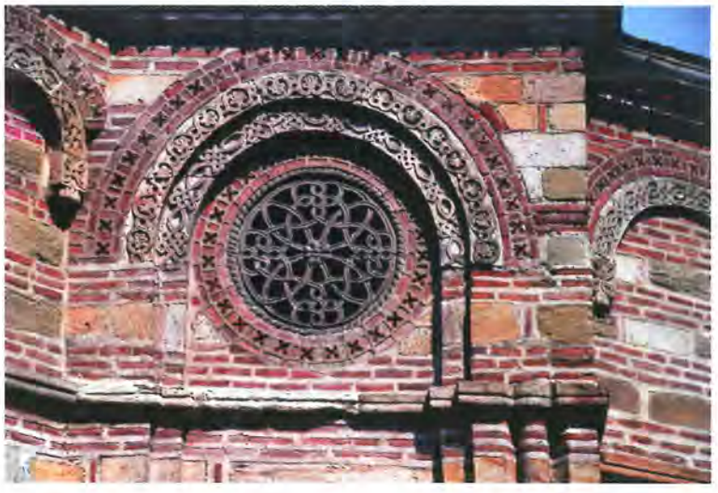
783 (A) Kruševac, Lazarica; (B) Naupara, Birth of the Virgin; (C) Veluće, Presentation of the Mother of God; (D) Rudenica; (E) Kalenić, Presentation of the Mother of God; plans



age of buildings such as the exonarthex of the Hilandar katholikon (see p. 655). Two churches that are linked with certainty to his patronage constitute the paradigmatic examples of the architecture in question. The first is the church of St. Stephen, also known as Lazarica, in Kruševac, Serbia (fig. 784).[245] Finished by 1377–78, at the time when Kruševac had become the capital of Serbia, the church was possibly Prince Lazar's court church. It is based on a triconch plan, measuring 8 meters (11 m including the side apses) by 18 meters (fig. 783A). As such, it is a medium-sized building, whose monumental nature derives from its considerable height and elaborate exterior articulation. Triconch church plans, as we saw earlier in this chapter, became widespread in the course of the fourteenth century. Some of them, no doubt, had to do with the influence of monastic architecture on Mount Athos. Whether such an explanation applies here is highly questionable. Analyzing the plan of Lazarica, it may be said that its naos is in fact that of a single-aisled domed church, measuring internally only 5 × 11 meters. Its dome, 3 meters in diameter, is raised to a height of 17 meters. The very attenuated proportions of this central space (1:5.6) come close to matching those of Gračanica (1:6.12). The naos is preceded by a small narthex, above which rises a tower that provides the church with a secondary vertical accent, slightly lower than the main dome, on the exterior. Internally, the narthex is separated from the upper part by a cross vault. The upper part of the tower had two stories. The lower contained a small chapel with a room (*katechoumenion*) overlooking the naos through a small window and intended for occupancy by a particular individual, probably a high-ranking monastic figure seeking complete isolation. Above this room, and separated by a wooden floor, rose another, domed space that accommodated bells. This part is open externally in four large double-light windows. The height of Lazarica necessitated very massive walls, whose thickness ranges from 1 to 1.8 meters. These are articulated externally by a variety of architectural and sculptural elements that yield an extremely rich aesthetic effect that constitutes the essence of the style associated with the "Morava School." Tall blind arcades that rise to the full height of the main building volume mark the façades, echoing the main spatial volumes within. Doubly and triply recessed, these arcades give the exterior extraordinary plasticity. Within these blind arcades and framed by them are decorative rosette windows, as well as single and double windows that illuminate the interior. The rosettes display a rich variety of interlace patterns, each employing a distinctive unique pattern (fig. 785). Arches topping the individual blind arcades are all made of stone, their surfaces also displaying a rich variety of ornamental patterns. The archivolts of the windows on the lowest level of the façades, in addition to ornamental patterns, also feature various animal and mythical creatures symmetrically juxtaposed for decorative effect. The lateral apses and the main apse are also articulated externally by attenuated blind arcades supported by slender engaged colonnettes, whose upper parts are twisted, adding to the ornate aesthetic quality. The walls of the building display a building technique that harks back to Constantinopolitan standards, displaying alternating bands of brick and stone, though of differing proportions to those common in Constantinopolitan architecture.[246] The exterior is further enlivened by two stone string-courses that run around the entire building at strategically chosen points – accenting a tall base and demarcating the springing points of the arches of the main blind arcades. The corners of the building also feature colonnettes recessed into the thickness of projecting pilasters, a structurally inexplicable, but aesthetically effective device known already in Middle Byzantine architecture. The main façade is marked also by a pair of blind niches framing the main portal symmetrically. This is yet another Constantinopolitan device that had reached Serbian architecture already during the 1330s and 1340s. Also notable are the diaper patterns made of tiles that fill the blind fields above these niches, as well as the cross-shaped hollow tubular elements that outline the arches of the blind arcades and window frames.

The overall effect of Lazarica's architecture is marked by its highly decorative, saturated, almost "Baroque" quality. Aspects of this style, though very much tied to architectural activity in Serbia during the period in question, have long been in the making and could be traced through various Byzantine developments from at least the end of the thirteenth century. This style, with its distinctive aesthetic qualities, also coincided chronologically, and to some extent formally, with certain Late Gothic manifestations that reached the Dalmatian coast via Venice. Parallels between the two have been made, yet, no defin-

785 Kruševac, Lazarica; south façade, east tympanum with rosette



784 (*facing page*) Kruševac, Lazarica; general view from SE

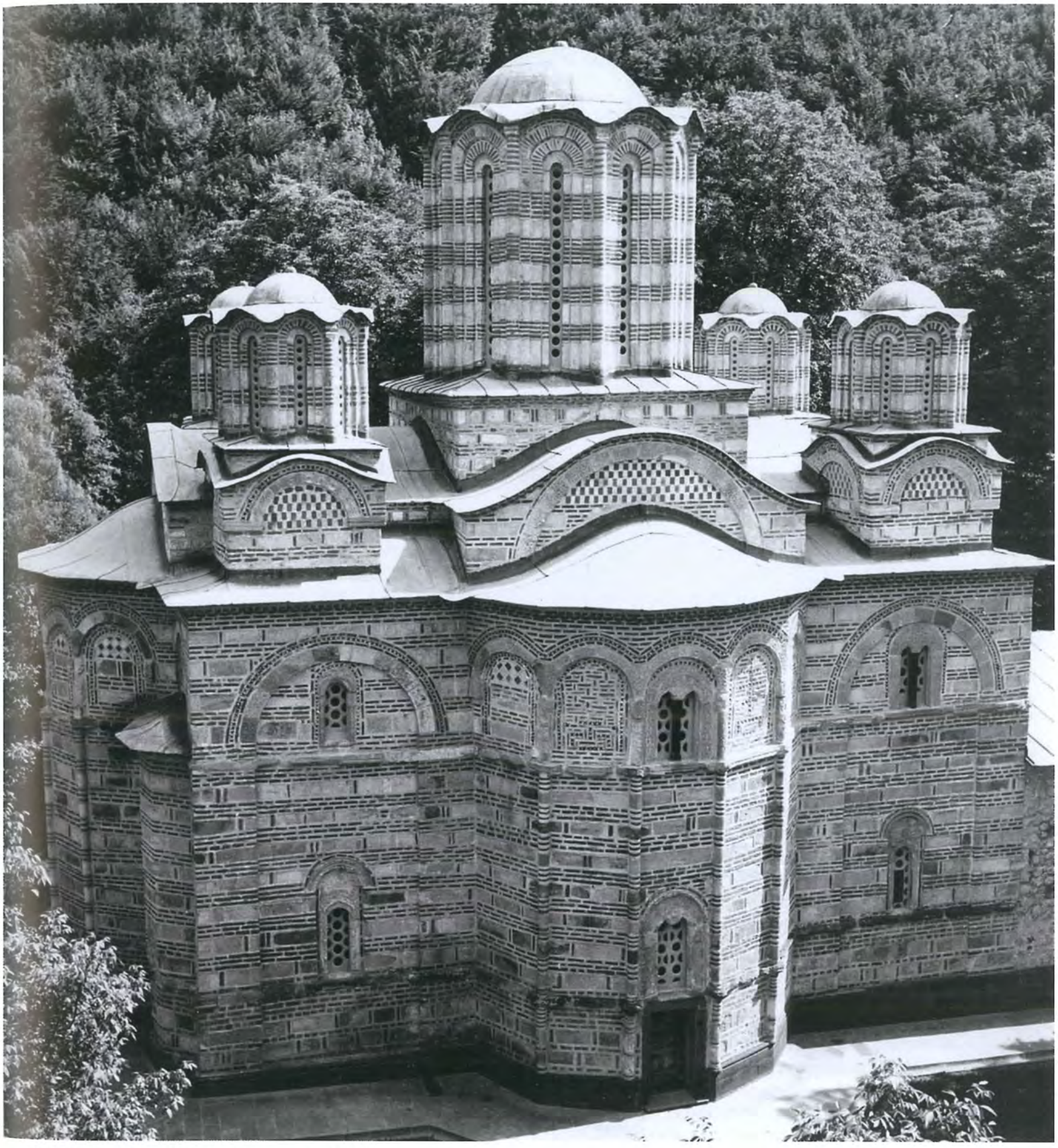
itive answers have been produced as to what this may have actually meant, or how it might have come about.

Prince Lazar was also responsible for the construction of another building that made a significant contribution to the articulation of this new style – the church of the Ascension at Ravanica Monastery (hereafter Ravanica) (fig. 786).[247] Though the early history of Ravanica Monastery is relatively well documented, its precise construction date is still being debated. According to some, it antedates the building of Lazarica, while others think it follows it. A date in the mid- to late 1370s is the most probable. The church was built as the katholikon of a major new monastery, but in accordance with the tradition established under the Nemanjić dynasty, it was also envisioned as the eventual burial place for its founder, Prince Lazar. Since Prince Lazar died in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, and subsequently became the national martyr saint par excellence, the monastery with its church became a major pilgrimage destination. This accounts for its influence during the last decades of the Serbian state, but also for the repeated assaults it endured under Ottoman rule.

Ravanica is a large church, measuring 11 × 29 meters, including the narthex (fig. 792A). The main part of the building is an elongated cross-in-square form, the lateral arms of the cross ending in large lateral apses, whose dimensions match those of the main apse. The use of the triconch scheme is related to what we saw at Lazarica. Here, however, in a larger, monastic church, the idea may be more readily understood as being related to the architecture of Mount Athos, and specifically to the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery, whence the idea is thought to derive. In the very center of the main part of the building rise four cylindrical piers with four diagonally placed, slender cylindrical engaged colonnettes. The four piers support a system of four stilted arches with four pendentives between them that support the main dome, 4 meters in diameter. The dome is raised upon an extremely attenuated drum, 5 meters high. The western part of the main rectangular space functions somewhat like a narthex, its corners given over to various tombs, including the original tomb of Prince Lazar. The corresponding, eastern part of the church is occupied by the sanctuary, separated from the naos by an iconostasis, whose original position is not structurally marked within the building itself, in contrast to earlier common practice in Byzantine and Serbian architecture. The large interior space of the church is relatively simple, the structural members reduced to only four large piers. This trend in the general simplification of interior spatial articulation has its roots in Serbian architecture of the period of Stefan Dušan. The most relevant prototype appears to have been the church of the Holy Archangels, Stefan Dušan's mausoleum. Similarities between the two churches were noted long ago. Because Ravanica features four tiny domes perched at the four corners of its main building mass, this has significantly supported the notion that its presumed prototype – the church of the Holy Archangels – may have had them as well. Ravanica was preceded by a spacious narthex, measuring 11 × 11 meters in overall dimensions. Destroyed in one of the Ottoman raids, the narthex was rebuilt on the same foundations, but without attempts to reconstruct its original form in every respect. Parts of its original façades allow for its hypothetical reconstruction. Its four piers most likely supported a blind dome, though the possibility of a special superstructure also involving a belfry, as seen at Lazarica, should not be dismissed. The building technique and the exterior decoration of Ravanica closely resemble Lazarica, though the decorative vocabulary here does not have as broad a range as on Prince Lazar's court church.

The effects of ruler leadership in matters of architectural patronage during the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth were felt in Serbia in a manner no different than was the case throughout the fourteenth century. Lazarica and Ravanica, the foundations of Prince Lazar, set the tone for architectural production over the coming decades. The two churches provided two distinctive paradigms that proved attractive to two categories of potential patrons: Lazarica, being the smaller and more compact of the two, appealed to the nobility; and Ravanica, spatially more expansive and formally more imposing, to the ruling elite. This observation should not be understood as a fast and mandatory rule, but the surviving monuments seem to reflect such a general trend.

The influence of Lazarica was seen almost instantaneously. Already by the time it was being finished, two related churches were built in the vicinity of Kruševac as private monastic commissions. The first of these, begun before 1382, is the church of the Birth of the Mother of God at Naupara Monastery (hereafter Naupara), approximately 13 kilometers southwest of Kruševac.[248] The church is based on the same type of plan as Lazarica, but it is proportionally somewhat smaller, measuring only 6.5 × 15 meters (fig. 783B). It contains, however, all of the main spatial and structural characteristics of Lazarica. These include even such features as a chapel-*katechoumenion* above the main space of the narthex. Naupara was severely damaged in the course of its history and it underwent an extensive if not very successful reconstruction in 1835. Notwithstanding the results of this reconstruction, it is possible to deduce certain important architectural characteristics. Naupara was built almost exclusively of fieldstone. Finer stone blocks were used only selectively in certain areas, while the use of brick was minimal. The final appearance of the exterior, in this case, clearly depended on the quality of its plaster covering with painted emulation of the architectural *opus*. Traces of this exterior finishing were uncov-



786 Ravanica Monastery, Ascension; general view from N

787 Naupara Monastery, Birth of the Mother of God; west façade, main rosette

ered at several points on the façades during restorations carried out in the years 1985–95. The small size of the church and the choice of an inexpensive building technique suggest that its unknown patron was an individual of relatively limited means. At the same time, resources do not seem to have been spared when it came to the execution of the architectural sculpture of relatively high quality with which the church abounds (fig. 787). This suggests two things. First, it underscores the fact that exterior sculptural decoration must have been considered a factor of prime importance in the context of this new style of architecture and that the ultimate aesthetic impression of the building depended heavily on it. Second, it suggests that skilled artisans capable of executing a large amount of sculpture must have been readily available at this time, even to a patron, with limited economic resources.

The second of the two churches closely related to Lazarica is the church of the Presentation of the Virgin at Veluće Monastery (hereafter Veluće), Serbia, some 10 kilometers southeast of Trstenik, whose early history is problematic, but general consensus puts its construction into the late 1370s, that is, roughly at the same time as Naupara (fig. 783c).[249] It, too, must have been a private foundation, though the identity of its patrons, despite the fact that their painted portraits have been preserved, has not been resolved. Like Naupara, Veluće suffered major damage in the course of its history and its upper part was rebuilt heavy handedly during a reconstruction carried out in 1833. Its plan, like that of Naupara, essentially repeats the features of Lazarica, but on a somewhat reduced scale (here 7 ×16 m). Like Naupara, Veluće also depended heavily on an extensive sculptural program on its exterior. The similarity between the two churches, however, ends here. Unlike Naupara, the lower part of Veluće was extremely well built, its façades marked by a building technique involving alternating layers of stone ashlars and three courses of brick, thus recalling the construction of Lazarica.

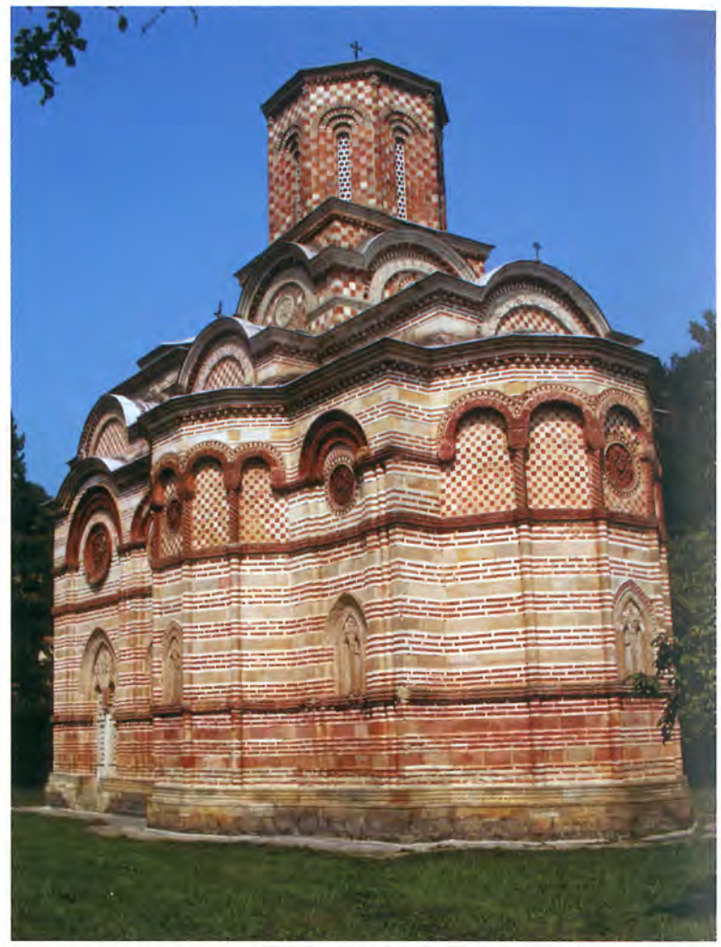
788 Veluće Monastery, Presentation of the Mother of God; west façade, lower section

As in the case of Lazarica, the façades were enlivened with blind niches as well as slender colonnettes recessed into decorative niches, all contributing to an extremely ornate exterior appearance (fig. 788). Traces of exterior painting suggest that, despite its fine building technique, Veluće may also have been painted externally, at least in part.

The church of Rudenica Monastery (hereafter Rudenica), Serbia, in the relative proximity of Veluće, whose original dedication is unknown, was a foundation of a nobleman by the name of Vukašin and his wife Vukosava, and was built during the first decade of the fifteenth century (fig. 783D).[250] With the same plan as Lazarica, Rudenica is the smallest of all of the churches considered here, measuring only 6 ×13 meters. Built in a manner recalling Naupara, Rudenica's exterior also depended on the painted emulation of the characteristic building *opus*, as well as elaborate sculptural decoration. The church was in partial ruin until the 1930s, when it was restored. Photographs taken before this restoration illustrate clearly the rough building technique, as well as the high quality of its then still preserved painted building *opus* (fig. 789).

The string of buildings inspired by the prototype of Lazarica culminated a generation later in the church of the Presentation of the Mother of God at Kalenić Monastery (hereafter Kalenić), Serbia (figs. 783E and 790).[251] The foundation of a prominent official at the court of Stefan Lazarević, one Bogdan, his wife Milica, and his brother Petar, the church was built between 1407 and 1413. Closely patterned after the model of Lazarica, the plan of Kalenić measures 8 ×18.5 meters, and is thus proportionally the largest church of the entire group. Similarities with Lazarica extend into other aspects of its architecture. In all respects, Kalenić appears to be a slightly exaggerated version of its prototype – its verticality is more pronounced; its exterior articulation is more complex; its sculptural decoration is richer in details; and its polychromy is more accentuated. The dome of

789 Rudenica Monastery, Church; main apse in ruins, detail, early 20th century

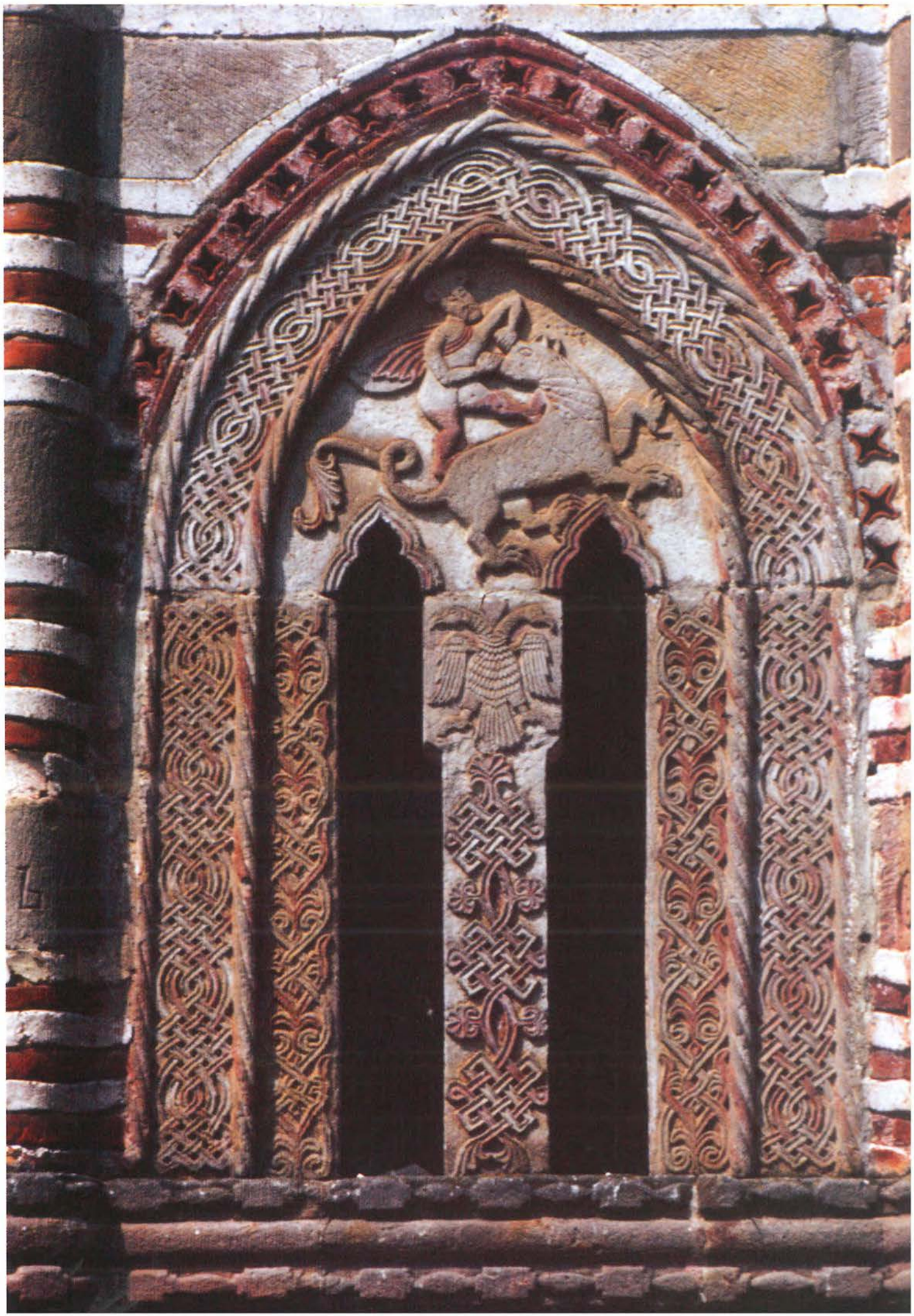


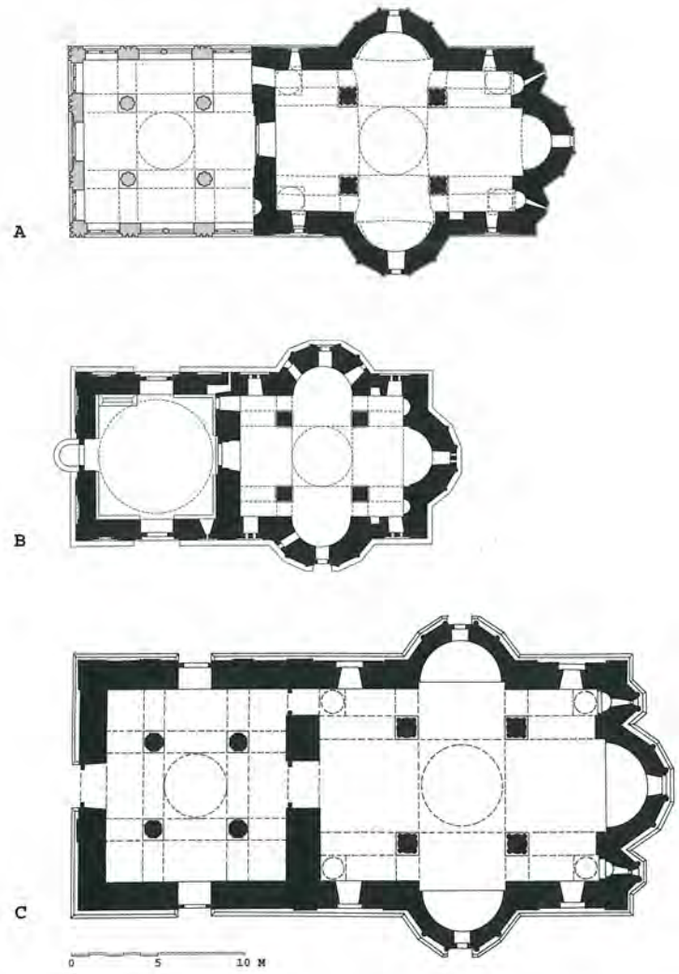
790 Kalenić Monastery, Presentation of the Mother of God; general view from SE

Kalenić is even higher than that of Lazarica. Internally, the bay under the dome reveals steep proportions of 1:6, which match those of Gračanica. Externally, this gives Kalenić an impressive silhouette. The fine building technique with thick mortar joints along with extensive areas painted with colorful checkered patterns marks Kalenić as a climactic point in the long process of an increasingly ornamental aesthetic. The introduction of painted figurative sculpture in the window spandrels further underscores this almost frenzied trend (fig. 791). Several aspects of the exterior articulation of Kalenić, even more so than those at Lazarica, seem to echo Late Gothic features. Among these is the tall, richly molded stone plinth and pointed window arches. As attractive as these comparisons with late Gothic architecture appear to be for formal and chronological reasons, they have no firm documentary footing in terms of how they may have come about.

Prince Lazar's wife, Princess Milica, left her own mark as a patron of architecture by commissioning the church of the Dormition at Ljubostinja Monastery (hereafter Ljubostinja), 4 kilometers north of Trstenik, Serbia (fig. 792B).[252] The exact date of its construction is uncertain. Previously, it was thought to have been built following the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, and Prince Lazar's death. More recently, however, scholars have been inclined to push its date back to 1389, and even several years earlier. Because we know that the widowed Princess Milica retired to the monastery and was eventually buried in the church, it stands to reason that her decisions may have been the direct outcome of her husband's death on the battlefield. The church is based on the model of Ravanica, though Ljubostinja is of smaller overall dimensions. Measuring 10 × 23 meters in plan, the church consists of an elongated cross-in-square naos with a sanctuary and a square narthex. As at Ravanica, the arms of the cross here terminate in large lateral apses equipped with doors in the middle of each. The dome, 3.5 meters in diameter, is supported by four massive square piers and rises to a height of 18 meters. Unlike Ravanica, Ljubostinja was built of field-

791 (*facing page*) Kalenić Monastery, Presentation of the Mother of God; south façade, window





792 (A) Ravanica Monastery, Ascension; (B) Ljubostinja Monastery, Dormition; (C) Manasija Monastery, Trinity; plans

stone, thus like Naupara and Rudenica relying on a much cheaper building technique. As in the case of those two churches, the exterior of Ljubostinja was plastered and painted in emulation not only of the building *opus*, but of various decorative elements, such as rosettes, normally made of stone (fig. 793). A particularly interesting aspect of Ljubostinja is that it had a very extensive repertoire of sculptural decoration, including multiple rosettes, so that the additional appearance of such elements in painted emulation cannot be exclusively ascribed to economic considerations. Judging by the extremely high quality of carving and painted exterior decoration, Ljubostinja must have been one of the finest churches of its time.

The largest and in many ways the most impressive church built in Serbia before the Ottoman conquest was the church of the Trinity at Manasija (Resava) Monastery (hereafter Mansija).[253] The monastery with the church was the foundation of Despot Stefan Lazarević, ruler of Serbia from 1389 to 1427. The church itself was built from 1407 to 1418. Emulating the model of his father's main foundation, Stefan Lazarević exceeded it in several different ways. Manasija, like Ravanica, was to become the founder's mausoleum. The same basic plan was adopted, though Manasija was to be much larger, measuring 14.5 meters (18.5 m including the lateral apses) by 34.5 meters (fig. 792C). Manasija's large square narthex, as was the case with that of Ravanica, was destroyed in one of the Ottoman raids, the first of which took place already in 1439. The church had large bells, removed in another Turkish raid of 1476. The present form of the narthex has the same plan as the original, but its superstructure is a result of a nineteenth-century reconstruction. Whether its belfry was part of the narthex superstructure is not clear. The only original part of the narthex that is substantially preserved is its fine marble floor with various geometric patterns of high quality. The main part of the church is substantially preserved. Its plan repeats that of Ravanica at a slightly enlarged scale. Its central, domed bay, as at Ravanica, is also defined by four large cylindrical piers, each with four diagonally set slender engaged colonnettes. The dome, 4.5 meters in diameter, rises to the height of 21 meters, underscoring the prevalent desire for attenuated proportions. These are accentuated even more in the four corner domes, whose drums are extremely slender and whose presence in the building is effective primarily as exterior formal and symbolic features, despite the fact that they also contain frescoes in their interiors, whose visibility is impaired by their great height and disproportionally small diameters. The most unexpected aspect of Manasija is the articulation of its façades (fig. 794). Though the main system of blind arcades supported by shallow pilasters and slender colonnettes was also employed here, the façades of Manasija are surprisingly austere in contrast to what was seen on other churches of this group. The façades are finished in finely cut stone blocks, devoid of brick, string-courses, or sculptural decoration, all otherwise standard hallmarks of the so-called Morava School. The only overtly decorative detail on the façades is a corbel-table that circumvents the main building just below the eaves of the main roof. The general stylistic impression, then, is much closer to Romanesque than to Late Byzantine architecture. How can this be explained? Various hypotheses have been proposed, but no hard facts have emerged that could solve this curious problem. In the final analysis, one should allow for the possibility that artisans from the Adriatic littoral, whose training and methods of construction were remarkably conservative, may have been employed in the building of Manasija. After all, the long tradition of building royal mausoleum churches was strongly marked by the importation of the best masons from the southern Adriatic coast. The ideological inclination of Stefan Lazarević, and before him of his

793 Ljubostinja Monastery, Dormition; main apse exterior, upper part

father Lazar, to emulate members of the Nemanjić dynasty in various ways may also have had a role in this particular development. As was the case with a number of other major building projects in fourteenth-century Serbia, the presence of imported builders left a visible imprint on a smaller church built in the aftermath of Manasija's completion. The church in question, at Vraćevšnica Monastery, on Mount Rudnik, west of Kragujevac, Serbia, illustrates the point in no uncertain terms (fig. 795).[254] Built by a high-ranking court official of Stefan Lazarević, one Radić Postupović, around 1431, this unassuming building illustrates several points of general significance. In the first place, yet again we see a high-ranking aristocrat following the example of the ruler in matters of church-building patronage. This, as in many other instances, meant not merely building yet another church, but taking some specific cues from such a choice. Most often, this would have meant hiring a member of a building team that had worked on a major project, where such a person – as an apprentice – would have learned his trade. The technical and stylistic aspects of such an individual's work are commonly unmistakable indicators of such a process. Vraćevšnica illustrates this point very clearly. Measuring 6 × 20 meters, it is a single-aisled church without a dome, whose small naos is preceded by a square narthex and a projecting portico, above which rises a domed belfry. Its façades feature a fine stone building technique, articulated by a system of shallow blind arcades supported by pilasters and a Romanesque-like corbel-table. All of these features repeat almost exactly those at Manasija. Since Vraćevšnica shows no other affinities with the so-called Morava School group, it can be understood exclusively as a direct, isolated offshoot of Manasija, probably the work of a builder, or builders, who had learned their trade on the great church several years earlier.

794 Manasija Monastery, Trinity; general view from NE

795 Vraćevšnica Monastery, Church; general view from NE

In contrast to the developments in the Byzantine Empire and in Bulgaria, where monumental architectural activity, with rare exceptions, had ceased by the last decades of the fourteenth century, building production in Serbia continued quite intensely, at least through the first quarter of the fifteenth century. A fairly large number of relatively well-preserved churches from this period facilitate important general conclusions, whose implications transcend Serbia's own borders. Intensive activities in Serbia during the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth imply, above all, continuing economic strength. On account of this strength, as in the heyday of its political influence under King Milutin and Emperor Dušan, Serbia was also capable of attracting the best available artisans from the West as well as from the East. The "Western connection," as we have seen, is exemplified by the architecture of Manasija and Vraćevšnica, while the "Eastern connection" remains a more murky issue. Older scholarship, following the lead of scholars such as Gabriel Millet, has been prone to view what was built on Serbia's territory during the period as a strictly "native" product. Hence, the term "Morava School" was coined and promoted to reflect such a notion. Recent years, however, have witnessed an increasing awareness that the origins of the "Morava School" have to be sought on a much broader territory than previously assumed, and that the mechanisms for its genesis were in place already during the 1340s and 1350s. Buildings, such as the exonarthex of the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery, must be viewed as precursors, rather than products, of the so-called Morava School. The importance of what happened in Serbia during the critical decades of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries is thereby hardly diminished. On the contrary, the value of this stylistic synthesis rests in the fact that it was in Serbia and under the patronage of its rulers and nobility that the last flowering of Byzantine architecture, stylistically speaking, was made possible. The dimensions of this "success story" can best be understood if one bears in mind that this building tradition was passed from Serbia to neighboring Wallachia, where buildings such as the churches of Cozia Monastery (built in 1386) resulted from the activities of monks, who, like one Nikodemos from Mount Athos, facilitated the transmission of an architectural building type and style to lands far removed from the Morava river basin.[255] Reverberations of related phenomena in a building such as the grossly restored episcopal church of Curtea d'Arges (originally built 1512–17) demonstrate the vitality of this "international" tradition to which Serbia had made a major contribution during the last decades of its national independence. This, however, takes us well outside the chronological and geographic confines of this chapter.

THE WESTERN SPHERE

The fate of the western parts of the Balkans, particularly those along the Adriatic coast, differed considerably from the areas in the interior of the peninsula.[256] As noted in the preceding chapter, these areas had come under the sway of Western influence already before the Fourth Crusade, changing hands between Hungary and Venice. Following 1204, Venice, at least temporarily, gained an upper hand along the Dalmatian coast, but considerable turmoil ensued, owing to major changes in the Balkans following the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. Among the major additional factors contributing to the unsettled state of affairs was the Tatar invasion of 1241–42, which wrought havoc across the Balkans and resulted in plundering and destruction even along the Dalmatian coast. In the wake of the Tatar raids, the Hungarian king Bela IV gave special privileges to the Croatian nobility that de facto encouraged the construction of private fortifications. This policy clearly had another aim, since it also encouraged resistance to Hungary's principal adversary in the region – Venice. Hungary's efforts against Venice bore their ultimate fruit after the death of Serbia's emperor Stefan Dušan (in 1355), who had been another major opponent of Hungary's policies in the Balkans. Already in 1356 Hungary was openly on the move against Venice. By 1358, in accordance with a peace treaty signed in Zadar, Venice handed over full control of the entire Dalmatian coast to Hungary, with the exception of the towns of Kotor and Bar, which mostly remained in Serbian hands. The Hungarians pursued a shrewd policy vis-à-vis the conquered towns, even granting Dubrovnik freedom of trade with Hungary's adversary, Serbia. The situation changed again during the second decade of the fifteenth century. Taking advantage of Hungary's internal problems and the general deteriorating situation in the Balkans, Venice was once more in a position to retake the Dalmatian coast. By 1420 it had succeeded, claiming control of most of the towns. Despite perpetual upheavals between *circa* 1250 and *circa* 1450, the Dalmatian towns experienced a period of general economic prosperity and growth that manifested itself in the volume and quality of buildings being built. The influence of Venice became notable in all categories of architecture, from private residences, to churches and public buildings, as well as military architecture. Other parts of the western Balkans were exposed to influences emanating from elsewhere – from central Europe and from Hungary. Such evidence is notable in the continental parts of Croatia and in Bosnia, though neither the volume nor the quality of building in those areas matched the phenomena along the Dalmatian coast.

* * *

Fortifications

Though not as numerous, examples of fortification architecture in the western parts of the Balkans during the period also display important developments. Geographically, as well as from the standpoint of the principal sources of influence, we have to distinguish two separate groups: that along the Adriatic coast, during this period coming under the strong influence of Venice, and that in the northwestern portion of the Balkan interior, where the influence of Hungary continued to play the dominant role. The line between these two spheres of influence must not be drawn too sharply, since cultural frontiers were never impervious. The degree of mobility of master builders, craftsmen, and, in the case of fortifications, military engineers, must never be underestimated. Our discussion of fortifications will focus on a few selected examples, representative of certain distinctive trends in military architecture. The reader should bear in mind that further discussion of Western fortifications may be found in the following section "Urban Developments," where several individual fortifications are considered within their respective urban contexts.

One of the areas of the Balkans that was being heavily fortified during this period was the territory of Bosnia. Prospering as an independent state (1322–1463), Bosnia faced multiple challenges.[257] Its mountainous terrain made traveling through the country a major challenge, but it also provided the native defenders with natural advantages. These were amply exploited, most of the fortifications in Bosnia being perched on high locations to provide the best defensive positions and effective control of the surrounding countryside. Few of the late medieval fortifications in Bosnia, however, have fared well in terms of their survival. Many of them were subjected to destruction, rebuilding, and extensive modifications, while some were almost completely eliminated (as, for example, Bihać, razed by the Austrians in 1890). One of the capitals and one of the largest fortified sites of medieval Bosnia – Bobovac – provides invaluable, albeit partial information about military architecture and living conditions within this important center. Situated on a rocky ridge, surrounded by sheer cliffs above the gorge of the River Trstionica, Bobovac is characterized by enormous defensive advantages, though in times of relative peace this must have hampered its functioning as an effective center of power. Bobovac, first mentioned in 1350, consists of an upper and a lower town linked by a system of fortification walls. Surviving in ruins, the town and its fortifications were the subject of extensive archaeological investigations in the years 1959–70 (fig. 796).[258] The separately fortified royal court comprised two palaces, built on two separate terraces, one above the other. While many components of this intricate complex have been uncovered, their state of preservation was poor. Outstanding among the discoveries were the remains of a royal funerary chapel with the tombs of three late

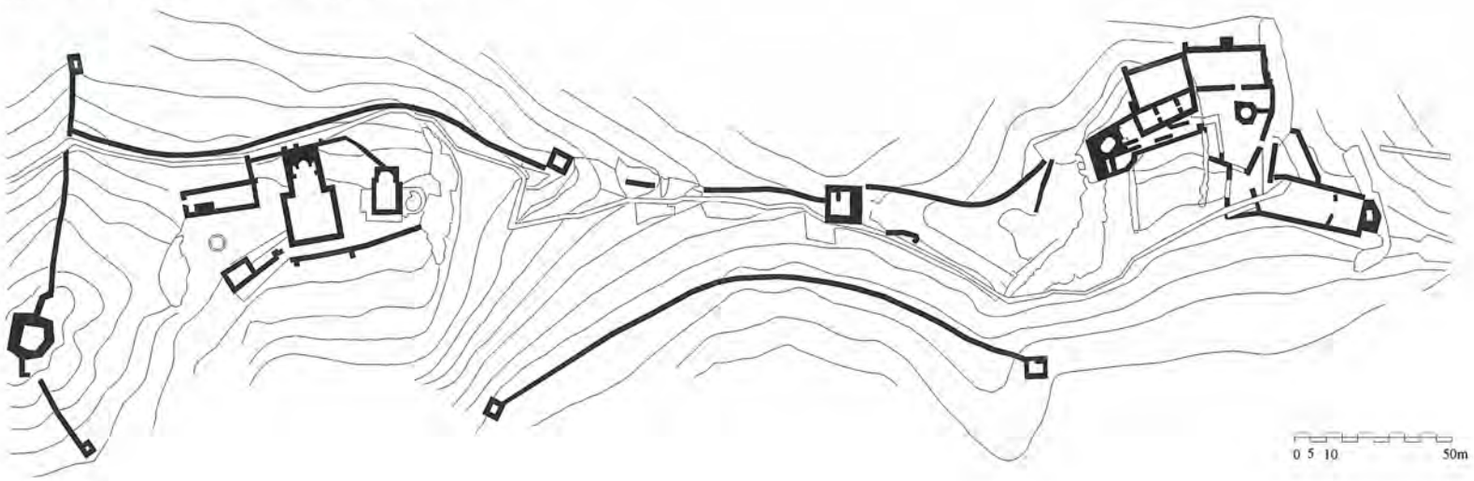
medieval Bosnian kings: Ostoja (1398–1404), Tvrtko II (1404–43), and Stjepan Tomas (1443–61). Fragmentary sculptural decoration associated with the three tombs has been linked to the workshop active in Budim under the auspices of the Hungarian king Sigismund. Although architectural characteristics cannot be sufficiently pinpointed in terms of their ultimate sources, and are in all likelihood the products of local workshops, sculpture was clearly made by artisans brought from central Europe, suggesting that the Bosnian court was no different in that regard from other courts in the Balkans and their eclectic patronage patterns.

Fortification architecture along the Dalmatian coast reveals patterns of development and ideas that may be related to both current Western and Eastern trends, especially in the course of the fourteenth century. Fortifying populated areas, notably towns, but also creating walled enclosures that could be used to shelter a rural population in times of crises, became quite common. As in the Byzantine world, special citadels were built to strengthen the defenses of highly vulnerable spots, for example, entrance points into harbors. Similar citadels could also protect the households of local strongmen. Invariably, both kinds of citadels were marked by a single dominant tower – the donjon (keep) – used as the most defensible point in a given complex, but also serving a major symbolic role through dominant height and massive presence. Nor were fortifications elsewhere within the "Western sphere" in the Balkans significantly different. From the hinterlands of Istria in the northwestern part of the peninsula, to Bosnia, and even as far south as the interior of Zeta (present-day Montenegro) and Albania, similarities of planning and construction techniques recur.

The general course of development of military architecture underwent major changes with the introduction of firearms in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Dalmatian coast, owing to the Venetian presence, was exposed to the new technology early. By 1351 cannon are recorded in Zadar and in Dubrovnik. In the ensuing decades, Dubrovnik became a major center of production of cannon and one of the main exporters of new weaponry.[259] Significant effects of the new military technology on the design and construction of fortifications, however, were not felt until well into the fifteenth century, even in Dubrovnik itself.

Having purchased the Pelješac peninsula from the Serbian king Stefan Dušan in 1333, the Dubrovnik Republic immediately began what was probably the most extensive building project on its territories – the fortifications of Mali and Veliki Ston, Croatia (fig. 802).[260] Each of these two settlements was surrounded by its own walls and the two were connected by a long wall with a fort known as Podzvizd, on a hill by the same name, constituting the high point within the system. With a total length of 5.5 kilometers, with ten round and thirty-one rectangular towers, this was one of the most ambitious fortification enterprises undertaken in the Balkans during the late Middle Ages. The walls of Veliki Ston also included a citadel, known as Veliki Kastio ("The Great Castle"), guarding the most vulnerable point of the system. This citadel, measuring roughly 45 × 55 meters in plan, belongs to a type that recurred with some frequency during this period and had a huge geographic spread. Rectangular in plan, the type is distinguished by four corner towers, recalling late antique *tetrapyrgia*. The system of Ston fortifications was not completed until 1506, but already by the mid-fifteenth century it was upgraded to meet the needs of new warfare technology. In that regard developments at Ston did not lag behind those in Dubrovnik itself. The appearance of heavily fortified citadels became quite widespread, especially during the fourteenth and

796 Bobovac, fortified town and royal palace; plan



fifteenth centuries. It should be noted that many cities in Dalmatia acquired such citadels. Some of these were subsequently modified or destroyed, but several still survive, notably those in Trogir and Split (only partially preserved), while that in Dubrovnik was eventually displaced by the present Knežev dvor (Ducal Palace).

Urban Developments

The rise of towns was noted as a distinctive phenomenon along the Dalmatian coast already in the previous chapter. This pattern, with its beginnings in the eleventh century, gained full momentum in the twelfth. In the course of the thirteenth century along the Dalmatian coast Venice took full advantage of the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire. Variously affected by the ensuing Venetian–Hungarian conflicts, Dalmatian towns experienced another period of relative prosperity and growth in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An important dimension of the growth of towns along the Adriatic littoral during this period had to do with the increased emphasis on the regulation of growth, evident in the appearance of local communal statutes governing not only the layout, but also issues of zoning, the character of buildings, their height, choice of materials, and methods of construction, as well as the manner of conduct of life within the urban framework. These statutes appeared over the course of the thirteenth century, largely under Venetian influence, but, characteristically, they reveal significant differences between individual towns. In most, owing to unfortunate experiences related to frequent fires, stone eventually became the material of choice, resulting in the changed appearance of urban residences, and also in the cost of their construction. From the urban point of view, it is interesting to note that basic regularity in the layout of building blocks emerged as a norm. Relatively narrow and long, these blocks were usually planned so that two rows of relatively small, square plots were grouped back to back, their main façades facing two parallel streets on opposite sides of the block. Transversal streets were fewer in number. What is of particular significance here is that during this period the street emerged as a distinctive urban form, and its functions and maintenance assumed the most significant role in the urban growth of coastal towns. Significant differences should be noted here from the new towns in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula, where during the same period the definition of a "street" as a distinctive urban entity, both formally and functionally, was essentially nonexistent.

Although Venice continued to have an upper hand in controlling maritime commercial activity in the Adriatic, many of the coastal towns developed successful and extensive trading activities with the interior of the Balkan peninsula. So extensive were their trading connections that towns such as Dubrovnik and Kotor had their own colonial quarters in various interior towns – Prizren, Skopje, and Novo Brdo among them – inhabited by their citizens, who facilitated a smooth, continuous flow of trade in both directions. As has been repeatedly demonstrated in scholarship, these links played a role in architectural developments as well. The participation of various artisans from the coastal centers went hand in hand with the trading activities. Thus aspects of Western architectural activity also reverberated in the interior of the Balkans. Resulting "influences" are especially notable in the styles and constructional methods of buildings, and to a considerably lesser degree in their design. What needs to be emphasized in the present context is that the prosperity and growth of the coastal towns in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries facilitated the emergence of workshops associated with different trades, whose activities are detectable both in the physical evidence of the surviving buildings and in preserved archival documents. Last but not least, it should be noted that the religious orders – in this context the new mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans – also played an important urban role, not only in the spreading of religious zeal among the urban poor, but also in the sponsoring of major building and artistic activities in the service of the Catholic Church.

DUBROVNIK

Along with the rest of the Adriatic coast, Dubrovnik came under the direct control of Venice in 1205, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire from the political scene.[261] The following century and a half was marked by an essentially colonial relationship with less than favorable effects on its growth. Persistent efforts to escape from this dependent status bore fruit only in 1358, following Hungarian success in defeating Venice in their ongoing struggle for supremacy in the region. Dubrovnik was a direct beneficiary of this development, fully taking advantage of it in the following decades. Following 1358, when it was granted political autonomy by the Hungarians, the reins of power effectively passed into the hands of the native aristocracy, which established a form of republican government modeled on that of Venice, but free of Venetian control. The changed conditions in Dubrovnik during the second half of the fourteenth century paved the way for a long period of prosperity and growth. Active construction turned the town into a major center, attracting skilled individuals from afar. The presence of active workshops and the demand for skilled artisans affected not only the physical shaping of Dubrovnik and the territories under its control, but also far

beyond. At the same time, when special problems arose, the government of Dubrovnik did not hesitate to invite and hire foreign architects and artists, at times at great expense. Albeit on a much smaller scale, we may think of Dubrovnik as having functioned like Constantinople – simultaneously importing and exporting highly skilled architects, artists, and artisans alike. The rich state archives of Dubrovnik, the most extensive repository of medieval documents to survive on the Balkan peninsula, supply a wealth of information, above all, providing us with the first insights into the careers of individual architects, engineers, sculptors, and other artisans active in the region.[262]

Though the urban form of Dubrovnik began to evolve considerably earlier, the form that we know today was substantially the result of developments that began in the second half of the fourteenth century and gained full momentum only around 1400. A remarkable mid-fifteenth-century representation of the city gives a clear idea of the state of its development at that time (fig. 797). The city is depicted as a model held by its patron saint, Sv. Vlaho (St. Blaise).[263] The statue of St. Blaise, executed in hammered silver and gilded, is only 67.2 centimeters high. The model of the city, despite its very small size (15 × 15 cm), shows individual buildings in remarkable detail, and evidently with great accuracy. Dubrovnik is shown from the south, so that the natural rise of the terrain is taken advantage of in order to maximize what could be shown within its walls. Among the features that are easily discernible one sees the harbor; the main street – the so-called Placa – lined with buildings with wooden shops in front of their ground floors; two main monastic complexes, that of the Franciscans and that of the Dominicans, at the opposite ends of the city; the city clock tower and the so-called Orladov stup, for the display of the city standard; and finally, the domed Romanesque cathedral. As one of the very few preserved images of the city before the catastrophic earthquake of 1667, this is arguably the most important visual document related to the early urban development of Dubrovnik.

Clearly depicted on the model are the city walls as they must have looked around the middle of the fifteenth century. It is known that the first efforts to fortify the urbanized suburbs of Dubrovnik took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These walls no longer survive, at least not visibly, on account of later efforts to modernize the system of fortifications. During the second half of the fourteenth century, as a direct reflection of the political autonomy granted to Dubrovnik by Hungary, the northern stretch of city walls, facing Mount Srdj, was rebuilt in accordance with current standards. This line of walls originally featured five rectangular projecting towers, open to the interior of the enclosure. Substantially, this line of fortifications is still preserved, though it was enclosed in the fifteenth century by a low outer wall with semicircular towers (see Chapter 9). Designed for the needs of cold-steel warfare, the fourteenth-century fortification system, relying on relatively tall towers and comparatively thin walls, was in line with current practices employed in Byzantium and in Serbia. Unlike Byzantium and Serbia, Dubrovnik was to have its "second chance" after 1453, when its council actively worked on upgrading the city walls against the new weapon that Dubrovnik itself had been manufacturing and exporting since the middle of the fourteenth century. Similar efforts were also employed at Dubrovnik's main northern stronghold, Ston.

Simultaneously with these military improvements, Dubrovnik was undergoing further urban improvements. Employing and enforcing its strict communal statutes of 1272 and 1296, the town refurbished its infrastructure and urban fabric in general.[264] Among the most impressive undertakings were the construction of a new 12-kilometer-long aqueduct and the building of two public fountains in the city itself. The entire project was entrusted to an Italian, Onofrio della Cava, the best-paid foreigner employed by the civic government, who was active in Dubrovnik from 1436 to 1443.[265] In contrast to other coastal cities in Dalmatia that depended on rainwater stored in cisterns, Dubrovnik became the first urban center to have its own running spring water. At the opposite ends of the Placa (the main street) and near the two main city gates, Onofrio constructed two public fountains, which still serve as sources of fresh water. The larger of the two, the so-called Velika Onofrijeva česma (Onofrio's Great Fountain), is a masterpiece in several respects (fig. 798). Situated in the center of a rectangular public square near the inner western city gate and fronting the church of Sv. Spas, the fountain is a twelve-sided domed structure. Its twelve faces are decorated with elaborate floral masks, each of which

798 Dubrovnik, Velika Onofrijeva česma; aerial view

797 (*facing page*) Gilt-silver statue of St. Blaise; detail, model of Dubrovnik

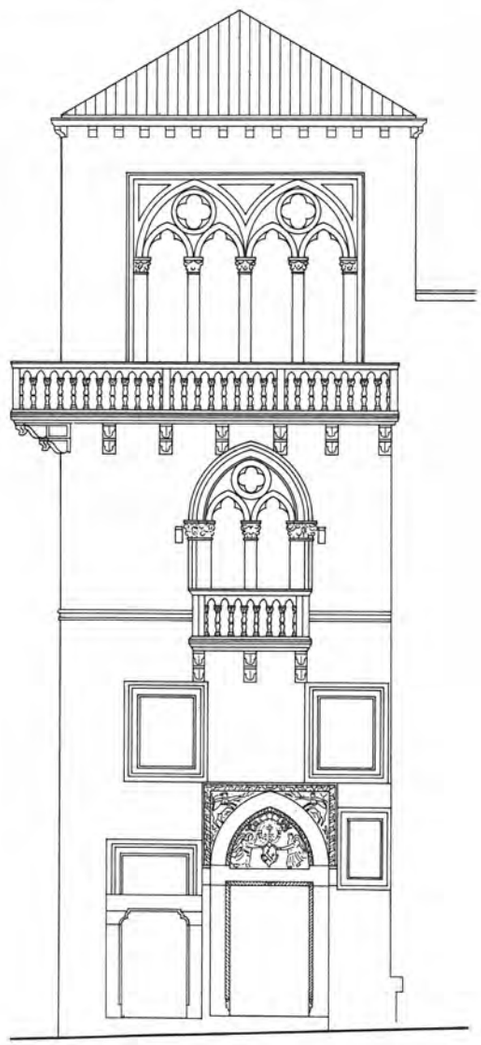
contains an outlet for water that falls into a trough enclosed by twenty-four parapet slabs. Twelve columns mark the corners of the polygonal stone body of the fountain, above which rises a hemispherical brick dome with an oculus at its apex. This part of the fountain is unfinished. It is possible to imagine a slightly pointed, external stone dome shell, possibly ribbed as a stylistically suitable crowning feature. The brick dome in that context would have constituted the inner shell of a double-shell dome of the kind known in fifteenth-century Italian architecture.

The two public fountains near the two city gates at the opposite ends of the main street were not the only symbols framing this urban axis. The two main monastic establishments – the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries – played similar symbolic roles. Characteristically situated at the opposite ends of a city, the two establishments aimed to attract different flocks. The Franciscans, operating near the western city gate, began the construction of their monastery in 1317. The church was subsequently rebuilt, but the cloister, begun during the first half of the fifteenth century, survives. Its elegant arcade consists of groups of six slender paired colonnettes carrying small arches alternating with single massive piers. The piers carry large groin vaults over the portico bays. Large tympana above the intervening slender columnar arcades are pierced by large oculi. The cloister of the Franciscans is marked at once by high quality yet unusually late, conservative Romanesque style (fig. 799). The cloister of the Dominicans was built in the fifteenth century. Its essentially Renaissance character with curious interpolations of older decorative elements is more intimately linked to contemporary achievements in Italy. Designed by Maso di Bartolomeo from Florence, its construction was entrusted to local builders, evidently given considerable liberties in the execution of details.

Other major works undertaken in Dubrovnik before *circa* 1450 do not survive. We know, for example, that the medieval citadel (referred to as *castrum* and *castellum* in the sources) facing the harbor was functioning as an official residence by 1349, when it is referred to as a *palatium*. Its rebuilding was entrusted to Onofrio della Cava in 1436, but the project was not completed at the time of his departure from Dubrovnik in 1446. An explosion of gunpowder stored in the building in 1463 signaled yet another alteration in its design and execution, about which more in the following chapter.

799 Dubrovnik, Franciscan Monastery; Cloister arcade

800 Dubrovnik, Isusović-Braichi Palace; façade



Freed from Venetian domination around the middle of the fourteenth century and fully in control of its own affairs, Dubrovnik experienced a period of prosperity and steady growth. By the middle of the fifteenth century it was poised for its finest achievements. Unlike the rest of the Balkan states that vanished in the wake of the Ottoman tide, Dubrovnik managed to preserve its autonomy. Reliant on the protection of its walls against surprise raids, as well as on political wisdom and skills along with economic resources, it managed to negotiate its independence through the most difficult times.

The private residential architecture of Dubrovnik constitutes an important category of buildings in its own right.[266] At the same time, continuous changes over the centuries on account of natural and other disasters, as well as changes in ownership, have created complex formations, in which the appearance of any single phase of a building's existence is not easily discernible. Yet scholars have been able to draw some general conclusions about the evolution of residential architecture within the city, basing their observations on written sources and on pieces of surviving physical evidence. Virtually nothing of the earliest residential buildings survives, but it is clear from the communal statutes of 1272 and 1296 that these early (Romanesque) structures were generally small in plan and characteristically square; that they had a single room on each floor and multiple stories that allowed for the separation of functions. These buildings, as a result, tended to be proportionally quite tall, most commonly rising three or four stories. The expansion of the city and the growth of a wealthy aristocracy in the following centuries saw major changes in the character of private residences. Purchasing neighboring properties and combining them into larger blocks resulted in the appearance of more imposing residential buildings – private palaces – with unifying façades whose aim was to project publicly the wealth and the power of the owner. The beginnings of this phase in the development of residential architecture coincided with the last decades of Venetian rule. Without significant changes this trend continued after Dubrovnik gained its autonomy after 1358. A distinctive formal characteristic of this new architecture was the introduction of Venetian Gothic, primarily detectable on façades. The interior arrangements of these residences retained many earlier characteristics and were less prone to the adoption of foreign formulas. One of the representative examples of this phase of Dubrovnik residential architecture is the so-called Isusović-Braichi Palace (fig. 800).[267] No documentary evidence has been preserved, but it is clear that the building occupies two adjacent sites in accordance with the earlier land division. On the basis of its various stylistic elements and types of balconies, mentioned in a reference to another palace in the city in 1421, the building may be dated to around the middle of the fifteenth century. Its main façade reveals characteristics of early Venetian Gothic. The main design objective was clearly symmetry, though deviations were evidently unavoidable for a variety of reasons that are not readily apparent. The four-story organization of the building, its overall proportions, and the rather enclosed character of its lower two stories are qualities more readily associated with earlier residential architecture. It was only after *circa* 1450 that the real impact of Late Gothic and Renaissance architecture began to be felt in Dubrovnik.

KOTOR

Situated at the farthest point of a deep bay bearing the same name, Kotor, Montenegro, was established early as a port of considerable strategic significance (see Chapter 9). In Serbian hands from 1186, it remained in their possession until the death of

801 Kotor, Drago Palace; north façade, detail

802 Kotor, Bizanti Palace; portal, detail

Stefan Dušan in 1355. This was followed by a period of turmoil, during which Kotor changed hands several times. In the process it also suffered considerable devastation. After a brief period of independence (1391–1420), Kotor ultimately came under Venetian sway, in whose hands it remained until the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797.[268]

The growth experienced by Kotor during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries substantially slowed down during the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. The only architecture of significance that was being built at the time was private residences, most commonly constituting reconstructions or adaptations of older residences by new owners. Among these stands out the Drago Palace, situated on a prominent site, adjacent to the cathedral and the bishop's palace, overlooking one of the main city squares. In its present form it was built in the fifteenth century by combining the remains of three older residential units into a curiously shaped, irregular form.[269] The oldest, northern component of this unusual building preserves most of its original (probably fourteenth-century) layout. Its three-storied Gothic façade displays what may be considered a characteristically asymmetric disposition of apertures (fig. 801). Single- and triple-arched windows within rectangular frames point to the early Gothic style of Venice. Both the construction technique and the quality of carving of the frames reveal work of the highest quality. As in the case of Dubrovnik, the quantity of building in Kotor must have warranted the continuous presence of workshops over long periods of time. Needless to say, as in Dubrovnik, an occasional master builder may have been brought in from outside, though their presence in Kotor is more difficult to detect on account of the scarcity of the surviving written sources. The impressive Late Gothic portal of the late fifteenth-century Bizanti Palace provides such clues, though precise documentation that would confirm this supposition is lacking (fig. 802). Similarity to the work of Juraj Dalmatinac is particularly pronounced, as a comparison with Juraj's work at Split (see pp. 694–95) can attest.

STARI BAR

Situated about 5 kilometers from the Adriatic coast, Stari Bar (Antivari), Montenegro, shares many characteristics with the coastal towns of this period (fig. 803).[270] Built much earlier (certainly by the tenth century), the town developed into a commercial center of considerable importance under Serbian control from the late twelfth century to the mid-fourteenth. Ruled by the Balšić family after the death of Stefan Dušan in 1355, Bar returned briefly to the Serbian state from 1421 to 1443, at which time it was taken over by Venice. The Venetians held it until 1571, when it finally passed into Ottoman hands. Ultimately, the town was destroyed by two massive gunpowder explosions – in 1881 and in 1912 – which left it in ruins. A new settlement – Novi Bar – subsequently emerged on the coast, while the site of Stari Bar was never resettled. The impressive physical remains of the medieval town have been studied, though opportunities for further investigations remain wide open.

Occupying an elevated plateau on the slopes of Mount Rumija, the town is naturally protected by steep cliffs on its east and south sides. The city fortifications were built at different times, accounting for the physical expansion of the original settlement over time. The site is dominated by the citadel known as Tatarovica, itself rebuilt and strengthened several times between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. At the opposite, southeast corner of the town, also on a prominent platform, are the remains of the medieval cathedral. Destroyed in the first gunpowder explosion of 1881, the cathedral has been archaeologically explored and it was determined that there were two distinct buildings on the site – the first church, dedicated to St. Theodore (possibly in the ninth or tenth century), and the second one, dedicated to St. George, in the twelfth century or, more likely, in the thirteenth. Measuring 11.5 × 21 meters in plan, this was a three-aisled church made entirely of stone. Its meager remains indicate that its main vessel, 3.5 meters wide, was separated from the side aisles by massive square piers that divided it into four more-or-less square bays. The nave terminated in an apse, semicircular internally and externally, while the side aisles had semicircular niches embedded within the thickness of the eastern wall of the building. Among the meager archaeological finds were several voussoirs from the rib vaults with projecting profiles. These, as well as some details from the west portal, suggest that the church must have had some Gothic elements and that these may have been the result of another reconstruction in the fourteenth century. Relatively modest in scale and in its preserved decorative details, the cathedral of Stari Bar does reveal characteristics that relate it to other medieval cathedrals along the Adriatic littoral.

The single-aisled church of St. Nicholas (subsequently St. Mark), probably also a thirteenth-century building, was built by the Franciscans within their monastic complex near the Tatarovica citadel and along the northern wall of the city. The church, converted into a mosque by the Ottomans, survived virtually in pristine condition until 1912, when it was blown to pieces by a major gunpowder explosion. Carefully excavated, it reveals many Early Gothic characteristics. Based on a single-aisled plan measuring 8 × 23.5 meters, the church had a rectangular sanctuary common in church architecture of the Benedictines, who introduced it in Dalmatia two centuries earlier. Extremely well built, the nave was marked by an elaborate system of engaged wall pilasters that articulated a system of

803 Stari Bar; town plan

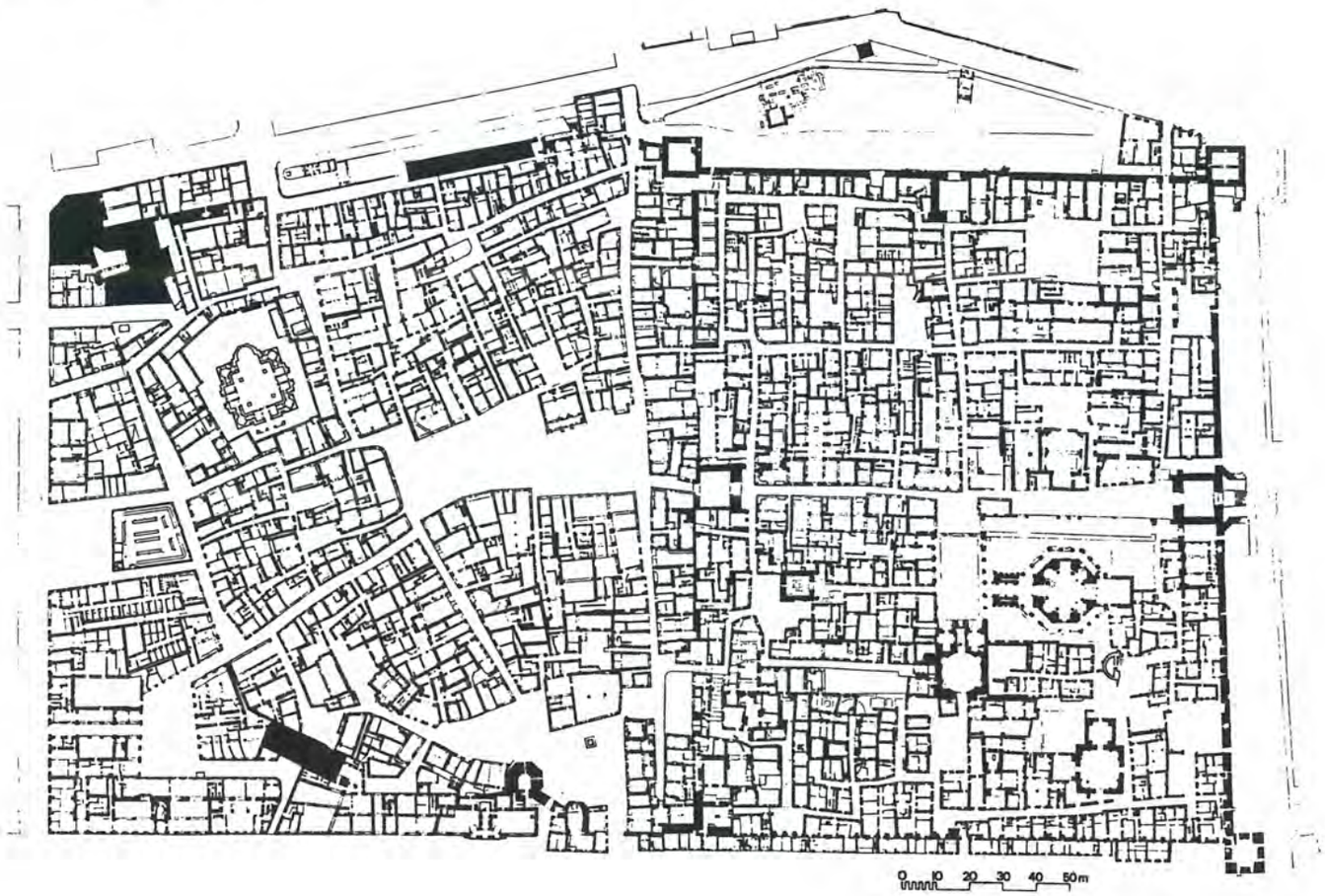
four bays of differing dimensions. All the pilasters had complex profiles related to the wall arches and the transverse arches across the nave, which were built integrally with the barrel vaulting that covered it. All-stone construction, along with the surviving elements of the main portal and a slender single-light window on the west façade, point to regional Early Gothic characteristics.[271]

SPLIT

On the rise already in previous centuries, the commune of Split navigated in a quest for its survival between the interests of the various external powers that sought control over this important center during the second half of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth.[272] In 1420, as was the case with most towns in Dalmatia, it found itself under the rule of Venice. Notwithstanding the political trials of the period, Split experienced a period of considerable economic growth and prosperity during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was most clearly reflected in population growth and the physical expansion of the city. In the course of the thirteenth century, for the first time since the seventh century, when the fortified enclosure of the so-called Palace of Diocletian became a locus of new settlement the city of Split extended its limits westward. By the fourteenth century, this expansion had nearly doubled the size of the original settlement and its irregular, trapezoidal form was enclosed by a new set of walls attached to the original Roman circuit (fig. 804). After 1420, following its passing into Venetian hands, the fortification system of Split was strengthened by the incorporation of a new citadel – Kaštel – built in front of the harbor and abutting the southwest corner tower of the "Palace of Diocletian". Only a fragment of this citadel, including part of the enclosure walls and a polygonal tower known as "Hrvojeva kula", survives amidst the later residential buildings that engulf it.

North of the citadel and fronting a major public square related to the western gate of the "Palace of Diocletian" stood the medieval Ducal Palace, and next to it the town hall (Gradska vjećnica), begun in the thirteenth century but completed in 1443

804 Split, medieval city; plan

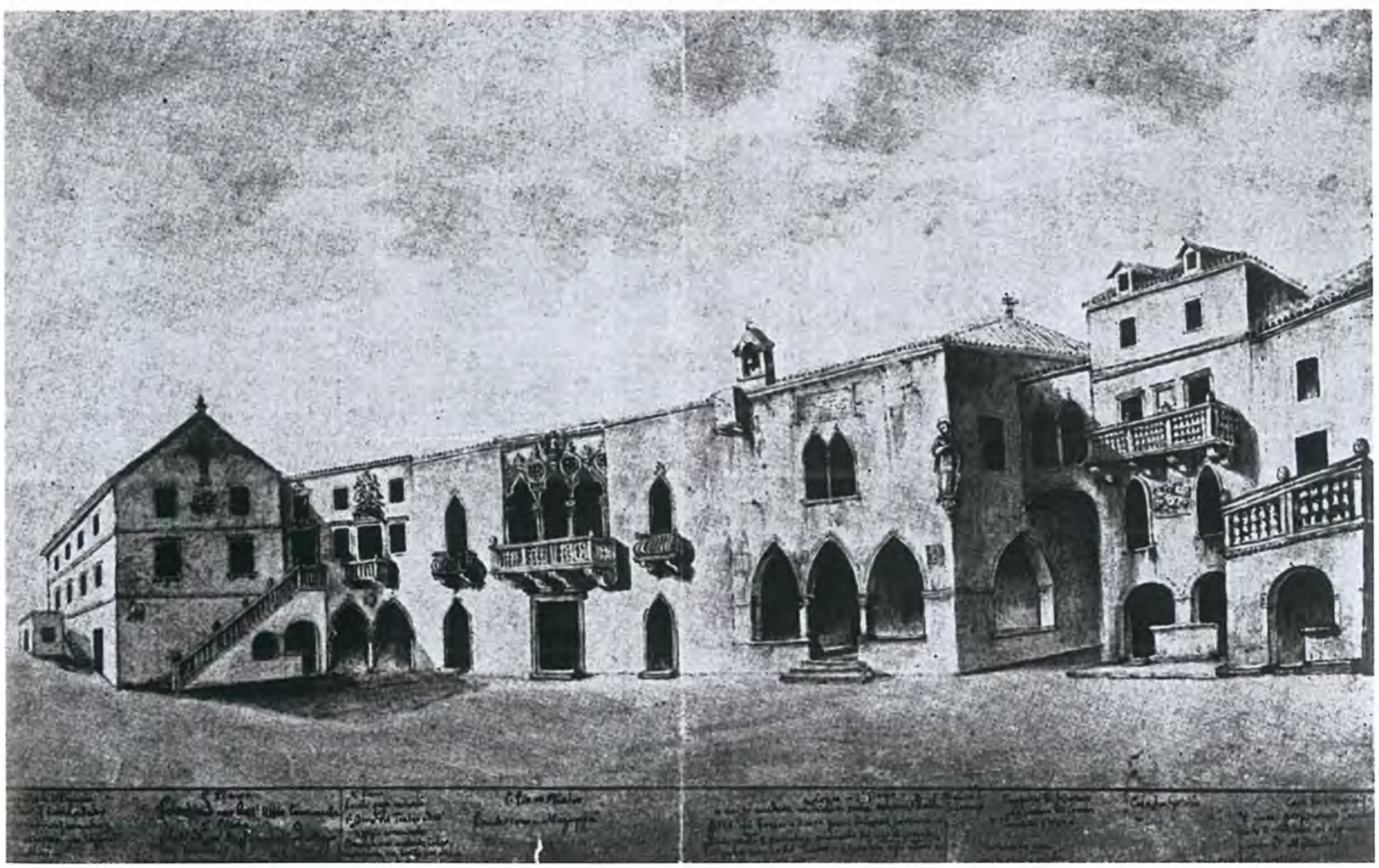


(fig. 805). Only the town hall is substantially preserved. It is a three-storied blocky form dominated by a monumental triple-arched portico on the ground level. The Gothic style of this building and the period of its construction suggest Venetian input. However the general form and character of this building appear to be more closely linked to north Italian Gothic town halls. It should be noted that the urban disposition of the town hall – facing its own square, and at some distance from the cathedral square, which formed a separate nucleus – also appears more closely linked to north and central Italian town-planning paradigms than to the arrangement of the principal public buildings in Venice. It would appear that Split before and even during the period of Venetian domination continued to adhere to architectural and urban planning models that did not follow the Venetian ones. This may be contrasted to Dubrovnik, whose independence from Venice during the same period apparently made it more open to Venetian cultural influence.

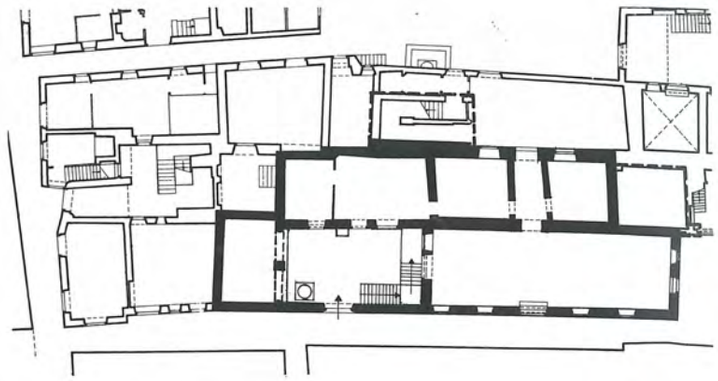
It is equally interesting that private residential architecture in Split during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, surprisingly and perhaps paradoxically, showed close affinities to contemporary architecture in Venice. This was a matter not only of the style of the decorative features, but also of the conception and the functional and spatial disposition of the individual buildings. The crucial factor in this particular development appears to have been Juraj Dalmatinac (Giorgio Dalmata), one of the most important architects active in Dalmatia during the fifteenth century.[273]

A native of Dalmatia, Juraj Dalmatinac acquired his training in Venice from 1420 to 1441, where he may have worked in the best architectural and sculptural workshops, such as that of Giovanni Bon and his son Bartolomeo. His architectural activity in Split after 1448 is beyond doubt, though it is not as thoroughly documented as one might wish. The attribution of one of the finest residential buildings in Split built at that time – the Papalić Palace – to Master Juraj is based on the sound analysis of its architectural characteristics, the style of its sculptural decoration, and its general affinities with fifteenth-century Venetian residential architecture.[274] The Papalić Palace came into being during the period of economic prosperity and in a manner char-

805 Split, medieval town hall and ducal palace; 1821 drawing by V. Andrić



806 Split, Papalić Palace; main portal



807 Split, Papalić Palace; plan

808 Split, Papalić Palace; courtyard

acteristic of the period. A member of the prominent Papalić family appears to have purchased several properties in the narrow Papalić Street (its present name), and to have hired Master Juraj to build him an imposing palace by current local standards. Owing to the size and the shape of the four contiguous plots acquired at the time, the overall rectangular form of the palace was predetermined (fig. 807). The building is unusually long, measuring 34 × 12 meters in plan. Its length parallels Papalić Street, from which it is entered through a splendid portal featuring a flamboyant Gothic style characteristic of Juraj's work

(fig. 806). The portal, with an elaborate family coat of arms in the tympanum, leads directly into an open courtyard, measuring 5.5 × 10 meters (fig. 808). Such courtyards were uncommon in the earlier residential architecture of Split and disappeared again after *circa* 1500. It should also be noted that they are not common in residential buildings in other Dalmatian towns. They were common, on the other hand, in Venetian palatial architecture of this period, from where the concept must have reached Split, in all likelihood via Juraj. The courtyard contains an open loggia on the left side, a well-head connected with a water cistern, and an open staircase by which one reaches the *piano nobile*, the representative, second floor of the household. Below the stair is a door that opens into an elongated storage room (5.5 × 18 m), also accessible by a simple door directly from the street. Directly above the storage room is the main reception room – the salon – the exterior façade of which is marked by a centrally located four-light window of characteristically Venetian Gothic style, flanked by a pair of single-light ogee windows. A balcony, normally associated with the main windows of the *piano nobile*, could evidently not be built here on account of the narrow street, but a small balcony *was* included directly above it within the layout of the private, third floor of the building. Many of the details of the impressive residence, including its elaborate wooden beams and paneled ceilings with carved and painted decoration, all betray Venetian taste, choice of materials, and manner of execution.

TROGIR

The town of Trogir, Croatia, enjoyed a period of prosperity and substantial independence until 1420, when, like Split, it came under the sway of Venice. The older town fortifications were upgraded by the Venetians, who strengthened the western line of walls by the addition of a round tower and a citadel, known as the Kaštel Kamerlengo (fig. 493). The citadel has a trapezoidal plan with four corner towers, three of which are cylindrical and the fourth one polygonal and larger than the rest. Kaštel Kamerlengo must have resembled the Kaštel in Split, of which only a small portion survives. Both were clearly built as part of the Venetian program to protect the Kaštelani Bay (Kaštelanski zaljev) by strongly fortifying its easternmost (Split) and westernmost (Trogir) points. Construction in the area under the increasing threat of Turkish raids continued in the next century, as will be discussed in the following chapter. The Kaštelani Bay system of defenses, it should be noted, was conceived in a manner quite similar to that employed around Dubrovnik, with the highly fortified polar points being, in that case, Dubrovnik and Ston.

While Venice made an initial investment in the construction of fortifications, in the ensuing decades the economy of Trogir declined owing to the less than favorable conditions on account of the perpetual Ottoman threat. As a result, comparatively little was done in the realm of public architecture. The relative degree of prosperity was witnessed, as was the case in Split, in the construction of private residences. The building boom that Trogir experienced during the first half of the thirteenth century (see Chapter 7) reverberated through its second half and into the first decades of the fourteenth century, when the visible slowing down began to occur. The Dominican church of Sv. Ivan Krstitelj (St. John the Baptist) was probably built during the second half of the thirteenth century, though the exact dates of its construction are unknown. Based on a traditional single-aisled plan with a square sanctuary, first introduced in Dalmatia by the Benedictines, the church in general reveals essentially conservative traits. Covered by a wooden roof, except for the vault over the sanctuary, the church reverberates with older architectural formulas. Measuring 8.5 × 22.5 meters in plan, the very elongated nave features a pair of shallow pilaster strips that strangely divide it into two unequal bays. A similar pair of pilasters also occurs at the matching points on the exterior, where their function is equally inexplicable. The building otherwise has smooth stone walls accentuated only by strengthened corners, whose projections form narrow pilaster strips in each of the elevations. The pilasters, occurring roughly at the midpoint of the overall length of the church (including the sanctuary), may have marked the position of a rood screen, such as existed in many mendicant churches. This would also explain the presence of the secondary door on the south side of the building, which may have served as the entrance for the friars into the choir. The fine building technique shows numerous Romanesque details, though Gothic lancet windows are also used, suggesting the beginnings of transition to the new style, a process that was generally quite slow in the Dalmatian context. The church is also known for some of its painted and sculptural decoration, as well as for the tomb of the members of the Ćipiko family, one of the most prominent in Trogir. Members of this wealthy family owned a number of properties in the town itself and in its vicinity. Among their possessions within the town were two impressive residences, one near the town hall and the other opposite the main entrance of the cathedral. Though their locations were commensurate with the importance of the Ćipiko family, the two residences were relatively small, reflecting the much older land use restriction rules. Built in the fifteenth century, the Ćipiko Palace, across from the cathedral, is a building whose interior disposition is more akin to the Romanesque building tradition and living standards than would be gleaned from its splendid Late Gothic façade executed in the Venetian manner (fig. 809). Marked by a strictly observed symmetry, the building is three-storied. The second and the third stories feature large three-light windows with elegant ogee arches

809 Trogir, Ćipiko Palace; façade

and high-relief sculptural decoration in the spandrels. The *piano nobile* window has a balcony as wide as the window, reflecting Venetian taste and standards.

POREČ

The historical developments related to the Istrian peninsula during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries differ considerably from those pertaining to Dalmatia. Despite the proximity of Venice, which repeatedly tried to impose its control on the region as a whole, and especially on several of the independent coastal cities from the tenth century on, such a state of affairs did not fully materialize until the thirteenth century. In the intervening period, because of constant Venetian pressure, the coastal towns were compelled to curtail their marine activities and to orient their economies predominantly toward the interior of the peninsula. The town of Poreč was one of the older settlements that experienced such a fate, succumbing to Venetian control in 1267.[275] Despite its political losses and the resulting colonial relationship to Venice, Poreč did witness a period of relative economic prosperity that lasted until the middle of the fourteenth century. This century was marked by a considerable amount of construction, in the public, but predominantly in the private realm. It was at this time, for example, that the venerable sixth-century cathedral was refurbished with the construction of a new ciborium in 1277. Evidently reusing some of the components of the original ciborium, the new one was the work of Venetian artisans, including mosaicists, who decorated its exterior with mosaics in the contemporary Venetian manner.

It has been noted that during the thirteenth century the medieval urban fabric grew extensively. Much of it has survived, despite subsequent deliberate efforts to make changes, as well as periodic accidental destructions, some of which were devastating. The town that grew in the course of the thirteenth century followed the layout of the ancient Roman settlement, whose grid plan was generally respected by the medieval builders. The residential architecture that developed in Poreč was marked by pronounced conservative characteristics that were faithfully maintained by several generations of local builders, who practiced their trade under favorable economic circumstances. The oldest dated building from this period – the House of the Canons – built in the vicinity of the cathedral for obvious functional reasons, was completed in 1251 (fig. 810).[276] That the building displays distinctive Romanesque characteristics in the middle of the thirteenth century would not be such a remarkable phenomenon by itself. However, the fact that the standard was apparently continued well into the fourteenth century, and in some cases considerably later, suggests the power of a provincial tradition substantially unaffected by external influences. The House of the Canons is a long building – measuring 9 × 28.5 meters – with an impressive two-storied façade facing one of the town's main long streets. Built entirely of squarish stone blocks, the façade displays some of the main characteristics of local residential architecture. Its ground floor has three doors, two of which lead into two separate, large rooms lit by relatively small rectangular windows. These rooms were intended for various utilitarian functions, including storage. The main, arched entrance door, surrounded by three small marble niches, marked the center of the building. Two of these niches, evidently sixth-century spolia, contain dedicatory inscriptions in Latin and the date of 1251, while the third one, above the keystone of the arch, contains a cross. The main door leads into a corridor that contains a stairway leading to the upper, residential floor. Here, six large symmetrically disposed double-light windows display Romanesque characteristics. The House of the Canons has an air of monumentality, largely because of its relatively great length and symmetrical organization.

810 Poreč, House of the Canons; general view

811 Poreč, "House of the Two Saints"; general view

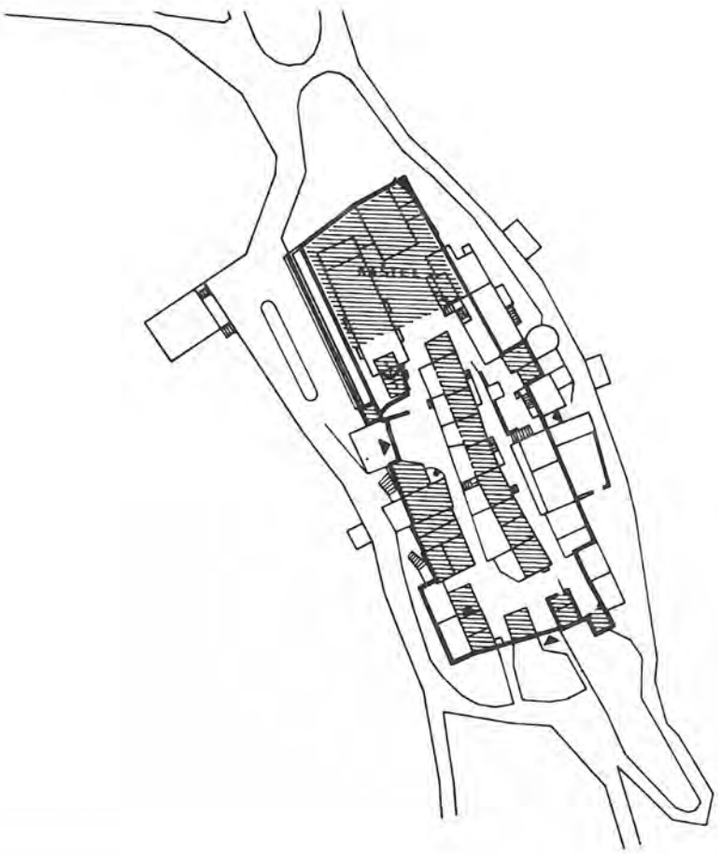
Other surviving Romanesque houses in Poreč do not display these monumental qualities, but are characterized by similarities of detailing and workmanship. One of the best representatives of this group is a building known as the "House of the Two Saints" (fig. 811).[277] Built on a considerably smaller plot of land, this was obviously a single-family residence. Its ground floor contained a shop facing the street, as well as a storage space toward the back of the house, while a large arched opening served as a covered entryway, from which one reached the upper, residential part of the house. The far-right window of the three simple arched ones on the upper floor is flanked by two standing statuettes of the saints that give the building its unusual name. Neither the identity of the two saints nor the reason for their placement in this location is known, but the arrangement clearly must have had something to do with the owner of the house, who also remains unknown. On the basis of its technical detailing and workmanship, the house is tentatively dated to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The appearance of Gothic features in the residential architecture of Poreč during the first half of the fourteenth century was marked by limited interventions on existing buildings, which quite commonly acquired new window and door frames, while maintaining their Romanesque building fabric. On account of the hard times that ensued – Genoese invasion in 1354; Hungarian siege in 1413; outbreaks of plague in 1360, 1456, 1467, and 1478 – another period of prosperity yielding major new construction did not occur until the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and as such, will be taken up in the following chapter.

HUM (CHOLM)

The ability to emulate Venetian taste and standards was not merely the function of geographic proximity to Venice; rather, it was a reflection of a patron's means and choice. Owing to their relative economic prosperity and the steady rise of a local aristocracy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Dalmatian

towns with varying degrees of success were able to follow, if not actually to compete with, Venetian standards. Some did on a much higher level, as was the case with Dubrovnik; others did it considerably more modestly. Venice, despite its political control of much of this area, seldom, if ever, contributed directly to local construction enterprises, with the exception of the military architecture that served its own needs. Its matter-of-fact colonial policies can truly be understood in the context of regional urbanism and architecture. Even towns that were geographically very close to Venice could and were treated in a manner that exclusively reflected Venice's own interest at a given moment, while at the same time Venetian cultural influence could be almost entirely absent. Such was the case with the Istrian town of Hum (Cholm), Croatia, located some 150 kilometers as the crow flies east of Venice (fig. 812).[278] Located in the foothills of Mount Ćićarija, Hum was one of several settlements in this rugged region recognized for its strategic importance already in antiquity. First mentioned as "castrum Cholm" in a document dated 1102, it was probably originally built in the eleventh century as a fort on the frontier of the Frankish Empire. Situated on a relatively low, flat plateau, the settlement measures merely 50 × 120 meters. The original fort apparently occupied the northwest end of this plateau and was square in plan, while the rest of the plateau appears to have the location of its *suburbium* from a very early time. In the possession of the patriarchs of Aquileia from 1102 to 1412, Hum evidently served as their frontier outpost, until the Venetians took the town in 1412 during their war against the Aquileian patriarchate. The Venetians wasted no time in destroying Hum's fortifications to ensure that the Aquileians could not reoccupy the town to their advantage. As the eventual victors in the prolonged war, the Venetians became the permanent holders of Hum in 1420. By the sixteenth century they were busy rebuilding the town's fortifications, for by then Hum had emerged as a strategically important frontier outpost of Venice vis-à-vis the Austrian Empire. The medieval settlement, which began to develop already in the eleventh century and acquired communal buildings of some significance by the fourteenth, was barely affected by the dismantling and subsequent rebuilding of its walls. While the actual line of the medieval fortification may now be only hypothetically reconstructed, the layout of houses, two streets, and the town square are all preserved almost in their original condition. Because of the narrow and elongated form of the plateau on which Hum sits, the original *suburbium* developed as a long block of pairs of houses fronted by two narrow streets running along the north and south sides. These streets were ultimately framed by an additional row of houses on each side, built along the perimeter fortification walls. A trapezoidal town square formed as a broadening of the south street at the main entrance gate acquired its final form during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A modest two-arched loggia fronts this square, as did the parish church, replaced in the nineteenth century by a much grander classicizing structure. The most imposing medieval structure that survives is the four-story fourteenth-century bell-tower that abuts the main entrance gate. The bell-tower, originally near the original parish church, served a double function – that of the church belfry, but also that of the paramount communal symbol. As such, it may be compared with the Campanile of San Marco in Venice, itself not attached to the church and similarly fulfilling ecclesiastical and secular symbolic roles. Beyond these symbolic similarities, actual Venetian influence on Hum can hardly be recognized.

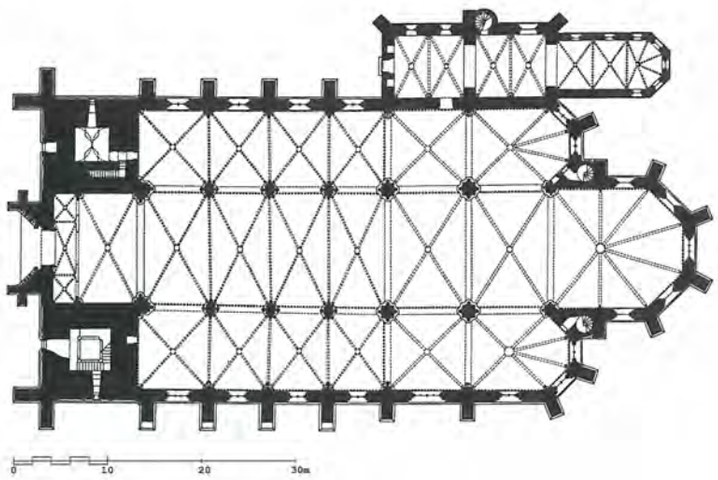
812 Hum, medieval town; plan



ZAGREB

The origins of Zagreb, Croatia, as a border outpost, are not too dissimilar to those of Hum. Founded in 1094 by the Hungarian king Ladislas in the flatlands near the River Sava, Zagreb was initially conceived as an episcopal center whose function was to supersede the defunct early Christian bishopric of Siscia in an

area of vital importance to the Kingdom of Hungary.[279] Whether there was an older settlement in this area or not is a subject of continuing debate. The newly founded settlement was raided and destroyed by the Tatars (Huns) in 1242. A new charter issued by the Hungarian king Bela IV in the aftermath of the Tatar invasion indicates that a new settlement, known as Gradec, was built on the nearby hill and was granted the status of a free royal town. While the establishment of the elevated Gradec may be seen as a product of strategic, military considerations, its independent status vis-à-vis the episcopal settlement in the plain below must also be understood as a reflection of the king's desire to keep the power of the local bishops under control. Topographically separated also by a creek – Medvedšćak – the two towns had independent fortifications and continued their independent lives for centuries. The episcopal town, Zagreb, was rebuilt following the Tatar invasion. It was dominated by a large cathedral, begun in the thirteenth century, but extensively modified in later times, especially after an earthquake in 1880, when the building was ostensibly transformed into a Neo-Gothic structure. The preserved medieval sacristy, along with other forms of documentation, facilitate a hypothetical reconstruction of the original building, whose architecture constitutes another example of the central European Gothic that rarely found its way into the Balkans, except under the auspices of monastic orders (notably the Cistercians) and, as in the case of Zagreb, under the auspices of the Hungarian king. The church was a three-aisled basilica, of the Germanic hall church (*Hallenkirche*) type (fig. 813). Like other buildings belonging to this typological group, the aisles of the cathedral were essentially of the same height, and nearly the same width, as its nave. Without clerestory fenestration, the church was marked by an enormously tall roof covering the entire building. The church, along with the bishop's palace, was enclosed by its own system of fortifications, constructed in 1511–21. These fortifications were demolished at the time of the rebuilding of the cathedral, following the earthquake of 1880.

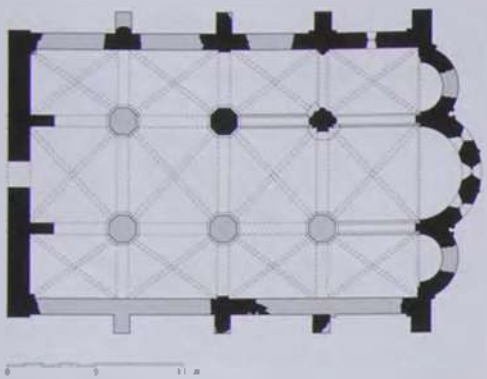


813 Zagreb, Cathedral; original plan

Architectural Developments

Architecture, as we have already seen in the discussion of the development of the individual towns along the Adriatic littoral, displayed remarkably eclectic characteristics that ranged from extreme conservatism to innovative new approaches. The common denominator in all cases tended to be high-quality stone construction, revealing the survival of the trade through the centuries. In fact, the extent of survival of "Romanesque" forms and stylistic traits can undoubtedly be understood best as part of the continuity of certain local stonemason workshops in major centers such as Dubrovnik, Kotor, Trogir, and Šibenik. Their high-quality work was not only in steady demand locally, but also in the hinterlands of the Balkans, as we have seen. Although the largest volume of construction was concentrated in larger urban centers, certain projects, mainly monastic ones, were situated in the countryside, away from populated areas. It should be noted that, in addition to the input of the established workshops in major urban centers, a considerable role in maintaining the building momentum and certain building standards belonged to the monastic orders, above all to the Benedictines.

Among the extra-urban monastic centers of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a particularly distinctive place was clearly reserved for the monastery of the Virgin at Ratac, at a secluded seaside location not far from Stari Bar, Montenegro.[280] Begun on the remain of an older monastic establishment whose origins remain unknown, the new Benedictine monastery was to be dominated by a large church, dedicated to the Virgin. The ambitious project was started with the old monastery church evidently still standing, but the new project appears to have been abandoned before being finished. In plan, the new church was to have been a three-aisled basilica, measuring 13.5 × 30 meters. Judging from its partially constructed walls and the foundations for its interior supports, it was meant to be divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of square piers. The piers, judging by the responds built with the walls on the north and south sides, were meant to carry transverse and longitudinal arches that probably would have supported a wooden roof. The exceptionally finely built walls were faced with precisely cut ashlar blocks arranged in bands of alternating colors, creating polychromatic effects that, as we have seen, became popular also in some Serbian fourteenth-century churches built by craftsmen from the Adriatic littoral. The exterior surfaces of the walls were smooth,



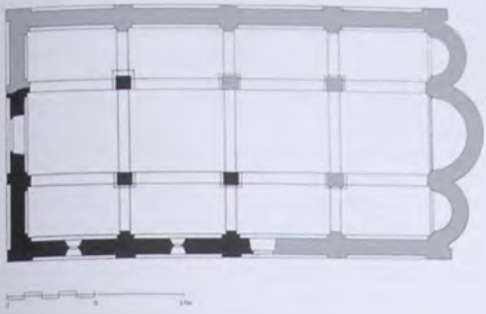
814 Araca. Monastery. Church: plan

without buttresses, further underscoring the probability that the church would not have been vaulted. The eastern end of the basilica was meant to have a square presbytery, unlike most later medieval churches of this type that more commonly would have had a semicircular main apse. The lateral apses, corresponding to the side aisles, were semicircular internally and externally. Taken as a whole, this building, even in its incomplete state, indicates that it would have been a significant architectural achievement, on a par with cathedral churches in the different Dalmatian towns in this period. The unfinished cloister, one of the earliest preserved ones on the eastern Adriatic coast, further indicates that this was intended to be a major monastic center, for the creation of which the Benedictines may have imported some, if not all, master builders and craftsmen.

Related to an entirely different sphere of cultural influence, the Benedictine monastery church of Araca, near Novi Bečej, Serbia, reveals at once similarities in plan but significant technical and stylistic differences relative to the monuments along the Adriatic littoral.[28] Built during the first half of the thirteenth century, the church underwent a restoration in the fourteenth, at which time a tall belfry was added above its northeastern corner bay. The church, preserved in ruins, was a three-aisled medium-sized basilica featuring three internally and externally semicircular apses. Measuring 16 × 27 meters in plan, the building had a main vessel separated from two side aisles by massive octagonal piers (fig. 814). The piers carried a system of four essentially square groin-vaulted bays that rose to a considerable height above the oblong vaulted bays of the side aisles. Thus the building was illuminated by clerestory windows, often not included in churches of the Adriatic littoral. This, along with other building characteristics, reveals the input of central Europe and, specifically, of Hungary, in whose territorial domain Arača was at the time of its construction. In addition to its central European design characteristics, the church displays another distinction – it was built entirely of brick, while stone was reserved only for the construction of arches and vault ribs.

Among the churches built during this period, a place of distinction also belonged to SS. Sergius and Bacchus, near Shkodra (Skadar), Albania. Once part of a major Benedictine abbey, of which nothing survives, the church itself stood on the banks of the River Buna (Bojana).[29] Abandoned long ago and fallen into ruin, its remains have slowly been eroded by the Buna, so that practically nothing of it is now left standing. In the early years of the twentieth century, substantial remains were still present, enabling a careful survey of the building and relatively good photographs to be made. The church was commissioned *circa* 1290 by the Serbian queen dowager, Jelena, a princess from the French royal family of Anjou, a Catholic herself. Her son, the Serbian king Milutin, completed the building by 1318. A carved inscription in Latin recording these events was preserved and recorded, though its present fate is unknown. The church was a sizeable three-aisled basilica, measuring 14.5 × 27.5 meters, and terminating in three apses, semicircular internally and externally (fig. 815). Three pairs of massive rectangular piers separated the nave from the side aisles and carried longitudinal and transverse arches upon which the building's wooden roof rested. Though a genuine basilica in plan, the church had no clerestory lighting. Externally it was marked by tall, slightly pointed blind arcades carried by five pilaster strips on the north and south façades, and by four pilaster strips on its west façade. The walls of the building were built meticulously in alternating bands of stone and several courses of brick. By contrast, the pilaster strips and the arches they carried were built entirely of stone. The exterior system of blind arches carried on pilasters was directly echoed in the interior, where a similar system of pilaster strips and matching blind arches was used. The interior pilasters were linked by transverse arches to the main piers, while these were interconnected by even larger transverse and longitudinal arches. The church had slightly pointed Gothic lancet windows, though in general its architecture was more Romanesque in spirit.

A closely related monument, the church of St. Mary, at Vau Dejes (Danj), near Shkodra, Albania, provides useful additional information for the understanding of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, probably a product of the same building workshop.[30] The exact circumstances of the construction of St. Mary are unknown. The church appears in a document dated 1348, but it was probably built considerably earlier, possibly during the last decade of the thirteenth century. A small, single-aisled church, measuring 6 × 10.5 meters in plan, it is characterized by two pairs of large blind,



815 Shkodra (near). Monastery, SS. Sergius and Bacchus: plan

ashlars laid in continuous horizontal courses, the church recalls standards of much earlier building practice in the region. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it looks like a miniature version of the katholikon of Dečani Monastery, known to be built by builders from Kotor, only a century earlier. Inasmuch as the Podi church displays many technical and stylistic details that relate it to the genuine Romanesque tradition, some of its features indicate unequivocally that it was actually a much later creation. This is especially true of its window frames. Rectangular in form – even the ones in the dome drum have the same form – they reveal later stylistic and technical preferences, and are more readily associated with the architecture of the fifteenth century.

* * *

pointed arches on its north and south façades (fig. 816). These match the interior spatial disposition, where two centrally placed pilasters subdivide the space into two identical bays. The building has a small semicircular apse, round both internally and externally. Marked by steep gables on the west and east façades, the church has a steep wooden roof. Built of small stone ashlars in neatly laid courses, its eaves are outlined by typical Romanesque corbel-tables. At the same time, the building has four lancet widows centered in each of the large blind arcades. The windows have stone frames with Early Gothic decorative elements. As in the case of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, the characteristics of Romanesque and Gothic styles are anachronistically mixed in this building, which was undoubtedly the work of the same group of artisans.

Late Romanesque survival, as in Italy, persisted on the eastern Adriatic coast much longer than in other parts of Europe. In fact, imperceptibly, it probably overlapped with what could be called a "Romanesque Revival" in the context of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century developments. The small domed church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in the village of Podi, in the hills above Herceg Novi, Montenegro, is a fine late medieval example of the anachronistic persistence of Romanesque in the region.[24] Although not securely dated, it is thought to date from around the middle of the fifteenth century. The church is essentially a single-aisled building with a central domed bay marked by the slightly projecting arms of what resembles a miniscule transept (fig. 817). Topped by gables of identical dimensions and character as the end gables of the main roof, these give the church a stamp of monumentality. At the point of junction between these cross "arms" rises a low cubical base upon which rests the tall cylindrical drum surmounted by a dome. Built of regular stone

816 Vau Dejes, St. Mary: axonometric

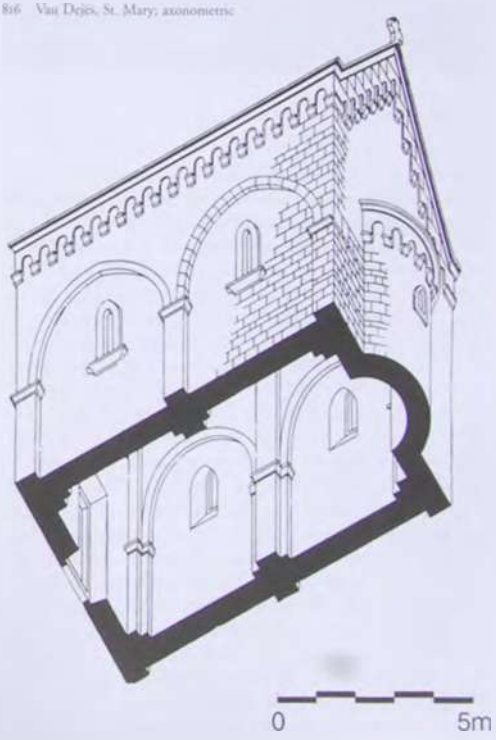


Fig. Podi, SS. Sergius and Bacchus

The complicated history of the Balkans between *circa* 1250 and 1450 has left its indelible mark in the architecture built during these two centuries. The period began with the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire and ended with its final collapse. In architectural terms, initially this implied the rebirth of Byzantine architecture and its healthy competition with other developments, notably with those that emanated in the western parts of the Balkan peninsula. By the end of the period, the vital signs of Byzantine creative thinking could still be felt, but through the auspices of the Byzantine neighbors and erstwhile enemies, especially Serbia. At the same time, seedlings of what was to become the new order of things in political, cultural, and architectural matters were beginning to emerge on the Balkan scene with the arrival of the Ottoman conquerors. Ottoman architecture, as has been noted, was starting to make its first notable statements, appropriating in the process aspects of the Byzantine building tradition. In sum, it is clear that the "period of turmoil," despite the political disarray, almost paradoxically was marked by a great creative surge. Characterized by considerable diversity, often of almost contradictory nature, the volume of production was enormous. Numerous products of this age are still preserved in different parts of the Balkans. The single strongest overarching impression, however, is the degree of attention paid at the time to fortification architecture throughout the region. This particular category, as we have had ample chance to see, was marked not only by the construction of "military" architecture strictly speaking, but of a vast range of other buildings that could be classified as public, ecclesiastical, and private, that had assimilated defensive characteristics. As individual states underwent the process of irreversible disintegration, smaller components of different social groupings – towns, monasteries, and even individual clans and families – took upon themselves the burden of providing for their own security.

9

The New Order

circa 1450–1550

Although the Ottomans first appeared on the Balkan stage as early as the first decades of the fourteenth century, conquering large territories by *circa* 1400, their ambitions were not fully realized until after 1450.[1] As a result of their defeat at Angora in 1402 and the subsequent civil war, the Ottoman war machinery was stunted for several decades. Despite some successes of Murad II (1421–44 and 1446–51), the full momentum was restored only with the return of Mehmed II (1444–46 and 1451–81) to the assertive policies of his great-grandfather, Bayezid I (1389–1402). Mehmed II's program of conquest was inaugurated with the taking of Constantinople in 1453, followed by an ambitious plan to rebuild this city of fame into the new capital of the Ottoman Empire. The conquest of Constantinople was an act of great symbolic significance, long since recognized in those terms. With it, the Byzantine Empire officially ceased to exist and the confidence of the remaining Balkan states was badly shaken. The takeover of Athens with its own symbolic implications, by contrast, has attracted little attention from historians. Surtendered peacefully by its Frankish overlords in 1456, Athens with its surroundings became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire only three years after Constantinople. Aware of the city's historic significance, Mehmed II made a special visit there in 1458, exactly 440 years after a similar triumphal entry into the city by Basil II. Conscious of historical dimensions, tradition, and ritual, as he appears to have been, by 1460 Mehmed had the Parthenon – the Latin cathedral of Athens until then – converted into an imperial mosque. Beyond these major symbolic achievements, he wasted little time in his vigorous pursuit of further conquests throughout the Balkans: Serbia fell in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, and, by 1476, even the trans-Danubian Wallachia. Fighting what ultimately amounted to mere pockets of resistance – in the Morea and especially in Albania – Mehmed II could claim to have conquered over four-fifths of all of the Balkan territories before his death in 1481.

Mehmed II's successor, Bayezid II (1481–1512), was given over to matters of consolidation, religious reform, and legislation, and less to the further expansion of the state. His son, Selim I (1512–20), reignited the engines of conquest, moving first against his opponents in Asia Minor and then against the Mamluks in Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517). His successes were crowned by his assumption of the title "Guardian of Mecca and Medina," which de facto transformed the Ottoman state into the universal Islamic caliphate. The great successes of Selim I were consolidated and expanded upon by his son Suleyman I, the Magnificent (1520–66), whose reign marked the apogee of Ottoman power and territorial expansion. In a manner recalling

DUBROVNIK
ZAGREB
BELGRADE
BUCHAREST
SARAJEVO
SOFIA
SKOPJE
THESSALONIKI
ATHENS
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Map 9

Key to Map 9

Andirio	20	Ierissos	22	Maglova	57	Rousanou Monastery	48
Arta	27	Fota	35	Megalo Meteoro Monastery	49	Rotar	59
Astere Monastery	37	Giannitsa	29	Methone	21	Rumeli Hisar	11
Athens	25	H. Demetrios, Monastery of	51	Mlado Nagoricino	56	Sarajevo	9
Banjani	54	Jalonja	53	Mostar	39	Senj	66
Bashtove	35	Kal'a-i Sultaniye	13	Niš	31	Serres	7
Batahovina	61	Karakallou Monastery	67	Novi Pazar	34	Sibenik	62
Belgrade	10	Kastela	65	Papraca Monastery	46	Siderokausia	68
Bitola	30	Kavala	33	Petra, Monastery of	50	Skopje	8
Borač	55	Kilid-ul-Bahir	12	Plovdiv	5	Slankamen	41
Buyukçekmeçe	38	Korça	28	Poganovo Monastery	45	Smederevo	16
Butrint	28	Koutloumousiou Monastery	47	Poreč	63	Staro Slano	69
Constantinople	1	Kruševdol Monastery	42	Prilep	26	Thessaloniki	6
Dionysos, Monastery of	52	Kumanovo	32	Priština	24	Trikala	36
Dubrovnik	58	Lapad	60	Rakovac Monastery	43	Tukudar	5
Edirne	4	Lapsunja	44	Ram	17	Velegrad	40
Elbasan	14			Rio	19	Vlore	23
Eyüp	2					Zadar	64

the reign of Anastasios I in setting the stage for the grand achievements of Justinian I, the reign of Selim I may be said effectively to have laid the groundwork for Süleyman I. Süleyman's immediate conquest of Belgrade in 1521, the defeat of the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, and the siege of Vienna in 1529 demonstrated the level of Ottoman might and effectiveness, and introduced the Ottoman sultan as a major new power broker in European politics. Süleyman's early successes sealed the conquest of the Balkans and effectively eliminated Hungary as a serious threat to the north of the Danube and Sava rivers. Recognizing that the most serious challenge to his empire came from the sea, Suleyman I undertook a massive build-up of naval forces. It was under his reign that the Ottomans became worthy rivals of the Western sea powers in the Mediterranean. Initial maritime successes were eventually overshadowed by the Ottoman loss of Malta in 1565 and by the great naval disaster at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The latter two events did not immediately alter the status of the Ottoman Empire as a great world power. They did, however, plant the seeds of anxiety that would permanently affect the internal politics of the Ottoman state. Recognizing their own vulnerabilities and the fact that the Western threat was a standing order of business, the Ottomans resorted to numerous tactics aimed at securing the Balkans as the main bulwark against the potential enemy. Pitting various Christian population groups against one another – the Greeks, the Albanians, the Bulgarians, and the Serbs – became one of the most effective ways to maintain control over the territories where Muslims generally speaking were a minority population. This was especially true of the countryside, where population density was low and agricultural production continued to be in the hands of a native population bound to the land and obliged to pay taxes to the state. Conversion to Islam was another powerful tool that was used effectively, especially in urban areas, where Orthodox Christians found themselves at considerable social disadvantage with regard to the positions they could hold and the services they could perform. It is estimated that approximately one-fourth of the Orthodox Christian population converted to Islam during the first century of Ottoman rule. The Adriatic littoral, especially the narrow strip of land along the coast with the old maritime cities, meanwhile, remained either under Venetian control or semi-independent, as was the case of Dubrovnik. In either case, these areas were under the religious jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. The latter clung tenaciously to the territories remaining under its influence and, moreover, used these as a base for the spreading of its religious propaganda, aiming at the hinterlands with a substantial Christian, mostly Orthodox population, by then under Ottoman control. Countering the effects of Catholic propaganda and the potential expansion of Catholic influence into the Balkan heartland became a major challenge for the Ottoman authorities. One of the surprising developments as a result of these circumstances was the reestablishment of the Serbian Orthodox patriarchate at Peć in 1557. After the fall of Serbia in 1459, and following the death of the last Serbian Orthodox patriarch in 1463, the jurisdiction over the patriarchate at Pec had passed into the hands of the restored archbishopric of Ohrid, itself under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate in Constantinople. The restoration of the Serbian patriarchate reversed this situation and introduced a major new element into regional political and especially cultural life. Makarije Sokolovic, a relative of the grand vizier, Sokollu

Mehmed Pasha, was appointed as the new Serbian Orthodox patriarch. The ensuing revival of architectural and artistic production under the auspices of the Serbian patriarchate is an important phenomenon, but chronologically it falls outside the scope of this book. A few general comments as to what was to follow will have to suffice. The apparent favor extended to the Serbian Orthodox Church was a relatively short-lived episode, for barely a decade after the official restoration of the patriarchate, the new sultan, Selim II (1566–74), imposed severe taxes on the Serbian Church. As a result, the Serbian Church experienced extreme economic hardships and was compelled to close and even sell many of its churches and monasteries.[2] This phenomenon may have had yet another, somewhat different dimension. The second half of the sixteenth century also witnessed an increase in the number of conversions of urban Christian churches into mosques. Often coming more than a century after the Ottoman conquest, it has been understood as evidence of the growing Muslim population in cities. Cases, such as that of Thessaloniki, where major church conversions occurred only after 1500, seems to support such a notion.[3]

The northwesternmost corner of the Balkan peninsula remained a "gray" area during much of the first half of the sixteenth century. Here, the Habsburgs and Venice maintained nominal territorial control, though matters pertaining to regional administration were in the hands of the local feudal lords, frequently challenged by local free peasantry and serfs. Though a full-scale Ottoman invasion of the area never took place, the territory was under constant threat from small-scale Ottoman military groups that functioned as raiding parties, generally returning to their bases loaded with rich booty and slaves. The actual frontier line in this area was not defined during this period. Caught up in its own wars with the Ottomans, Venice focused on defending its fragmented possessions, mostly heavily fortified towns along the coastlines and the islands of the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean seas. Life in towns that survived the Ottoman threat continued much as before, but under considerably less favorable economic circumstances. The only exception was the Dubrovnik Republic, which managed to maintain its independence and achieve a high level of economic prosperity and cultural achievement, especially in the course of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, the Venetians, who remained the supreme masters of trade in the eastern Mediterranean, showed little interest in improving local conditions, their actions most often achieving little more than pitting, as they deemed necessary, the locals against the Ottoman authorities.

The general geopolitical picture that emerged in the Balkans between *circa* 1450 and *circa* 1550 was not too dissimilar to that of the 1170s, when the Byzantines, for the last time in the history of their empire, controlled most of the Balkan peninsula. The intervening centuries saw the slow disintegration of the Byzantine Empire, and initially its partial and temporary displacement by Serbia and Bulgaria, with all three states caught up in mutual wars. The resulting turmoil set the stage for the Ottoman conquest, and the eventual displacement of the Byzantine Empire by its Ottoman successor. The "New Order," as it is defined in this chapter, reflects the state of affairs at the time when the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans took firm root, Ottoman culture visibly filling the vacuum left by the disappearance of its Byzantine predecessor. Despite the many obvious similarities between the two empires and their cultural heritage – their territorial equivalence being not the least of these – the two had just as many differences. Once again, as we will see, the architectural heritage provides a particularly clear gauge of these phenomena.

Our discussion in this, as in the preceding two chapters, will consider two – in this case very asymmetrical – spheres of influence. In discussing the first of these, the Ottoman sphere, we will examine architectural patronage under the Ottomans, whose activities had become overwhelmingly dominant by the middle of the sixteenth century, but also the phenomenon of the survival of Christian architectural activity, limited though it was, until *circa* 1550. The second area of our investigation – the Western sphere – despite its territorial shrinking and political and economical decline, did leave a spottily important mark, especially in coastal towns on the Adriatic such as Dubrovnik and Sibenik. As in the previous chapters, in the analysis of each of the two main spheres of influence we will examine the urban developments first before turning to fortifications and other architectural developments.

THE OTTOMAN SPHERE

Following their successful territorial conquests in the Balkans, the Ottomans aggressively pursued the establishment of their system and religion throughout the region. Consistent with an established religious tenet that any place where Muslim prayer was conducted automatically became Muslim territory, the Ottomans relied on religion as a major tool in consolidating their grip on the conquered territories. The building of mosques – not unlike the building of churches in the fifth-century Balkans – became one of the standard methods in claiming the conquered cities and territories. Various religious and semi-religious orders and groups performed pioneering services for the state, zealously moving into the conquered areas, initiating the construction of mosques and other buildings of religious significance. Age-old institutions such as the *imaret* (public kitchen for feeding the poor), with its wide range of religious and char-

itable functions, were in the forefront of such activities. *Zaviye* (dervish lodge), another tax-exempt institution of long standing, was committed to help settle Turkish immigrants and to secure roads for the safe passage of travelers, especially merchants, whose activities constituted the backbone of the economy. Within decades of the conquest, twenty to thirty *zaviyes* are known to have been built in the region of Thrace alone, illustrating the efficiency with which this particular institution functioned.[3] As was commonly the case in the Byzantine world earlier, the patronage of architecture was substantially inspired by enterprising rulers – in this case the sultans – whose role model was eagerly followed by high-ranking wealthy local governors and military officials. Their major foundations – *külliyes* – were invariably guaranteed maintenance income, theoretically in perpetuity, through the establishment of the so-called *vakif* that charted and maintained the necessary income-making activities.

In architectural terms the century under consideration was marked by the affirmation of Ottoman Islamic architecture. During the fourteenth century, Ottoman architectural productivity was centered mostly in Asia Minor, around their capital of Bursa. Even after the establishment of their new capital in Edirne (Adrianople), after its conquest in 1362, Bursa, owing to its crucial economic importance, retained its leading role in the development of Ottoman architecture. In Bursa the slow emancipation from Seljuk influence in matters of building design and style was initially offset by another form of partial dependence – on the declining Byzantine state and its architectural tradition. The relationship between Ottoman architecture and the growing demands of its patrons and Byzantine architecture caught in the declining pattern conditioned by the dire realities facing the "Byzantine Commonwealth" is a subject whose proper understanding remains a task for future researchers. An outline of some of the phenomena has begun to emerge, as was shown in part in the previous chapter, and as will also become apparent in this one. The Ottoman–Byzantine links within the context of developments in Bursa, as will be seen, were very different phenomena from that which we will be able to gauge in this chapter, as Constantinople took over the leadership role and began to assert its influence in the provinces.

Although the use of domes in Ottoman mosques began long before the conquest of Constantinople, the adoption of Hagia Sophia as a model both in a formal and a spatial sense was clearly a new design prerogative whose results constitute a new chapter of Ottoman architectural history. Despite the centralizing effect of its great dome, Hagia Sophia was a building with a pronounced longitudinal axis. This, of course, met one of the requirements for a church in which grand processions down the length of the nave were integral functional considerations. A mosque, by contrast, was a space in which all the faithful prayed simultaneously while facing a wall (*qibla*) highlighted by a niche (*mihrab*) whose orientation toward Mecca was a *sine qua non* of all mosque architecture. The chief functional and symbolic requirements for a mosque, therefore, were very different from those of a church, and were very basic. One could go as far as to claim that the nature of its roofing was of little consequence to the religious authorities and the primary users of the mosque. A mosque could – and often did – function adequately without a dome as an integral feature of its design. The dome in mosques, in fact, never had the same centripetal, iconographic role as it did in Byzantine churches. The crucial symbolic element in a mosque was always the qibla wall, while everything overhead was but a shed, protecting the congregation in prayer. It is for this reason that the architectural articulation of mosques has varied to such an extent in different parts of the Islamic world. The adoption of Hagia Sophia as a paradigm was just one of numerous solutions, but neither it, nor any of the many preceding formulas, was the result of any religious symbolic prescriptions. The emulation of Hagia Sophia may be said to have had a symbolic role of a different kind, related to the goals and aspirations of the individual patrons, notably the Ottoman sultans, and not to any explicit religious input. The great imperial mosques, therefore, need to be viewed primarily as Ottoman symbols of power. Their religious symbolism, it may be argued, was secondary and was an acquired, rather than a given factor within the architectural evolution of Ottoman mosques. As in Byzantine architecture, though to a much greater extent, the dome in Ottoman architecture became the preeminent structural and spatial unit. Its use in secular buildings – *hamams*, *bedestans*, etc. – demonstrates an understanding and appreciation of its design and structural potential on the part of Ottoman architects that exceeded even that of their Byzantine predecessors. Strangely, however, for all their technical mastery of dome construction and the universality of its application – or perhaps because of it – the Ottomans never developed an iconographic mystique of the dome that came anywhere near to matching the Byzantine achievement.

Urban Developments

Despite their nomadic origins and related cultural attitudes, by the time of the conquest of the Balkans the Turks proved to be an urban-oriented people. This manifested itself either through the appropriation of extant urban centers or through the foundation of new ones.[4] To be sure, their lifestyle, and consequently also their urban architecture, had little to do with either the Roman-Byzantine heritage or with contemporary developments in the West.[5] The same is true of their residential buildings. Built of ephemeral materials, these, by virtue of their size, form, and

even color, differed as to the class category of ownership – Muslim versus non-Muslim. The religious supremacy of Islam in urban contexts was made manifest by a wide range of stipulated architectural solutions. Thus, churches and synagogues had to maintain a low profile. The use of bells was expressly prohibited, rendering belfries obsolete. The skyline of an Ottoman city was to be dominated exclusively by minarets. Highly ordered and centrally controlled market activities were reflected in equally tightly structured market areas focused on domed buildings, *bedestans*, earmarked for the sale of luxury goods. Personal hygiene was prized, hence Ottoman cities featured numerous public and private bathing establishments. This, in turn, necessitated the steady supply of large quantities of fresh water, resulting in the construction of extensive aqueduct systems equaling those built by the Romans and the Byzantines in every respect. Unlike the Romans, and despite their successful development of a naval fleet, the Ottomans conducted their trade predominantly by land. This necessitated the construction and maintenance of an extensive network of roads with a major infrastructure of bridges, *kervansarays* (inns), and other related building types.[7] This road network was also used for the deployment of troops and, thereby, for a direct or indirect display of power at the disposal of the state.

CONSTANTINOPLE[8]

Consideration of Constantinople and its urban development in this chapter is of particular significance. In it we will illuminate some of the mechanisms that transformed the millennial capital of the Byzantine Empire into the new capital of the Ottoman Empire and led to its physical transformation into the city familiar to us today as Istanbul. As abrupt and as far-reaching as these changes may have been in the critical fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they took place within a certain framework whose main Byzantine characteristics remained essentially unchanged. The dialectic between the "rejected" past and the triumphantly imposed new order seems to us far more complicated than scholarship has been able to convey thus far.[9] Thus, a consideration of the transformation of the old Byzantine capital into the capital of the expanding Ottoman Empire seems one of the most challenging tasks of our current analysis. As we will see, initially these transformations involved a range of issues – from the highest-level decisions and symbolic choices to practical considerations, including the availability of architects, artisans, and an ordinary labor force. The processes that took place echoed in many respects those at the time of Constantine the Great's founding of the new capital more than 1,100 years earlier.[10]

The end of Byzantine Constantinople came on 29 May 1453, when the troops of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II stormed the city. The siege – historically the twelfth by various Muslim forces – brought about the fulfillment of a prophecy allegedly articulated by the Prophet Muhammad himself more than eight hundred years earlier. The momentous event clearly had enormous symbolic importance, but also practical implications. In due course the city was declared the seat of Ottoman power, while steps were taken immediately to reconstruct, repopulate, and restructure it according to the needs of the conquerors.[11] Constantinople was taken after a prolonged siege and, according to Islamic custom, because of the refusal of its defenders to submit peacefully, it was subjected to three days of merciless plundering by the Ottoman troops. The city walls and the buildings, we are told, were the declared personal property of the sultan and only they were spared outright destruction. Mehmed II entered the city riding on a horse through the Gate of Kerkoporta. From there he proceeded to the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, where he offered his prayers, thus initiating the process of its conversion into the imperial mosque par excellence.

The conversion of Hagia Sophia into the mosque of Ayasofya was undoubtedly an act of supreme symbolic significance.[12] The Great Church had played an important role in the minds of its Islamic conquerors long before 1453, shrouded as it was by a veil of myths of Byzantine, as well as Ottoman making. Possessing the building, as Mehmed II recognized all too well, was the ultimate double trophy, celebrating the victory of the Ottoman over the Byzantine Empire, and of Islam over Christianity. Accounts of the actual act of his taking possession of the building, as well as the corollaries of the event, have preoccupied various historians, who have debated at length the implications of the momentous occasion. We cannot explore this subject extensively, as interesting and telling as some of its details may be. Specific architectural changes in the building were relatively few. The most important ones were the addition of the western pair of minarets that gave the building its aura of an imperial mosque, along with the addition of a mihrab and a mimbar deemed essential in making the building functional. The most dramatic changes must have involved the removal of all of the church contents, including numerous relics. Furthermore, interventions involved the covering of the mosaics closest to ground level and the removal of various overtly Christian symbols, including the giant cross on top of the dome, all necessary steps toward making the building suitable as an Islamic place of worship. Surprisingly, the mosaics in the great dome, the uppermost arches, and high vaults were not covered up for nearly another century. The attitude of Mehmed II in this regard and in many other respects where his cultural curiosity and intellect were made manifest demonstrates a spirit fundamentally different from that of his followers. To what degree this may have been a reflection of his extraordinary person and his individual

enlightenment, and to what degree it may have simply reflected the pragmatism and insecurity of a conqueror making cautious steps in an effort to preserve what he had attained, is difficult to say. There can be little doubt about the actual perception of the building as a victory monument par excellence. The conversion of the largest, and unique, Byzantine church into an imperial mosque proved more than that. In the following century it became a major inspiration and challenge to Ottoman sultans and their imperial architects, who generated a new standard of mosque design based ultimately on the great Byzantine prototype. Thus, the Great Church became what it never was in the Byzantine context – a grand model subject to innumerable variations on the same basic design theme. To the Byzantines, Hagia Sophia always remained the unattainable unique symbol, an architectural paradigm of an empire whose earthly structure recalled God's kingdom in heaven. In its second incarnation Hagia Sophia as a mosque lost its unique meaning as a symbol. Instead, it became an active generator of architectural thought and imagination, given over to improving and multiplying great spaces collectively designated for the worship of Allah.

Mehmed II's first visit to Hagia Sophia was recorded in considerable detail. After admiring its magnificent interior, we are told, he climbed its great dome to survey the city he had conquered.[9] At the time of the conquest this was clearly the highest point in the city, offering the best possible view. What Mehmed must have observed was hardly a panorama of an impressive metropolis. The sight of an immense ravaged and smoldering ruin must have been shocking. All the same, the important topographical characteristics of the city clearly discernible from the dome of Hagia Sophia must have impressed him and provided him with clues as to the very first steps of his reconstruction program.[10] It would almost be no exaggeration to claim that the first twenty-four hours of Mehmed's presence in the city fixed some of the cardinal features of the new Ottoman capital for centuries to come. Some of these were deliberately appropriated from the Byzantine capital with the intention of maintaining its imperial aura. At the same time, Mehmed sought to redefine these imperial traditions of old in a new way, consistent with the needs and tenets not only of the new ruler and his new empire, but also of the new religion. Mehmed's triumphal entry into the city on horseback, for example, was an event that appropriated an age-old tradition, but cast in a new manner. His processional route through the city took him down the central avenue – the Mese – toward Hagia Sophia, recalling in no uncertain terms Byzantine imperial processions. There were important changes in the structuring of his ceremonial route, however, that deviated significantly from Byzantine practice. These have not received sufficient attention in scholarship, though they must have been obvious to anyone familiar with Byzantine imperial ceremonial at the time. Mehmed entered the city from the north and not through the Golden Gate, the traditional starting point of Byzantine imperial triumphal ceremonies, located at the opposite, western end of the city wall. The Golden Gate was immediately ordered closed, and was never again used in its traditional manner. An obvious reason for this decision may have been the geographical relationship of Constantinople to Edirne, the functioning capital of the Ottoman state at the time. The road to Edirne, indeed, led north and not west of the city, as had been the case with the Via Egnatia. Thus, the decision may have had this practical dimension, but it must have also had a deeper symbolic meaning, whose effects were to be reinforced by other subsequent decisions related to the seemingly arbitrary choice made by the conquering sultan on 29 May 1453. In the structure of the Byzantine capital, it will be recalled, from the very beginning the main street – the Mese – had two branches. The main, western branch began at the Golden Gate, while the northern one started at the Deuteron ("Second") Gate. The two branches met at the Philadelphion square, from where a single avenue continued toward the Million and the Augusteon, between the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia. In Byzantine imperial practice it was the western route that was used predominantly for ceremonial processions. Ottoman Constantinople, following Mehmed's initial decision, would maintain only the northern branch of the Mese – the Divan Yolu – as the backbone of its urban traffic, while the western branch was to lose its ceremonial and most of its commercial significance.

Before turning to some of the particulars of Mehmed's building program, it is necessary to address the critical question of the city's depopulation and repopulation in the aftermath of the conquest.[11] During the conquest it is estimated that some 4,000 inhabitants were killed and another 60,000 taken prisoner and enslaved. On the basis of this, an estimate of the population before the conquest has been put at approximately 70,000, but that figure is debated among scholars.[12] Regardless of what figures may reflect the state of affairs most accurately – an issue that may never be fully resolved – it is quite clear that the city was severely depopulated, and that Mehmed II made it one of his main orders of business to repopulate it. Based on a partially preserved land register, *Tahrir Defter*, of 1455, an estimate of the city population indicates that it may have sunk to as low as 3,500. The impact of periodic outbreaks of plague – a matter largely ignored in Ottoman sources and in modern historiography – also played a major role in the city's population decline.[13] Using all available methods, ranging from coercion to forced migrations, Mehmed II ensured that people were brought into the city. His aggressive manner in dealing with the issue in many respects recalls the responses to a similar challenge facing Constantine I at the time of the city's foundation in 324. The citizens of Galata

and Selymbria, for example, are known to have been forcibly transferred to Constantinople, illustrating a desperate need to fill the city with new inhabitants. Houses were offered free of charge, as long as the new owner paid ground rent to the state. A particular need arose with regard to skilled craftsmen and artisans. Ethnic and religious differences apparently played no role in these matters. Greek craftsmen from Edirne (Adrianople), Bursa (Prusa), Gelibolu (Gallipoli), and Filibe (Philippopolis) joined members of good families and artisans from Serbia, and 5,000 families from Trebizond and its surroundings. Armenians came along with Jews, whose number in the city reached approximately 35,000 by the end of the fifteenth century. By *circa* 1500 the population of Constantinople apparently rose close to 100,000 inhabitants. In order to ensure that the city was supplied with food, Mehmed also ordered the forced repopulation of villages in the vicinity of the city. As many as 30,000 peasant slaves appear to have been resettled as part of this campaign. A large number of these enslaved peasants came in the aftermath of military campaigns in Serbia (1455) and Morea (1458 and 1460).[14]

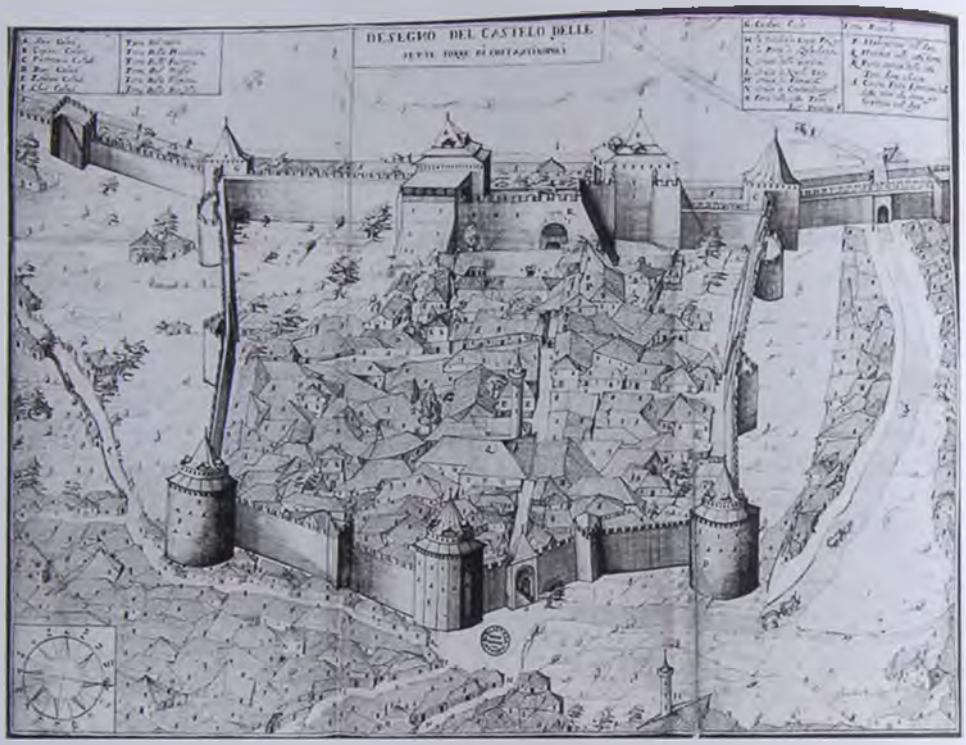
Inasmuch as the repopulation of the city affected not only the area within the city walls, but also the surrounding countryside, we must take note of yet another related phenomenon – the growth of suburbs. One of these in particular is deserving of notice – the suburb of Eyüp (Byzantine Kosmidion), just north of the city walls, on the Golden Horn. It was here, according to legend, that the tomb of one Eyüp el-Ensari (Ayyub al-Ansari) was miraculously "discovered" immediately after the conquest.[15] Eyüp, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, was allegedly a standard-bearer in the Arab army that laid the first unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in 669. Eyüp was killed in battle and buried on the spot, but the location is said to have lain forgotten for nearly eight centuries. Though actually known from at least the tenth century, its "discovery" after 1453 was an event of major religious significance that reinforced the act of conquest as the fulfillment of the Divine Will. Mehmed hastened to mark the location of the grave by the construction of a mausoleum and a nearby mosque. Thus, on the shores of the Golden Horn rose the first and most important Islamic shrine in the city, a martyrium of sorts. In a city renowned for its Christian relics and pilgrimages involving hordes of people, this was clearly an Islamic antidote that used the familiar Christian mechanisms in order to accomplish similar goals for the benefit of the new faith. Mehmed had Eyüp declared the "patron saint" of the conquered city, and the site of his tomb became a major site of Muslim pilgrimage. Adding to this role, he became known as a miraculous healer, superseding on the site of Byzantine Kosmidion the cult of the healer saints Cosmas and Damian, whose church once stood in the same suburb. From the point of view of ruler ideology, the "martyrium" of Eyüp acquired yet another important dimension. In subsequent Ottoman practice, following his accession to the imperial throne each new sultan was ceremonially girded with the sword of sovereignty in this location and from there proceeded in a ceremonial procession on his triumphal entry into the capital. This ceremony, in most respects, recalls the tradition associated with the Byzantine emperors, whose coronation ceremony had as its starting point the suburb of Hebdomon. It was there that a military ceremony of acclamation of the new emperor took place, followed by a religious ceremony in the martyrium of Hagios Ioannis Prodromos (St. John the Baptist). From there, the imperial procession proceeded toward the city, entering it ceremonially through the Golden Gate. If we recall that the Golden Gate had lost its ceremonial role by Mehmed II's decision, it is striking that the new "martyrium" site, outside the city walls, assumed a similar role in relationship to the Edirne Kapı, the new ceremonial entrance gate, with all its imperial implications. The rising importance of the site of Eyüp should be seen, among other things, as the creation of a "new Hebdomon" on the other side of the city, consistent with the program of creating a new imperial ceremonial without abandoning all of the formal ingredients of the old one. The functionality of the new suburb of Eyüp was to be secured by the forced transfer there of another group of people – in this case of rich merchants from Bursa – who, while attempting to resist Mehmed's orders, finally succumbed and became pawns in the sultan's great master plan.

Little may be said about the physical aspects of the urban structure of Constantinople during the first decades after the conquest. The observations that have been made have relied largely on a general knowledge of Turkish-Muslim urban centers.[16] From these idiosyncratic cultural and religious characteristics there emerges a picture that substantially applies to the evolving urban forms in Constantinople itself during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Conflicting views as to the degree of survival of the Byzantine city complicate any discussion as to how the conquerors may have dealt with the physical environment of their predecessors. Various opinions have been expressed, at times quite arbitrarily, about this important issue. The partially preserved land register (*Tahrir Defter*) of 1455 mentions 918 houses, of which 291 were empty or in ruins.[17] On the basis of this evidence, Kuban has postulated that "perhaps a few thousand habitable houses" were left.[18] Elsewhere he postulates that a few larger mansions survived and were inhabited by several families each, while neither of the two imperial palaces supposedly survived. The latter assertion is particularly curious, since we know that it was the sultan himself who claimed ownership of all buildings within the city walls. It stands to reason that the imperial palaces would have been at the top of the list of buildings in the city to enjoy his protection. Recent research

8.8 Constantinople, Yedikule Kalesi, aerial view from SE

points to the fact that some of the many Byzantine monasteries managed to maintain their properties in the city.[1] Considering that monasteries had become the holders of much land within the city during the Palaeologan period, the question of expropriation and the use of monastic properties ought to play a major role in our understanding of how the new patterns of urban growth actually evolved. Clearly, we are left with too many insecure facts and too much room for unsubstantiated speculation. Thus, at present, any conclusions about the survival and reuse of the old urban fabric are at best extremely difficult. One of the major desiderata in the study of Constantinople-Istanbul, therefore, is the question of continuities and discontinuities in its urban fabric. This subject, while it obviously cannot be dealt with here in a meaningful manner, must be highlighted for the purposes of future research, which will need to pay much more attention to this crucial issue, about which so pitifully little is known.

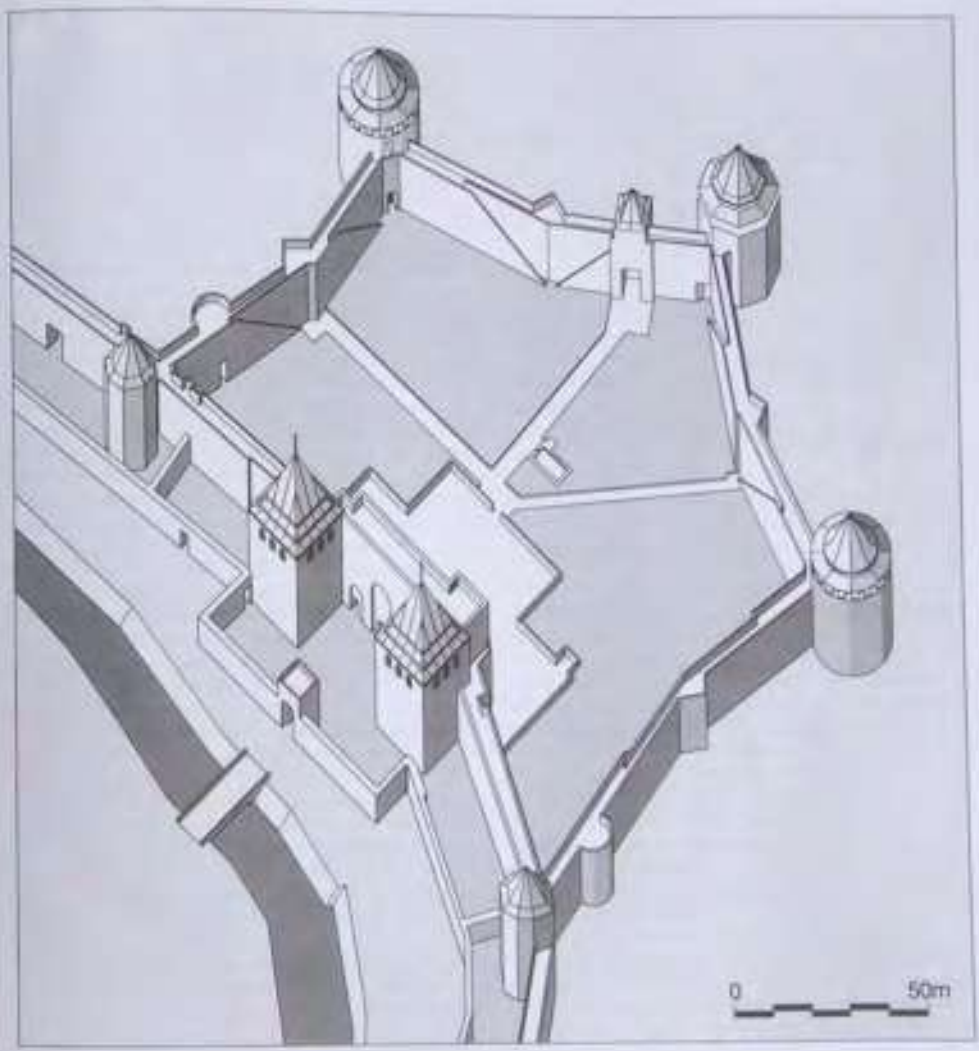
Despite the fact that in a typical Ottoman city a street such as the Mese would not have existed, its position and role in Constantinople were carefully maintained. Dominating the city ridge that ran parallel to the Golden Horn, this largely commercial thoroughfare retained some of its ceremonial functions, linking important nodal points within the urban fabric. Its polar points – the Deuteron Gate (present Edirne Kapı) and Hagia Sophia – were determined by the Byzantine layout of the city. Along this route, at a central location, Mehmed II ordered the construction of his palace, known by its later name as the *Eski Saray* (the Old Palace), roughly on the north fringe of the Byzantine Forum Tauri. Several important observations must be made concerning this complex. The decision to build it was made immediately after the conquest. It was to demonstrate symbolically and practically that the seat of Ottoman power would now be in Constantinople. The palace, unlike the new imperial mosque, ignored completely the location of the Byzantine seats of power. Neither the Great Palace nor the Blachernae Palace was given any consideration. They were deliberately rejected in favor of an entirely new site, albeit chosen in relationship to the ceremonial route. The new palace was a large compound measuring roughly



819 Constantinople. Yedikule Kalesi: from E; 17th-century drawing. (Cod. Cicogna 1971, Museo Civico Correr, Venice)

16 hectares, enclosed by an exceptionally tall wall perforated only by two gates, one of which was in regular use. The gate, also known as Bab al-Sa'ada, was "an elaborate structure topped with a golden dome, symbolic of the heavens or the universe, under which the ruler sat enthroned to receive people in a most elaborate court ceremony."[1] This feature recalls the Chalke, the domed vestibule of the Great Palace, whose function here appears to have been juxtaposed with that of a throne hall. Whether this would have been the case of direct borrowing from Byzantium, or something that Ottoman culture may have appropriated earlier, cannot be answered, but the similarities are striking and their use surely would have made an impression on contemporaries familiar with Byzantine precedents. Within the compound was an extensive garden, in the midst of which stood the second walled-in residential compound of the sultan. Security measures were clearly extensive, and appear to repeat the concept employed at the earlier palace at Edirne. Unfortunately, neither of the two palaces has survived. The Eski Saray was built in great haste. By the fall of 1455, just two years after the conquest, Mehmed II took possession of his new residence. Yet, only two years later, in 1457, apparently dissatisfied with what this palace had to offer, he initiated the construction of a new one that would eventually become known as the Topkapi Saray (see pp. 722–25, below). The Eski Saray was eventually abandoned as the official residence of the sultan, but it remained in the possession of his court and was maintained as the residence of high-ranking female members of the sultans' families (e.g., the mothers of sultans) until its eventual demise.

The second major project initiated by Mehmed II immediately after the conquest was a polygonal fort built around the interior of the Golden Gate. Known as Yedi Kule Kalesi, the original functional intentions for this mighty fortress are murky (figs. 818–20). Previous scholarship has ignored several important aspects of this project that may illuminate Mehmed's thinking.



820 Constantinople, Yedikule Kalesi: axonometric

821 Constantinople, Eski Bedestan, plan

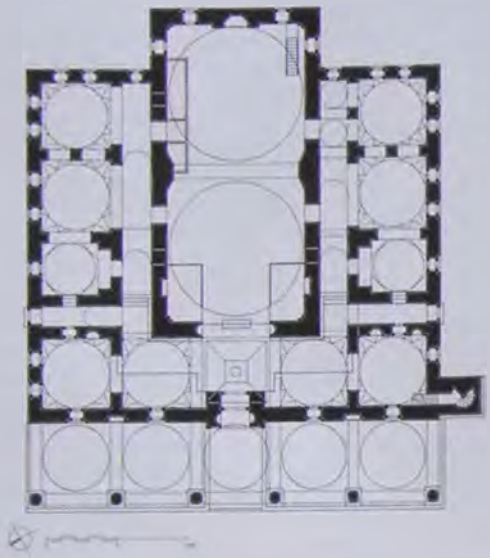
The most important of these is that the construction of this fort effectively rendered the Golden Gate totally non-functional as a gate. A much smaller gate, a type of a postern, was cut through the walls in its immediate vicinity, thus making access into it possible, but grand ceremonial entries through the former city gate par excellence were deliberately discontinued. Instead, as we saw, Mehmed II envisioned the Edirne Kapı as the effective ceremonial successor of the Golden Gate. The second point that needs to be recalled is that during the fourteenth century the Golden Gate and the area immediately surrounding it had become increasingly militarized by the Byzantines. As we saw in the preceding chapter, under John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) a fort known as *to frourion* was built in this location, superseded by a structure referred to in the sources as *to kastellion tis Chrysetas*, used as a residence by the aging Emperor John V in 1390. It was the latter structure that was destroyed at the orders of Sultan Bayezid I in 1394 (?), whose supreme authority the Byzantine emperor was compelled to recognize.[1] These facts signal the significance attached to the Golden Gate by the Byzantines and the efforts made by the Ottomans to accomplish the opposite. The construction of Yedi Kule Kalesi, therefore, appears to be but a closing chapter in a particular symbolic and practical conflict of long standing between the Byzantines and the Ottomans. Immediately after its construction, the Yedi Kule Kalesi was used for a short period to house the Ottoman state treasury. Its subsequent function as a military establishment involved a small settlement within its walls with a small mosque in its midst (fig. 819). Built by Greek builders, who were paid relatively high wages intended to enable them to buy their freedom, Yedi Kule Kalesi is of additional significance for a number of reasons hitherto unexplored. In its design characteristics it shares many general features with Rumeli Hisar, completed in 1452, where the employment of Byzantine builders can only be suspected. Considering the two fortresses in the same context may provide us with additional clues regarding the beginnings of fortification architecture under Mehmed II. Yedi Kule Kalesi is a roughly pentagonal enclosure. Its western wall is actually a section of the inner city wall with the two-towered Golden Gate as its central feature. The next cylindrical towers of the original line of the city walls mark the starting points of the walled enclosure on the north and south sides. The line of these walls, as high as the city walls, is slightly bent in plan. At the actual bending points, symmetrically disposed on both sides, we find small triangular towers. The use of such towers recalls late antique practice, although these are much smaller in size. Their currency in Middle and Late Byzantine fortification architecture and in related developments elsewhere (as in Serbia) suggests that the link between these important fortifications and the Byzantine tradition in fortification architecture may have been closer than previously suspected. Obviously, this is a subject that requires much further investigation. Two more stretches of walls occur on the city side of the enclosure. These two form the remaining sides of the pentagon. At the salient junction points are situated massive towers, two cylindrical and one polygonal. Precisely the same disposition of three main towers was employed at the Rumeli Hisar, as was the use, albeit limited, of a small triangular tower at one of the bending points in the enclosure wall on its east side (fig. 876). Further exploration of this issue will be useful in determining with greater precision the state of technological knowledge among both Byzantine and Ottoman military engineers around the middle of the fifteenth century. It seems quite clear, however, that Mehmed II's employment of cannon appears to have had a limited impact on the design of his fortifications, at least at this stage. The only indicator appears to be the extremely massive walls, but the use of wall escarps and the lowering of towers for greater defensive effectiveness, notable in Italian fortification architecture of this period, does not seem to have reached Constantinople by this time. Yedi Kule Kalesi was built predominantly of irregular fieldstones with an admixture of brick, using a technique that recalls crude Byzantine construction, clearly employed here on account of the desired speed of construction and the utilitarian nature of the building itself.

Mehmed's early building interventions within the heart of Constantinople included also the construction of the first commercial building – the so-called Eski Bedestan – built probably

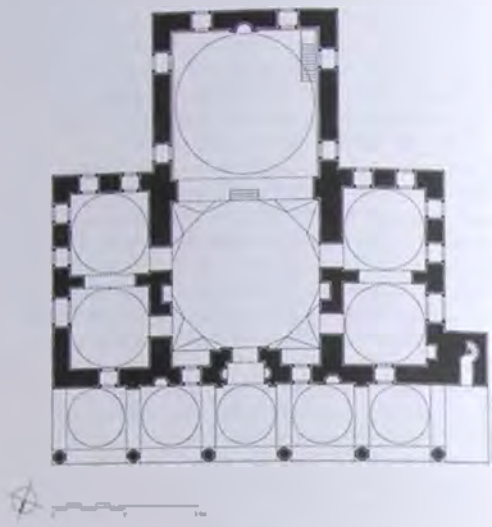
during the first decade after the conquest in an area not far from the column of Constantine (fig. 821).[1] It is believed that this area generally respected the location of the original Byzantine commercial district, presumably stretching from the Mese toward the Golden Horn, and thus establishing a crucial link between the harbor facilities and the main commercial thoroughfare. Whether or not any of the original Byzantine commercial buildings were reused in the process of the early Ottoman redevelopment of this area remains unknown. The Eski Bedestan was a monumental building consisting of fifteen large domes resting on two rows of four massive freestanding piers. Against the exterior structural enclosure wall were lined two rows of small shops (*sandıklı*), a total of 124, the inner row communicating with the domed interior space, the outer with the surrounding streets. The complex was intended for the accommodation of traders of important luxury items – precious woven fabrics, special wares, etc. Mehmed II contributed to the expansion of the surrounding market area in 1473 by the construction of a second *bedestan* for the use of silk merchants. The eventual development of the entire commercial district – known as the Kapalı Çarşı (Grand Bazaar) – followed the pattern of strict zoning for various commercial activities and trades typical of Turkish-Muslim cities and familiar from Byzantine urban contexts as well. The development of the commercial district involved also the construction of *hans* (inns) for the accommodation of traveling merchants. The largest of these was the two-storied Han-i Sultan, a large building with ninety-eight rooms and forty-two shops. Neither this, nor two other smaller *hans* built by Mehmed II, have survived.[2]

The enterprising sultan has also been credited with the construction of as many as eleven public baths (*hamam*), of which the largest was the great Tahtakale Hamam, also in the vicinity of the Grand Bazaar. A contemporary Westerner in his written memoirs likened these baths to palaces. The comparison is of considerable relevance for a number of reasons. In making this comparison, its author implied that these huge public buildings gave the general public the same sense – however illusionary – of access to luxury as did the great imperial baths of ancient Rome.[3] It is worth noting that the largest domed space of the Tahtakale Hamam had a span of 17 meters, a considerable technological feat in its day. Domes of this size, as common as the form itself had become in contemporary architectural practice, were generally reserved for the grandest of public buildings, notably mosques.

Six years after the conquest, in 1459, Mehmed II brought together the leading figures of his state and called on them to participate individually in the rebuilding of the capital. In the meantime, as we have seen, much of the outline of the conceptual plan for the city and many important public buildings was already in place. Curiously, the rebuilding of the city before *circa* 1463 involved no major mosques. Presumably, the converted churches fulfilled the immediate need, but a decade-long lag in this category of building is nevertheless glaring and is reminiscent of a similar reluctance on the part of Constantine vis-à-vis the construction of churches in the city in the immediate aftermath of its founding in 330. Clearly, many important decisions that must have constituted an integral part of the "master plan" are no longer discernible. Because mosques were to be privately funded, they would have been built on plots of land selected for that purpose and donated by the sultan to the potential patron. Such a decision would have had to be made carefully, for the land upon which a mosque would be built would then be claimed in perpetuity. Verifiably the first mosque to be constructed within the city walls of Constantinople after 1453 was the relatively modest Yerihisar Camii, built in 1461.[4] It was destroyed by fire in 1917 and subsequently reconstructed in an unreliable manner. Far more important among the early mosques, therefore, is the Mahmud Pasha Camii, built in 1464 (fig. 822a).[5] It, too, has undergone multiple restorations, but it retains much of its original character, especially in its spatial disposition. In its plan, the mosque displays characteristics that link it to an extent with the so-called axial iwan mosque type.[6] Measuring 30 × 36 meters in plan, the mosque is a large building. Its plan reveals a highly experimental solution, characteristic of new mosque architecture in Constantinople. Following certain earlier developments in Bursa, and then in Edirne, the conquest of Constantinople seems to have given a new spurt to the experimental spirit in early Ottoman architecture. The axial iwan mosque appears to have been subjected here to significant modifications. These involved the creation of a large rectangular prayer hall under a pair of large domes, 12.5 meters in diameter and 19.75 meters high. The prayer hall is enveloped by relatively narrow barrel-vaulted corridors along its flanks. On the opposite side of these corridors are arranged three separate domed compartments of uncertain function, as far as their original intention is concerned. The central room of each of these two groups of rooms is fully open toward the corridor, but with no direct link to the main prayer hall. Thus, what superficially appears as a feature of the so-called "cross-axial iwan mosque" type here does not function that way at all. Another idiosyncratic feature of the Mahmud Pasha Camii involves its domed vestibule, consisting of two blind-domed compartments and a central spatial unit covered by a flat-topped cross vault. The main space of this vestibule is further extended into two partially segregated domed rooms, whose outer walls are aligned with the exterior strings of the three domed rooms referred to above. The southwestern domed room provides access to a minaret. The building is preceded by a monumental portico consisting of five blind-domed units originally supported by



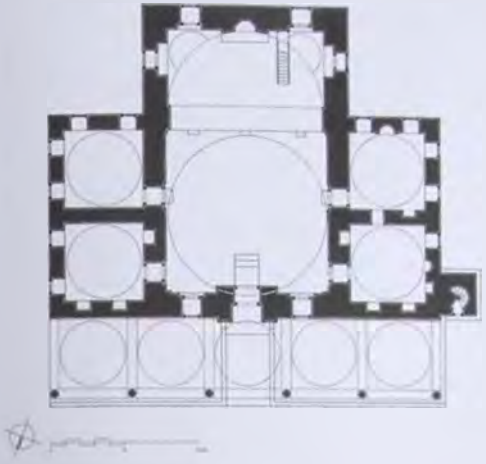
8228 Constantinople, Mahmud Pasha Camii; plan



8228 Constantinople, Mahmud Pasha Camii; plan

columns of varied stones, apparently spoils. The functional logic of this mosque has troubled scholars. While these features clearly deviate from earlier schemes, and have no clear following, the planning skill of the architect is unusual. The plan reveals a mastery of modular planning and deserves attention from that point of view. Inasmuch as the patron, Mahmud Pasha, the controversial grand vizier of Mehmed II, was a Christian convert to Islam, the possibility of a non-Muslim architect having been employed on this job should be further explored. Typological as well as technical experiments evident in the design of new mosques built in Constantinople after the conquest provide room for future research on this relatively unexplored subject.

The Murat Pasha Camii, in the district of Aksaray, begun in 1469, though related, is a far more conservative solution than the Mahmud Pasha Camii (fig. 8228). Typologically, it belongs to the axial iwan mosque type, common in the earlier architecture of Bursa and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Edirne. The mosque, measuring 27 × 30 meters in plan (excluding the projecting minaret at the northwest corner), belongs to the same general category of buildings. Its main prayer hall is rectangular, consisting of two domed bays, 10.5 meters wide. The two domes rise to a height of 21 meters. Virtually identical in every respect, they differ insofar that the southeastern dome is supported on pendentives, while the northwestern one is carried by the so-called Turkish (Persian) triangles. The zone of Turkish triangles in the case of this dome is contained externally within a low square drum, perforated by four windows placed on the perpendicular axes. The same feature appears in conjunction with the second dome, where its internal logic is lost. As the two domes abut each other, they share one of the windows, appearing as an internal feature above the main structural arch that carries the two domes. The interior variations between the two domes reflect the former functional distinction between the two domed spaces. In the older axial iwan mosques the first domed bay was given over to an ablution fountain within a pool, corresponding to even earlier mosque schemes in which such a space was left uncovered. Correspondingly, the second dome actually covered the space of the prayer iwan. The design of Murat Pasha Camii, then, signals a departure from such a scheme in an evolutionary process in mosque design that began in Constantinople shortly after the conquest. The main prayer hall is flanked by two pairs of domed convent rooms, each square in plan, measuring 5.5 meters on the side. Originally fully separate, these rooms are now joined through a large arch similar to the arch between the



822c Constantinople, Üsküdar, Rum-Mehmed Pasha Camii, plan

domed units of the prayer hall. Each of the four rooms has a separate door linking it directly to the main hall. The exterior of the building reveals a technique featuring bands of single courses of small stone blocks and two courses of brick. Relatively recent restoration carried out on the building preempts any more detailed conclusions regarding the original manner of its construction. It should be noted, however, that brick was used extensively in the architecture of Constantinople during the reign of Mehmed II. This, combined with the actual methods of construction, requires more detailed investigations of who the builders may have been, how the building workshops may have been organized, and how they may have functioned."

The Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii at Üsküdar, one of the main suburbs of Constantinople, on the opposite shore of the south mouth of the Bosphorus, was built in 1471 (fig. 822c).[4] Like the preceding two mosques, it was commissioned by a converted Byzantine general, whose rise to power was also swift, largely due to his successful scheming against his principal adversary, the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha. The mosque is yet another example of a variation on the theme of the axial iwan mosque type. Its plan, measuring 27.5 × 27.5 meters, is essentially identical to that of the Murat Pasha Camii, with one major exception – its rectangular prayer iwan is covered by a half-dome, creating a distinctive spatial, as well as external, formal effect. The main square central hall is covered by a large dome, in this case 11.15 meters in diameter, and is flanked by pairs of domed square convent rooms, segregated from each other and linked to the central hall through individual doorways. A five-domed portico supported on six freestanding columns precedes the mosque on the entrance façade, as was the case with the two previous examples. What distinguishes this mosque from its two contemporaries is the articulation of the main structural system, its space, and its main exterior formal features. The main dome in this case dominates the interior space, as well as the exterior of the building. It rests on four massive brick arches with intervening pendentives. In contrast to the domed unit of the prayer iwan at the Murat Pasha Camii, where the same structural elements were employed, here they were given visual prominence both on the interior and the exterior. Only the southeastern of the main arches is concealed externally by the large half-dome over the prayer iwan that abuts it. Both the formal and the structural characteristics of this solution curiously echo Byzantine church architecture. These are reinforced by other lesser features that have similar implications. Most notably, this is true of the triple windows, the central one taller, symmetrically disposed directly below each of the great arches. The main dome is externally contained by a cylindrical drum whose horizontal eaves are interrupted in eight places by arches over the eight windows. A similar manner of revealing the structural form was employed in conjunction with the main structural arches whose extrados externally project above the eave lines of the cubical base that encloses the four pendentives. The use of brick for the main arches and the reliance on the building technique externally – alternating rows of stone blocks with two brick courses – add to the general impression that this mosque may owe its execution to a builder versed with Byzantine architecture in his earlier practice."

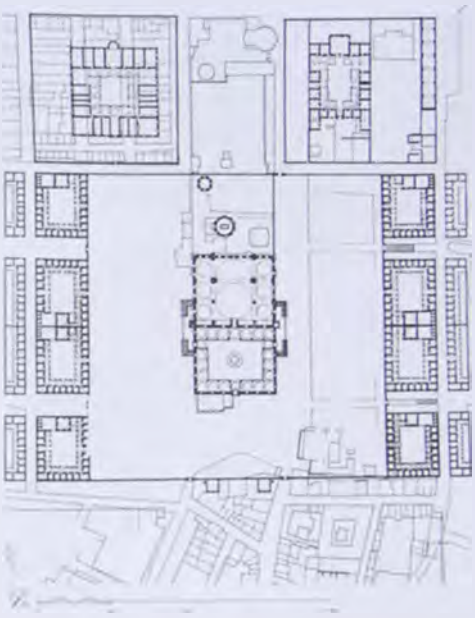
The delay in the construction of the first mosques in the city after the conquest may have also affected the sultan's own decision to build a major mosque. Whether that decision may have been reached as early as 1459, as some have suggested, or several years later cannot be verified. The result was the so-called Fatih (Conqueror's) Mosque, the first imperial and the largest mosque constructed within the city walls for several decades after the conquest (fig. 823). Begun in 1463, it was completed in 1470. Its importance can be examined from several different angles, despite the fact that the original building no longer stands. Destroyed in a catastrophic earthquake of 1766, the mosque was rebuilt in 1771 on the same site, but using a different design. Situated on the fourth hill of Constantinople, it occupies one of the highest points in the city, overlooking the Golden Horn.

823 Constantinople. Fatih Mosque, detail from Panorama of Constantinople, ca. 1560 (Melchior Lorichs)

The site, in addition to its topographical preeminence, also has immense symbolic significance. The mosque was built on the location of the former church of the Holy Apostles containing the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian I. The venerable building was initially given over to the Greek patriarch Gennadios, as the new seat of the Orthodox patriarchate following the conquest. Mehmed II revoked this decision in 1463, transferring the patriarchate to the monastery of Pammakaristos and expropriating the site of the Holy Apostles for the construction of his own mosque and the accompanying buildings. The precise reasons for his decision are debated, though there can be little doubt that it represented the beginning of the second phase and

the finalization of his master plan for the rebuilding of the city. The site, situated along the main road linking the Edirne Gate with the main imperial mosque of Ayasofya, was carefully chosen, eliminating the most prominent traces of Byzantine symbolic presence on the newly emerging skyline of the city. By demolishing the second most important Byzantine church along with the imperial mausolea, Mehmed II dealt a symbolic mortal blow to the Byzantine past. At the same time, he shrewdly appropriated the meaning of the locus, by building the second most important mosque of the new Ottoman capital and placing next to it his own mausoleum. Thus, the memorial of the founder of the new capital effectively replaced that of the original founder – Constantine – by appropriating the same physical location.

The architectural form, aspects of the interior disposition, and the structural system of the mosque as originally built are all the subject of continuing debate among experts. Our knowledge of the building rests on a number of old drawings made before its demise, and on a number of verbal descriptions. Notwithstanding the dearth of evidence, it is clear beyond any doubt that the original Fatih Mosque was a grand building and that its design was a unique experimental solution. The mosque was approached through a large courtyard measuring approximately 46 × 40 meters, in the center of which stood a fountain for ablutions (fig. 824). The courtyard was surrounded by an arcaded portico covered by twenty-two blind domes. Some of the original features of this court have been preserved and are the only elements of the fifteenth-century mosque that have survived. The main, enclosed part of the mosque has been completely rebuilt. The original building may have measured 46 × 33 meters, its longer dimension corresponding to the width of the courtyard. From this, the main façade, one would have entered the main domed hall of the mosque. Opinions about the size of this dome vary considerably, but it was certainly the largest mosque dome constructed in the city before the mosques built by Sinan in the sixteenth century. In plan, the main domed hall opened directly into the prayer area covered by a semi-dome, one-half the size of the main dome. The scheme recalls that of Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii in Üsküdar, though it must have been twice its size. Some of the intrinsic structural problems appear to have been directly related to the daring scale and structural decisions employed. The main domed space apparently also opened laterally into two pairs of domed bays, each one half the size of the main dome. These correspond in location and size – though not in function or special accessibility – to the pairs of conventual domed rooms at the Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii. The main dome, as in the case of the Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii, apparently rested on four large arches and on four pendentives. These, unlike at Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii, were carried on four relatively slender piers; the northeastern pair was engaged with the main façade wall, while the southwestern pair was apparently freestanding. The row of domed bays flanking the main domed hall was extended in the direction of the qibla wall by another bay that also opened directly into the half-domed prayer space. The general design solution, though related to the other mosques we have discussed, appears to have been far more daring in its experimental approach to spatial and structural matters. Ultimately, this appears to have been the main cause of the building's demise. First seriously damaged in the earthquake of 1509, the main part of the mosque finally totally collapsed in the earthquake of 1766.[1] The Fatih Mosque has drawn the attention of scholars for another reason – the identity of its architect, known as Atik Sinan. Other sources refer to him as a Greek by the name of Christodoulos, a freed slave and not a Muslim by birth. This raises yet again the important, but understudied issue of the identity of the main architects in Constantinople during the second half of the fifteenth century. The experimental nature in the design of mosques, with occasional elements of Byzantine architectural solutions, and the building techniques suggest that more than mere speculation about the



824 Constantinople, Fatih Külliye: reconstruction plan

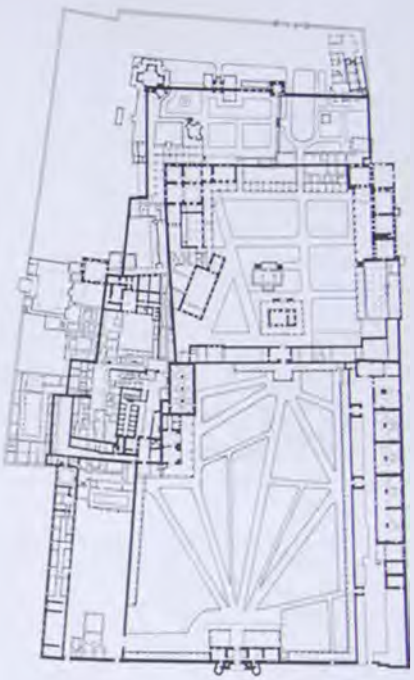
823 Constantinople. Topkapı Sarayı: aerial view

ethnic origins of the different architects and master builders may be at stake. The subject deserves serious further pursuit.

The Fatih Mosque, large as it was, was but a component of a much larger planning scheme. The mosque was a focus of a huge complex known as the Fatih Külliye, a type of social-religious center with various public facilities grouped around a centrally situated mosque (fig. 824). Such *külliye*s were large, privately funded foundations. They often formed neighborhood nuclei that played an important role in the growth of Turkish Muslim cities.[1] As such they were institutionalized, through the *vakıf* system. This undoubtedly constituted the high point of the system at the time.[2] The Fatih *külliye* was the largest and the most impressive of such establishments anywhere and was to set a high standard for contemporaries, as well as for future generations. It was an extraordinary complex in many respects, above all by virtue of its physical size, covering as it did an area of nearly 11 hectares. This area matches the size of some late antique towns (e.g., late third-century Abritus at 10 ha). Equally surprising is the orderly system of planning, relying on principles of rigid axiality and symmetry, rarely employed on such a scale in Ottoman urban contexts. Considering that the complex was built within an existing urban environment, it raises the question how such a large area may have become available, short of major destruction and the removal of scores of older buildings. Although it is well known that the complex was built on the site of the Holy Apostles, itself turned into a monastery in medieval times, the relationship between the layout of the two complexes has never been adequately explored. A significant indicator is that the *külliye* complex was built upon an immense artificial platform measuring 310 × 340 meters, in places 11 meters high, whose construction must have obliterated a substantial number of buildings. Since excavations have not been possible, one is left with the prospect of mere speculations. It stands to reason, however, that some of the unusual characteristics of the Fatih *külliye* bear

the imprint of preexisting conditions. We do know that the complex of the Holy Apostles, as built in the fourth century, included a church and an imperial mausoleum that stood within a vast open court surrounded by stoas and other buildings. Although the exact size and form of this complex remain unknown, its layout may have lent some of the regularity of planning to Fatih's *külliye*. The layout of the *külliye* complex *is* known, despite extensive reconstruction of its buildings carried out after the earthquake of 1766. The complex was dominated by the mosque, whose mihrab was evidently placed in the precise geometric center of the complex. Behind the mosque, another walled courtyard contained a garden within which stood the mausoleum of Mehmed II, and a smaller one of his wife Gülbahar. An enormous U-shaped open space, known as the Fatih Meydani, enveloped the mosque along with its forecourt and the garden behind it, on three sides providing a public space for various activities and festivities. On the periphery of these open spaces, along the northeast and southwest flanks, stood in two rows the *medreses* (schools), a Qur'an school, a library, and a public kitchen for feeding the poor. To the southeast, in two separate courtyards, stood a hospital with its own *mescid* (small mosque) and a *tabhane* (hospital), as well as a small *kervansaray* within the massive substructure of the complex at its southwest corner. The *tabhane*, recently restored, is the only subsidiary part of the complex that has substantially preserved its original form.[5]

Mehmed II's call to his viziers to take part in the reconstruction of the city of Constantinople, issued in 1459, met with almost immediate response. A particularly instructive case is the *külliye* of Mahmud Pasha, whose mosque, finished in 1464, has already been discussed. The grand vizier Mahmud Pasha made his own complex following the sultan's example. Next to the mosque he built his mausoleum, with a *medrese* in close proximity. A little farther he ordered the construction of a double bath, for men and women, while farther yet, in the heart of the commercial quarter, he built a *han*, now known as Kürkçü Hani. The complex also included a Qur'an school and an *imaret*. Mahmud Pasha's endowment included a hundred shops, twenty-seven houses, storage rooms, and stables, whose income helped support the rest of the establishment. The complex was second in size and importance only to that of the sultan himself. While the idea of the complex, whose construction took a decade to complete, was closely related to the Fatih Külliye, its layout was completely different. Various components of the endowment were widely scattered, filling areas within irregular, clearly preexisting building blocks. The complex as a whole reveals a total absence of the kind of regularity associated with the Fatih Külliye. Such a difference in the planning may be our best evidence of some form of urban continuity between Byzantine and Ottoman Constantinople.[6]



826 Constantinople, Topkapı Sarayı, plan

Begun a decade after the conquest of Constantinople, the *külliye* of Fatih with his great mosque as its centerpiece was obviously Mehmed II's grand achievement, a project intended to put his personal stamp on the city. The decision to build the complex was combined with the decision to build another palace, whose construction was to be carried out simultaneously with that of the mosque. Kritovulos of Imbros, a historian who wrote an account of Mehmed II's life in Greek, provides the following assessment of the two projects in the year 1460.

> He [Mehmed] zealously directed operations on the buildings he was erecting on his own account – that is the mosque and the palace. He was concerned with the careful collection not simply of materials necessary for the work, but rather of those that were most expensive and rare. He also took care to summon the very best workmen from everywhere – masons and stonecutters and carpenters and all sorts of others of experience and skill in such matters.

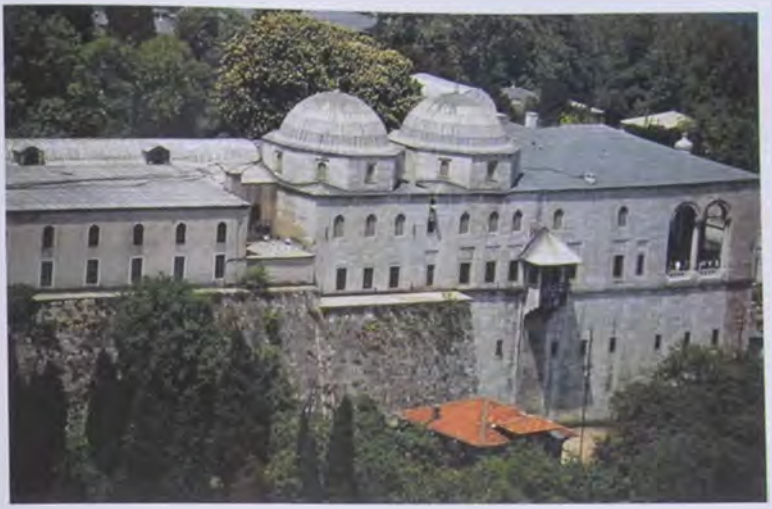
827 Constantinople, Topkapı Sarayı, Imperial Gate: view from 19th-century lithograph [illegible]

For he was constructing great edifices which were to be worth seeing and should in every respect vie with the greatest and best of the past. . . ."

In this regard, the decision to build a new palace, the third of his reign and the second one in Constantinople, is particularly interesting. The "New Palace" (*yeni sarayı*), subsequently to become known as the Topkapı Sarayı (Palace), was prominently located at another high point in the city, once occupied by the ancient acropolis and overlooking the Sea of Marmara as well as the Bosphorus (fig. 825).[5] The choice of site was determined not only by the splendid location, but also by major symbolic associations. As the seat of imperial power and authority, the Topkapı Palace had a special relationship to the main imperial mosque – Ayasofya (fig. 826). This relationship in no uncertain terms echoed the erstwhile relationship between the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors and the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia. While the latter building merely changed its function and name, undergoing only minor modifications, the site of the Great Palace was totally ignored. The Topkapı Palace, in a sense, could be thought of as the spatial mirror image of the Great Palace, occupying the location to the north, rather than to the south of Ayasofya. By initiating this project, Mehmed II finalized his master plan for the substantive reconstruction of Constantinople. As in the Byzantine capital, the main ceremonial route led from the main entrance gate through the heart of the city all the way to the seat of religious power, and ultimately to the seat of secular power, passing on the way the memorial to the city's founder. While all of the theoretical points of this scheme were carefully maintained, the actual buildings that fulfilled these functions in the new capital were new. The only exception was the converted church of Hagia Sophia, the symbolic fulcrum of change as well as continuity.

828 Constantinople, Topkapı Sarayı, Gate of Peace: view from S

The Topkapı Palace, as it exists today, preserves very few building parts that can be directly associated with the age of Mehmed II. Much like the Fatih Mosque, albeit for different reasons, the complex has been much altered, but has retained most of its conceptual framework intact, allowing for an under-

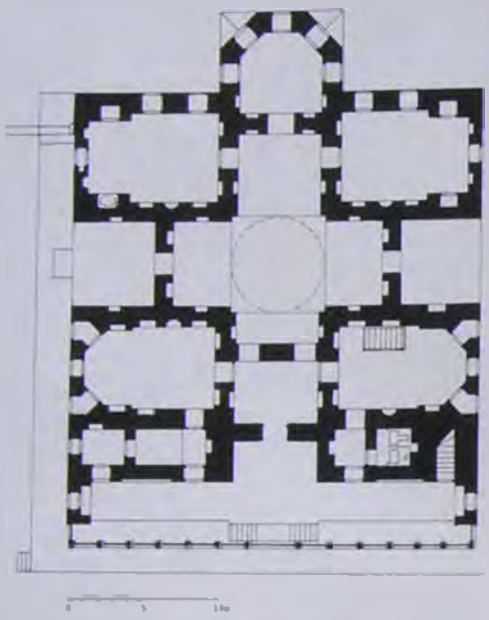


829 Constantinople, Topkapı Saray, Inner Treasury and Large Bath: aerial view

standing of the original design scheme. Ultimately, therein lies its greatness, which also facilitates the true appreciation of the extent of Mehmed II's extraordinary vision. Much like the Eski Saray, the Topkapı Palace consisted of an inner core surrounded by extensive walled-in gardens. The new palace was therefore safeguarded from within the city, projecting an image of a fortified palace comparable in type, if not in scale, with similar Byzantine establishments of the preceding century. It is noteworthy that its twenty-eight mostly rectangular towers, both in form and in methods of construction, recall Byzantine practice. Within the outer wall a new ceremonial gate – Imperial Gate (Bab-i humayun) – with its large domed passageway recalls the Bab al-sa'ada, the ceremonial gate of the Eski Saray (fig. 827). The Imperial Gate, situated near the northeastern corner of Ayasofya, was the ceremonial gate par excellence, serving the functions similar to those of the Chalke Gate in the Great Palace. Beyond this gate one entered the first and the largest interior court, this one accessible on a limited basis to the general public. Within this court stands the church of Hagia Eirene that in the planning of the New Palace became separated from Ayasofya by a wall. The second gate, known as Middle Gate or the Gate of Peace, flanked by a pair of widely spaced polygonal towers with pointed roofs, recalls Western medieval city gates (fig. 828). Beyond this gate one entered the restricted territory of the state ceremonial and the services of the palace proper.

The second court consisted of a geometrically planned garden inhabited by ostriches, peacocks, songbirds, deer, and gazelles.[9] In addition to strictly utilitarian buildings – the kitchens and the stables – this court was surrounded also by the main administrative buildings, which included the Council Hall, the Chancery, the Public Treasury, and the Tower of Justice. The Council Hall was essentially the high court, the seat of imperial justice. Though the Council was the executive legislative body, its meetings were supervised from a screened interior window by the sultan himself. The sultan, in his role of supreme lawgiver and judge, could also make appearances in an elevated loggia in the Tower of Justice. The entrance gate into the third and the most private court of the palace was at the same time the focal point of the second court. Situated at its far end and preceded by a domed canopy, it accommodated imperial appearances before admiring crowds assembled within the second court. The gate itself, known as Bab us-Sa'ada (the Gate of Felicity), was intimately linked with a small pavilion known as the Chamber of Petitions, whose location blocked an axial entry into the third court. In this pavilion the sultan received only the highest dignitaries and foreign ambassadors. It was there that the petitions of the accused of high rank were received and where actual executions often took place.

The third court was surrounded by a number of structures, several of which included larger or smaller parts belonging to the original construction under Mehmed II among them the so-called Inner Treasury and the Large Bath. These two functions were accommodated in a long wing stretching along the southeast flank of the palace complex. Raised upon a tall platform,



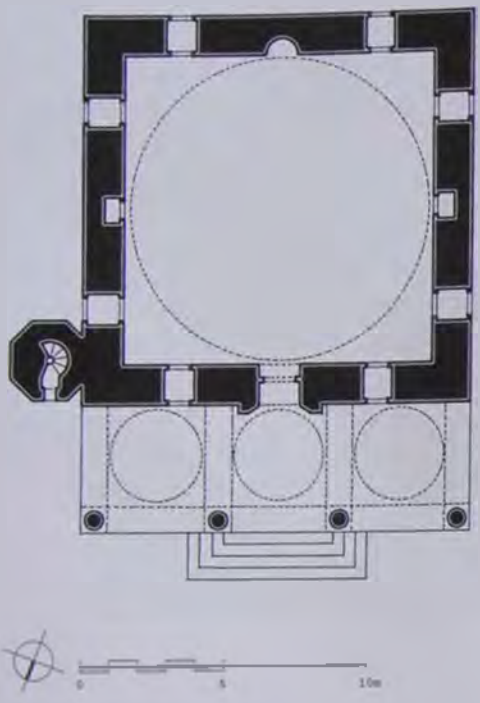
830 Constantinople, Topkapı Sarayı, Çinili Köşkü: plan

part of which may incorporate remains of older buildings, this wing offers one of the best views of the Sea of Marmara and the coast of Asia Minor (fig. 829). Facing the interior of the court, the two buildings were unified by a magnificent arcade erroneously called an "Ionic Colonnade" (a more appropriate label would be "Composite Arcade") with distant echoes of Early Byzantine architecture. Other buildings around the third court include the Palace School for the pages, the so-called Privy Chamber at the north corner of the third court enclosure, and a small mosque in the courtyard itself. The Privy Chamber is a composite structure consisting of four square domed rooms resting on massive foundations that compensate for the irregularities of the terrain. The northern corner room had a dome elevated on a drum and perforated with windows. In the original layout of the palace this was the sultan's private bedroom. Abutting the northwest exterior wall of the second and the third courtyard enclosures is the harem complex. This initially modest appendage of the main palace grew in time, becoming a maze of buildings, corridors, courtyards, and small gardens, recalling a palace complex in its own right. A particular category of architecture within Topkapı consists of small freestanding pavilions. Generally added over the course of time, these pavilions reflect particular desires or intentions of the sultans who ordered their construction. One of these pavilions, outside the actual palace enclosure, is the so-called Çinili or Tiled Kiosk built for Mehmed II himself.[44] Situated within the outer palace garden, just below the western corner of the inner palace enclosure, the Tiled Kiosk added curiosity and variety to the complex. A sizeable structure, measuring 30 × 36 meters in plan, the Tiled Kiosk has a simple prismatic appearance (fig. 830). On the east side, facing the main palace, it is fronted by an elevated portico consisting of densely spaced tall, slender columns carrying ogival arches, with the exception of the central arch, which is semicircular and larger than the rest. This arch provides a visual frame to the axial entry into the pavilion (fig. 831). The character of the porch, originally made of wood, but rebuilt in stone after an eighteenth-century fire, betrays the Eastern origins of the builder. The building is organized around a centrally placed cruciform hall with a dome, 6.5 meters in diameter, elevated on a drum with windows, situated above the crossing. Four rooms, accessible from the central hall, occupy the corner positions between the arms of the cross. Rectangular in plan, they project externally so as to form large arched open porches on the transversal axis. These iwans, as they are referred to, have a counterpart also on the east side, which frames the main entrance portal. A five-sided apse-like room projects from the prismatic building form on the west side. This room terminates the main axis of the building and communicates with the central hall through a single door. It was in this room that, according to literary evidence, the sultan's throne was located. From there, the sultan could have enjoyed the company and entertainment in a pleasurable setting. His throne-room, equipped with five large windows, overlooked the sloping garden with an artificial lake below it, against the distant backdrop of the Golden Horn and the panorama of the newly constructed city skyline. It has been argued convincingly that the builders and decorators (tile-makers) of this impressive pavilion must have come from the region of Karaman, and that they brought with them a mastery of the Timurid style of Iran and Turan. Whether the argument can be carried further, as has also been done, to suggest that the craftsmen involved were among the few thousand slaves from Karaman brought back by Mehmed II after his victory over the Karamanid ruler in 1465, is debatable. The aesthetics of this building reveal no parallels with any other architecture in Constantinople at this time. It seems more likely, then, that the pavilion was deliberately an exotic creation, deemed uniquely appropriate for its setting – the new imperial palace. Tursun Beg, a Turkish chronicler of the age of Mehmed II, reminds us that the builders of the New Palace came from the lands of the Arabs, Persians, and Ottomans. His other comments

841 Constantinople, Topkapı Sarayı, Cinili Kiosk, main façade

have been interpreted to imply that among the builders there may have been some Westerners as well.[*] The result of such a gathering of experts with different cultural backgrounds can be imagined only as a curious assortment of building styles, an eclectic display in the best nineteenth-century sense of the term. Such a result, however, should not be deemed an accident. This would be to miss an important point about a prevalent attitude about the character of imperial palaces of long standing. Eclecticism, as a preferred expression in palatine contexts, was the norm already in antiquity, and was certainly a *modus operandi* at the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors. The study of the architectural history of Topkapı is a complicated and frustrating business, not unlike that of the study of the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors. The main difference between the two rests in the fact that Topkapı *does* exist. Notwithstanding its many vicissitudes throughout its history, rebuilding enterprises, additions, and alterations, the essential characteristics of this great complex as envisioned by Mehmed II and as modified by his successors are still substantially discernible. In addition to this advantage, written evidence as well as illuminated events related to court life and ceremonial are abundantly preserved in manuscript form, providing a very vivid impression of the workings of this palace complex. Topkapı Palace, therefore, remains one of the most important sources of information not only about the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, but on the Ottoman civilization in general.

By the third quarter of the fifteenth century Constantinople had become substantially revitalized as an urban center. According to a census of 1477, there were 14,816 households in the city, 8,951 of which were Turkish. At the time of Mehmed II's death in 1481, the population of the city is estimated to have risen to 60,000–80,000, from the mere 3,000–4,000 immediately after the conquest.[*] With new construction aggressively pursued, Constantinople had once more become the greatest magnet of creative talent, with artisans from different corners of the vast new empire flocking to its gates, whether by invitation or by order. As in Byzantine times, Constantinople had also become the major generator of architectural ideas and technical know-how. From its gates, equipped with drawings and the necessary tools, master builders must have commonly taken to the roads



832 Constantinople, Firuz Aga Camii; plan

to the distant provinces, carrying out the sultan's wishes, or those of the other men of power. Mehmed II's vision for his new capital was substantially the product of his own making. As in the case of Constantine I, the founder was the unquestionable pacesetter, followed by some of his viziers, whose projects, as ambitious as they were in their own right, pale in comparison with the grand imperial achievements. Differences between the sultan's and his viziers' commissions were not only apparent in the scale of individual buildings, but also in the degree of willingness to engage with experiments. Few of the projects sponsored by the men of power in Constantinople were characterized by an inclination to create buildings even slightly at odds with firmly established traditions. A number of new mosques, *medreses*, *hamams*, and other buildings commissioned by the Ottoman elite following the sultan's grand example reveal both taste and spirit that were strongly conservative.

This trend continued after the death of Mehmed II in 1481, though at a slower pace. The reigns of his two successors, his son Bayezid II (1481–1512) and his grandson Selim I (1512–20), in fact, were themselves not distinguished by the same level of intensive construction that had marked the long reign of Mehmed II from its beginning to the end. The construction of private *külliye* and mosques was also marked by the same conservative flavor. Heading the list of notable monuments is one of the smallest foundations, the Firuz Aga Camii, built in 1491 (fig. 832).[1] Despite its relatively small size, the mosque occupies one of the most visible spots in the city – along the Divan Yolu. Situated just beyond the remains of the Hippodrome, the mosque may have been built over the leveled remains of the church of Hagios Ioannis en to Hippodromo (St. John in the Hippodrome), though such a notion has not been archaeologically confirmed. It belongs to one the simplest mosque types – a square, single-domed room preceded by a four-column portico supporting a system of three equal blind domes. Measuring 13.7 × 13.7 meters, it is covered by a windowless dome, 10.5 meters in interior diameter. The dome rests on four stalactite pendentives, externally weighted by four simple corner wall masses, partially integrated into the octagonal pseudo-drum whose form rises ever so slightly above these four corner elements. The minaret is situated at the northeast corner, in contrast to most other smaller contemporary mosques that generally had minarets at the opposite, northwest corner. The type, as a whole, had a long-established history in earlier Ottoman practice, and therefore it exemplifies the conservative trend in non-imperial architecture in Constantinople. It was commonly employed in mosque construction throughout the Balkans in the following centuries. The mosque is made entirely of stone, in distinction to most contemporary constructions, in which stone and brick were mixed in apparent continuation of Byzantine practice.

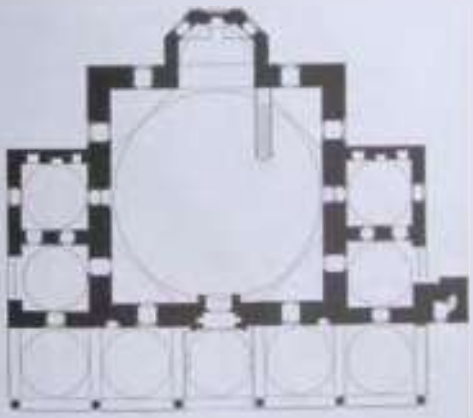
Much grander in size and more ambitious in design was the Davud Pasha Camii, built in 1485. It was part of a *külliye* complex that included, besides the mosque, also the founder's octagonal mausoleum, an ablutions fountain, a *medrese*, and a no longer extant *imaret* (fig. 833). Measuring 36 × 34 meters in overall dimensions, the mosque is also of the square-domed type, here accompanied by domed conventual side rooms. The main space of the mosque is covered by a huge dome, 18 meters in diameter. The space is extended toward the southeast by a projecting apse-like space that accommodates the mihrab niche on its axis. The domed convent rooms, measuring 5.5 × 5.5 meters, are situated so that their doors accentuate a cross-axis of the main space. Externally, each of the projecting convent rooms is preceded by a domed vestibule open to the exterior and of identical dimensions as the room behind it. A grand portico consisting of five domical bays of the same dimensions as the domed rooms

and their vestibules stretches across the front of the entire ensemble. The mosque is distinguished by its modular planning, indicating that it was the work of an experienced if not a very creative builder. The nearby *medrese* consists of an open court surrounded by sixteen domed rooms symmetrically flanking the axially situated domed *dershane*. Fronting all of the rooms is a portico consisting of smaller domical units. This portico also features round-headed brick arches, while the columns that carry the portico are Byzantine spoils, including several sixth-century capitals. Their use in this construction indicates that they must have been readily available, either because the site had some Byzantine remains scattered about or because the construction required the prior demolition of pre-existing Byzantine buildings. The direct use of spoils, though common in Byzantine practice, was not a customary procedure in Ottoman architecture. Their use in this context, therefore, is all the more intriguing.

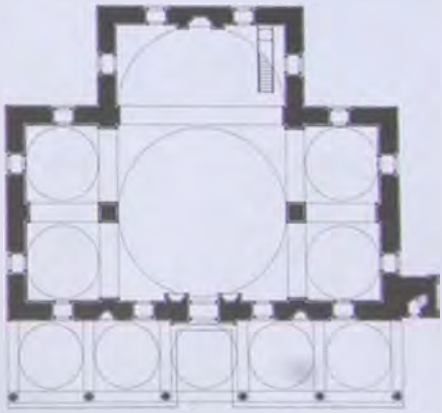
Atik Ali Pasha Camii, built in 1497, is another mosque built by a member of the Ottoman elite, in which conservative qualities predominate. The building, measuring 29 × 29 meters in plan, is a smaller-scale version of the Fatih Mosque (fig. 834). Its main hall is covered by a dome 12 meters in diameter, approximately half the size of its imperial predecessor. The spatial solution of the building repeats most of the formulas employed in the planning of the Fatih Mosque. The main domed space is expanded southeast by a rectangular space, half its size and covered by a half-dome. Laterally, the main space extends into a pair of domed bays on each side. Each of these bays, as at the original Fatih Mosque, has one-fourth the floor area of the main hall. Unlike the Fatih, the row of domed bays was not extended farther southeast. Thus, the southeast spatial extension of the main hall here functions as a rectilinear projection with the mihrab at its midpoint. The structural advantages are self-evident. The great arches supporting the main dome in this case rest on walls that provide solid buttressing in both directions, instead of the flimsy freestanding piers used at the Fatih Mosque. Furthermore, from what we know about the Fatih Mosque, its walls were proportionally considerably thinner than those of the Atik Ali Pasha Camii. Built some three decades after its great prototype, the Atik Ali Pasha may be an early reflection of perceived structural problems at the Fatih Mosque, whose effects continued to plague the great building until its ultimate collapse. The conservatism of the Atik Ali Pasha Camii, then, may have had another dimension in contrast to those discussed in the two earlier examples.

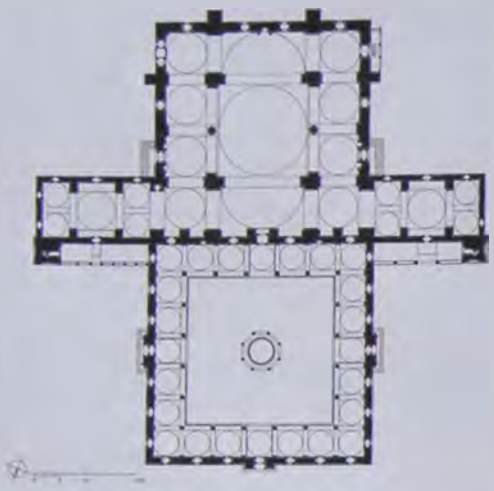
The conservatism that we have noted in the architectural practice of Constantinople after 1481 affected the commissions not only of the Ottoman elite, but also of the two sultans who followed Mehmed II on the imperial throne. Not unlike the trend in the aftermath of Constantine the Great's founding efforts, the zeal and excitement of the initial reconstruction flurry under Mehmed II appear to have subsided in the following decades. This is not to deny that some important projects did material-

833 Constantinople, Davut Pasha Camii: plan



834 Constantinople, Atik Ali Pasha Camii: plan





831 Constantinople, Mosque of Bayezid II, plan

ize, but their conceptual breadth of vision fell far short of what had taken place in the preceding decades.

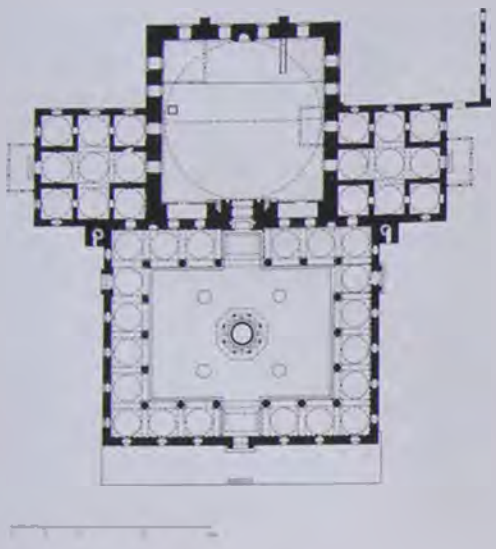
We will turn our attention first to the *külliye* of Bayezid II, an enormous complex built in the years 1500–06, adjacent to the Eski Saray and over a part of the remaining open space of the Forum Tauri on one side and abutting the Grand Bazaar on the opposite side.[48] Centrally located, this, the second of the imperial *külliye*s, became a major focus within the reconstructed city, located as it was approximately halfway between the Fatih Külliye and the Ayasofya Mosque. Unlike his father's *külliye*, Bayezid II's was a loosely organized grouping of somewhat scattered buildings that included, besides the great mosque with the founder's and his daughter's *turbe*, as well as a *medrese*, a *hamam*, an *imaret*, a *han*, and a number of other lesser structures, most of which have since disappeared. As such, it represents a stark contrast to the highly structured scheme used for the layout of his father's *külliye* and is deserving of a more detailed investigation.[49] Because the layout shows no direct relationship to the position of the Byzantine buildings in the area of the Forum Tauri and because it was presumably built in a relatively unused space, it is unclear what accounts for such a lack of systematic planning. Answers to these questions may not be readily forthcoming, but they must be posed. As for the mosque itself, it is the oldest surviving imperial mosque in the city, because the Fatih Mosque was completely rebuilt in the eighteenth century.

The mosque of Bayezid II itself suffered major damage in the earthquakes of 1509 and 1766, and underwent a reconstruction of its main dome. Despite some minor stylistic changes, however, the dome appears to retain most of its original character. Thus, the analysis of the building as an early sixteenth-century work of architecture is feasible. Symmetrically planned in its own right, the mosque displays many conservative characteristics, along with some important new ideas, but the name of its architect remains unknown.[50] Built entirely of stone, the building in that sense also marks a significant break with the tradition of the past fifty years and signals the beginning of a new era in Ottoman architecture, generally referred to in scholarship as the "Classical Period." The mosque is preceded by a monumental court whose overall dimensions (45 × 43 m) essentially match those of the main body of the mosque itself (43 × 43 m) (fig. 835). In the geometric center of the courtyard stands an eight-sided ablutions fountain, a feature that subsequently disappeared in large mosques in Constantinople. The main body of the mosque is a variation of the spatial and structural articulation of the Fatih Mosque with interesting modifications. The center is dominated by a large dome, 17.5 meters in diameter, elevated on four identical massive masonry piers. To the north and south the central square space is expanded into rectilinear bays, each covered by a semi-dome abutting the main dome along the main longitudinal axis. Along the east and the west sides of the main central space are groups of four blind-domed bays, whose diameters correspond to one-half of the diameter of the main dome. The organization of spatial units recalls that of a Byzantine domed basilica. Considering the disposition of the two semi-domes and their longitudinal buttressing of the main dome, there can be no doubt that the architect had studied the structural system of Ayasofya Mosque (Hagia Sophia). The information gained from it and from the design of the Fatih Mosque, already perceived as structurally inadequate, must have been relied on in the design of the new mosque. Links with Ayasofya have long ago been postulated and analyzed from various points of view, but the potential influence of other Byzantine buildings in Constantinople has been ignored.[51] The design scheme of the Bayezid Mosque, in fact, may have also benefited from another important, now-lost building – the church of Hagios Georgios of Mangana – the eleventh-century foundation of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (fig. 389). The main body of this church was a perfect square measuring 23 × 23 meters. Judging by its substructures, the only surviving part of the building, the naos was dominated by a large dome, 10 meters in diameter, supported by four massive compound piers. The spatial arrangement, but also aspects of the probable structural solution, resembles those of the Bayezid II Mosque. We do not know what the superstructure of the church of Hagios

Georgios looked like and, therefore, the comparison must stop with the similarities of the two plans. Yet another feature, however, links these two buildings. Hagios Georgios was preceded by an atrium with a large eight-sided domed fountain (phiale) in its center. In its general character and in its disposition it resembles the ablutions fountain (*shadirvan*) of the Bayezid II Mosque. Although such fountains were not uncommon in earlier Ottoman mosques, the similarity of this element along with the others mentioned suggests that Ottoman architects in general may not have been ignorant of the Byzantine architectural heritage beyond Ayasofya itself. The main body of the Bayezid II Mosque was symmetrically flanked by two buildings whose relative position recalls *tabhanes*, commonly found flanking many Ottoman mosques. Because of their open interior disposition, these buildings seem to have functioned as spatial extensions of the front part of the mosque. Each is a sizeable structure in its own right (23 × 13 m in plan) and is covered by a roof arrangement consisting of a large dome and four small ones. At the extremities of these structures stand two tall minarets, 87 meters apart, constituting another idiosyncratic characteristic of this particular mosque.

Some 120 meters to the southwest of the Bayezid II Mosque stands the Bayezid Medrese, one of the two large, better-preserved components of the original *külliye*. This is the only component that seems to have had some formal relationship with the mosque, its main axis running perpendicular to the main axis of the mosque. Its rectangular plan measures 36 × 45 meters. A series of twenty domed rectangular rooms of slightly varying shapes is arranged around a peripheral enclosure wall on three sides. Each room has its own fireplace with a separate chimney, each rising externally some 2 meters above the roofline and topped by a steep pyramidal roof. The main domed gatehouse is on the east side, directly opposite a large square *dershane* that projects into the central court. The court, measuring 18 × 35 meters, is surrounded by an arcaded portico on piers supporting twenty-five blind domical vaults. In the center of the court stands a hexagonal fountain. The *medrese*, like the mosque, was built entirely of small stone blocks, suggesting that the entire *külliye* may have been the work of the same workshop. Heavily restored in 1939, the *medrese* has been made into a museum. The Bayezid Hamam, situated some 150 meters farther to the west of the *medrese*, was oriented very differently, without any apparent

256 Constantinople. Mosque of Selim I: general view from NW



837 Constantinople, Mosque of Selim I: plan

relationship to either the mosque or the *medrese*. The *hamam*, recently restored, is one of the largest to survive from the early period. Its overall dimensions are 34 × 47 meters. Built near the remains of the Arch of Theodosius, the foundations were built using numerous broken fragments belonging to it and the fallen Column of Theodosius that once stood in the Forum. The visible walls of the *hamam* were faced with small stone blocks, much like the *medrese*. The only visible difference in the construction technique appears to have been in the domes, which were here made entirely of brick. The *haman* is of the double-bath type, consisting of a more-or-less symmetrical arrangement of rooms with strictly separated entrances for the men's and women's sections. Also characteristically, the men's part of the bath is distinguished by a somewhat larger undressing room, covered by a dome with a diameter of 16 meters, while the rest of the rooms in both parts have the same dimensions and disposition.

Despite his relatively long reign of twenty-one years, Bayezid II did not leave the mark of a great builder as could be said of his father Mehmed II. Confronted with festering internal dissatisfaction at the time of Mehmed II's death, Bayezid II devoted most of his energies and time to the internal consolidation of the state. His successor, Selim I (1512–20), was far more ambitious, and returned to the policies of conquest of his grandfather and the notion of "empire building." He is remembered for his conquest of Syria and Egypt, the destruction of the Mamluk dynasty, and the assumption of the title of caliph, the protection of Mecca and Medina, and thereby of Islam itself. His architectural patronage, however, left very few tangible results. Selim I's mosque in Constantinople, though bearing his name, was completed in 1522, two years after his death, and may not even have been commissioned by the militant sultan.[11] Sitting atop the fifth hill of Constantinople, on a platform overlooking on one side the huge Byzantine open-air cistern of Aspar and the Golden Horn on the other, the mosque of Selim I is truly a "monument" (fig. 837). Conservative in its design characteristics, dominated by a disproportionately large dome, stylistically eclectic in its details, but built of the very best materials, the mosque appears to fit well the image of the individual whose name it bears. The mosque is of the single-domed type, accompanied by sizeable *tabhanes* and preceded by a spacious forecourt, apparently closely modeled on the mosque of Bayezid II in Edirne (fig. 837). Unlike its prototype, the mosque of Selim I features a massive cubical form measuring 29 × 30 meters in plan, dominated by a huge dome, 24.5 meters in interior diameter. Matching the size of the dome of the Üç Serefeli Camii in Edirne, this dome signals a new trend in Ottoman architecture, in which the emulation of the dome of Hagia Sophia and competition with it became the principal challenge. In this quest, the dome of the mosque of Selim I cannot be said to be one of the more successful achievements, despite its impressive size. Resting on massive walls more than 2 meters thick, the four arches and pendentives supporting the dome spring from a relatively low point inside the building, creating an impression that the building, under the weight of the dome, had somehow sunk into the ground. The reason for failing to raise the dome higher may lie in knowledge of the problems with the comparably large dome of the Fatih Mosque, particularly after the major earthquake of 1509, which caused it major structural damage, as was also the case with the mosque of Bayezid II. The dome of the Selim I Mosque is elevated on a drum perforated by twenty windows, half the number of windows in the dome of Hagia Sophia. The external articulation of the drum features projecting wall buttresses between the windows and pairs of flying buttresses at the corners of the cubical dome base. All of these features appear to be borrowed from Hagia Sophia, where the flying buttresses may have been added already before the conquest.[12] The rest of the design of the mosque of Selim I appears to have been closely patterned after that of Bayezid I at Edirne. This is especially evident in the design of the two sizeable *tabhanes* flanking the front of the mosque. With their characteristic cruciform interior disposition inscribed in a square and nine domes covering the building,

818 Constantinople, Matrakçı Nasuh plan of 1532

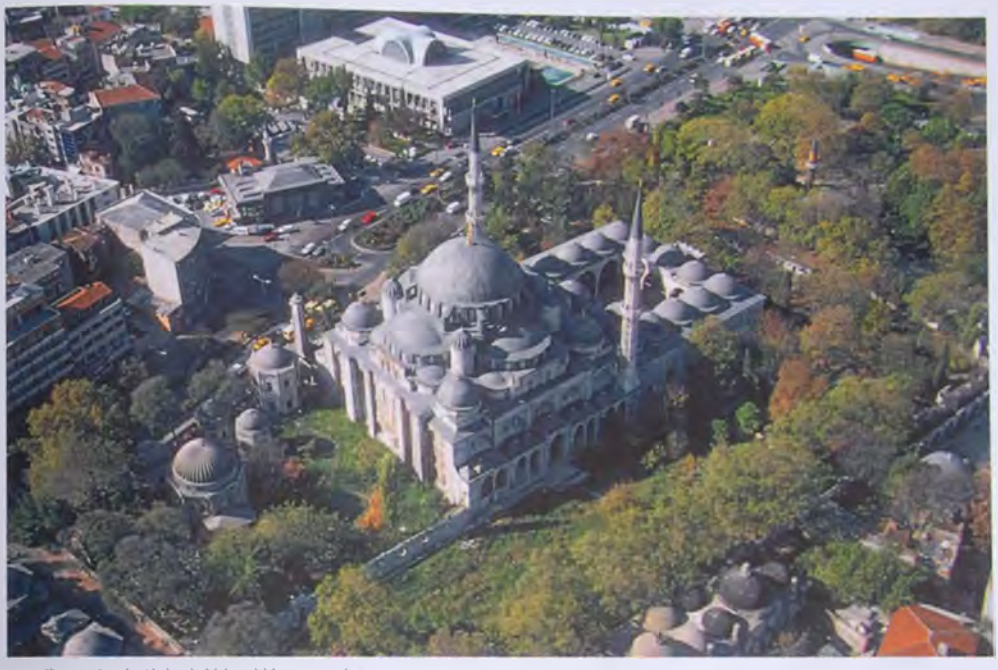
these *tabhanes* appear to be based on the same architectural drawings, since even their dimensions are practically identical. The mosque is preceded by an open courtyard, similarly proportioned to the one in Edirne, but slightly smaller in size (42 × 33 m). The main difference between the two designs appears to be in the placement of the two minarets, here drawn closer together and abutting the corners of the courtyard where it joins the outer walls of the two *tabhanes*. The stylistically diverse detailing evident in the mosque of Selim I has been interpreted as indication that new foreign craftsmen – from Egypt and Persia – may have been employed on the project. Following the practice of his grandfather, Selim I is known to have brought artisans and skilled craftsmen to Constantinople from his foreign campaigns.

With the completion of the mosque of Selim I an important chapter in the rebuilding of Constantinople was closed. The results of this phase of the rebuilding of the city were recorded in a famous miniature painting by Matrakçi Nasuh, painted in 1532 and referred to as the first "map of Istanbul" painted by a Turk (fig. 838).[14] The splendid rendering of Constantinople is significant in several respects. Constantinople is depicted in a combination of a plan and an aerial quasi-perspective, a manner of rendering city views not so different from similar representations produced in the West during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Significantly different from most earlier Western renditions of Constantinople, however, is the position from which the artist chose to depict the city. Matrakçi aligned the east–west axis of his rendition of the city vertically, so that the Bosphorus appears at the top left and the Sea of Marmara at the top right of the image. By doing so, Matrakçi has placed the new city axis as redefined by Mehmed II in the very center of the composition. The conceptual axis is anchored by two buildings of prime importance in the thinking of Mehmed II – the Ayasofya Mosque toward the top and the Fatih Mosque toward the bottom.

Directly below the Fatih Mosque, along the bottom of the page, must have been the rendition of the Edirne Gate, now sadly damaged along with almost the entire western stretch of the city wall with its towers. The Edirne Gate, it will be recalled, assumed a major symbolic role after the conquest, displacing the Golden Gate as the main ceremonial entry point into the city. Between Ayasofya and the Fatih Mosque, also aligned with this conceptual axis, Matrakçi's "map" depicts the Eski Saray (at the very center of the city as shown), the mosque of Bayezid II, and the Zeyrek Camii (the Pantokrator Monastery converted into a *medrese* in 1453). Directly above the mosque of Bayezid II is the accurately placed Grand Bazar with the fifteen-domed Eski bedestan of Fatih, the commercial hub of the booming city. Slightly to the left of the Fatih Mosque, one may discern the mosque of Selim I. Even the smaller mosques – such as those of Mahmud Pasha and Firuz Aga – are depicted. Just to the right and slightly below the mosque of Firuz Aga may be seen the palace of Ibrahim Pasha. Directly above it is a remarkably accurate depiction of the remains of the Hippodrome with the Obelisk of Theodosius, the Tripod from Delphi, and the so-called Obelisk of Porphyrogenitos shown in the exact relative positions and even in accurately rendered scale relationships. To the left of the Ayasofya Mosque is the Topkapi Palace. The Matrakçi "map of Istanbul" has long since interested scholars and has been mined for its – at times frustratingly abridged – renditions of buildings and urban relationships. What has escaped attention is that it provides us with a graphic conceptual rendition of the ideological master plan for the rebuilding of Constantinople as envisioned and implemented by Mehmed II, and partially supplemented by his successors Bayezid II and Selim I, along with the growing Ottoman elite.

The Matrakçi "map of Istanbul" was made under the auspices of the greatest sixteenth-century Ottoman ruler, Süleyman I, the Magnificent (1520–1566). Produced during the early years of his long reign, Matrakçi's map was conceived not merely as a summary of past achievements, but also as the setting of the stage for what was yet to come. Gazing at this rendition of the city from *circa* 1530, it is hard to understand where and how in what is depicted as a densely packed urban maze there would be any room for major new urban projects. Answers to that question were readily found by Süleyman I and his advisers, along with his master architect Sinan.

The long and remarkable career of Mimar Sinan, arguably the greatest architect of the Ottoman Empire, has attracted a disproportionate amount of attention of scholars at the expense of other relevant, but still unresolved issues in the history of Ottoman architecture.[15] Our task here will not be to attempt an account of all of Sinan's innumerable projects in the capital;[16] instead, we will highlight a selection of his most important buildings, whose collective contribution puts into high relief the significant new urban growth that began during the third decade of the sixteenth century under Süleyman the Magnificent. Sinan's rise to greatness began with his appointment as the chief architect of the sultan under Suleyman I in 1538/39. He continued serving in this position also under Selim II and Murad III until his death in 1588. Possibly a child of a Greek family from Cappadocia, Sinan was taken into the Janissary ranks as a boy. He served there with distinction and was noted for his building skills. He must have been around 40 years of age when he was given the position of the chief architect of the sultan.[17] The single largest category of buildings that Sinan built in his long career includes 107 mosques, constituting roughly 23 percent of his entire building *opus*. It is, therefore, not surprising that the most celebrated of his architectural achievements are to be found in this group. As an outstanding creative mind, Sinan was chal-



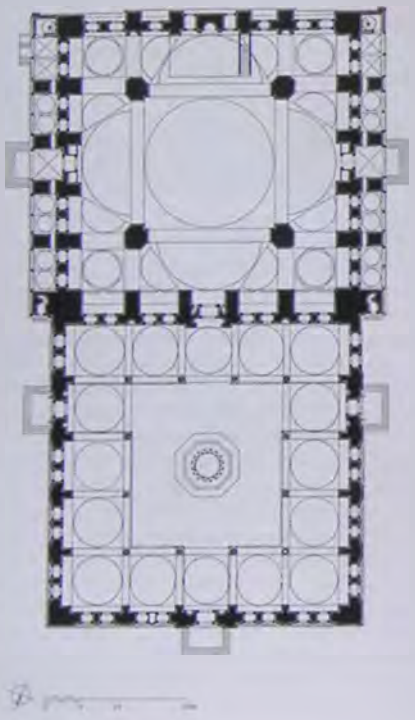
839 Constantinople, Shahzade Mehmed Mosque, aerial view

lenged in his thinking in a variety of ways, particularly by the architecture of Hagia Sophia. The thousand-year-old building provided Sinan with innumerable opportunities to learn and in the process to question and critique various ideas derived from it. The result was extraordinary. By the end of the sixteenth century the skyline of Constantinople had become studded with numerous buildings comparable in design and in size to the Great Church. Thus, the second important transformation cycle in the rebuilding of Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire was brought to an end.

The building that propelled Sinan to fame was his first major commission from the sultan himself – the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque (fig. 839).[1] The mosque was built in the years 1543–48 in the memory of Süleyman's favorite son, who died in 1543. It was conceived on a grand scale, to be surpassed only by the sultan's own mosque a few years later. The mosque of Shahzade Mehmed was preceded by the construction of a mausoleum for the deceased prince. Built in 1543, this was also a work of Sinan. In time, a large complex resembling an imperial *külliye* was built in the environs of the mosque. Situated along the Divan Yolu at a relatively high point, this complex had unusual visibility and earned Sinan the well-deserved reputation of a great architect at an early point in his career that he himself considered only a period of maturation. The mosque reveals a close reliance on the mosque of Bayezid II in plan (fig. 840). Its main body measures 53 × 45 meters, preceded by a courtyard measuring 46 × 45 meters, thus slightly exceeding the corresponding dimensions of its predecessor, whose basic layout was followed closely. The main conceptual difference between the two buildings is in the articulation of the superstructure. The main dome of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque (19 m in diameter) rests, as at the mosque of Bayezid II, on four massive, freestanding piers. In this case, however, the dome was buttressed symmetrically by four semi-domes along both main building axes. This could be interpreted as an improvement on the structural scheme of Hagia Sophia, but in greater likelihood it was a direct response to the

solution of the mosque of Bayezid II, whose model was followed closely in many respects. Considering that this fine mosque, completed barely forty years earlier, had suffered the collapse of its dome in the earthquake of 1509, this may have given Sinan sufficient warning to implement substantial structural improvements in the design of his mosque.[14] Apparently he found the solution in the addition of lateral buttressing by means of the two semi-domes. The superstructure of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque reveals a thorough understanding of Hagia Sophia, appropriately modified for the building in question. It is interesting to note that the interior diameter of the dome of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque is approximately 60 percent of the size of Hagia Sophia's dome. At the same time the number of windows in the false drum of the two buildings – twenty-four as opposed to forty – reveals exactly the same ratio. At the diagonal points of the dome Sinan introduced pairs of small flying buttresses, set radially with respect to the dome and aligned with wall buttresses between the dome windows. Such flying buttresses, as we have seen, existed on Hagia Sophia.[15] Other architects, before Sinan, noted these buttresses and incorporated them in their buildings. For Sinan, they became a hallmark of his architecture, appearing on most of his mosques and setting a new standard of design for some time to come. Sinan's interaction with Hagia Sophia, however, was never reduced to an act of literal copying. At the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque he eliminated one of the particularly distinctive features of the Great Church – the huge cubical base upon which its dome appears to sit. By doing so, Sinan was able to improve the smooth flow of major building forms as they gradually build up toward the main dome. Having done that, however, he removed a large mass of masonry from the area directly behind the pendentives, where its buttressing effect is essential. To compensate, he introduced four cylindrical turrets made of solid stone. These turrets are vertically aligned with the main piers, and therefore rest precisely in the position where their buttressing effect is essential. Externally covered by small gourd dome-like forms, these turrets are used visually as another device in the visual pyramidal build-up of forms toward the main dome. Related to the four minor domes situated at the corners of the main building mass, these have a very distinctive visual role, in addition to their structural one. Although stone is in evidence as the main building material throughout, apparently Sinan did use brick sparingly for certain structural tasks. A particularly revealing detail is his use of ceramic amphorae in the shoulders of the main dome pendentives.[16] Such a use of amphorae was known in Middle Byzantine architecture of Constantinople, notably at the church of Hagios Georgios of Mangana referred to earlier. Its use in the latter building is of particular relevance, for it may have been despoiled for its building materials during the construction of Topkapı Saray and, as such, could have been scrutinized easily by Sinan. Even more important for our understanding of the evolution of Sinan's thinking is the appearance of a highly rational and clearly articulated structural skeleton at the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque. As in Early and Middle Byzantine architecture, reliance on the skeletal framing system is here evident as the principal theme in the design approach. Walls play a distinctly secondary role, as curtains – either solid or perforated with windows – between massive supporting and buttressing piers that ring the building peripherally. All of these aspects, from the conceptual thinking in relation to the skeletal articulation of the structural system to the seemingly insignificant details, point to Sinan's willingness to learn and absorb ideas from Byzantine architecture, and not from Hagia Sophia alone. Another interesting aspect of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque is that some of its exterior surfaces were richly decorated with carved ornaments. This aesthetic approach, present also in the

840 Constantinople, Shahzade Mehmed Mosque: plan



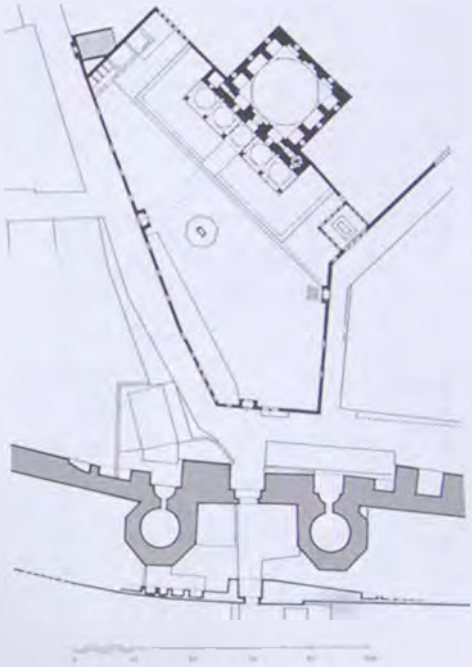
mausolea of Sultan Selim and Shahzade Mehmed, was subsequently abandoned by Sinan in favor of a more austere expression devoid of surface decoration.

The construction of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque was paralleled by the construction of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (also known as the Iskele Mosque) at Üsküdar. Begun in 1538–39 on a waterfront quay used for various ceremonial events, this mosque was commissioned by Mihrimah Sultan, an ambitious daughter of Suleyman I married to Rustem Pasha. For the purposes of our discussion, the mosque, completed in the same year as the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque, in 1548, is important as another early exploratory design by Sinan. The two mosques may be usefully compared since they reveal alternative routes in the design process. Measuring roughly 27 × 22 meters in plan, the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque is considerably smaller than the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque (fig. 843). Its plan was apparently based on the scheme of the Fatih Mosque, but here the dome is buttressed laterally by semi-domes, thus recalling the solution at the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque. Because in this case there is no semi-dome on the north side, the scheme of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque superstructure resembles a large triconch. Its dome, though considerably smaller (11 m interior diameter), was handled in a similar manner. Its low drum is perforated by sixteen windows, while pairs of small flying buttresses occur at the four diagonal points of the drum. The similarities with the superstructure of Shahzade Mehmed Mosque stop at this point. The dome of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque rests on a massive cubical base, clearly resembling that of Hagia Sophia. Obviously, dealing with the two mosques simultaneously, Sinan was still undecided as to what route would ultimately be more aesthetically successful. It is interesting, however, that the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, because it incorporates a cubical base, did not get the cylindrical turrets that we saw at the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque. Clearly, in Sinan's mind the choice was one of structural alternatives. Eventually, the turrets prevailed in Sinan's work. Beyond him, much like the flying buttresses of the dome drum, these elements became quintessential formal devices commonly used without any direct links to the structural role for which Sinan invented them.

We will turn to another small project by Sinan before focusing on the climactic point of his work for Sultan Suleyman I around the midpoint of the sixteenth century. The small project in question is the Hadim (Eunuch) Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, built in 1551.[11] Nothing could be farther from Sinan's great imperial mosques than this modest private commission. It is precisely because of this that it offers certain invaluable insights. Situated in the immediate proximity of the Silivri Gate, the mosque occupies a curious plot of land that probably straddles the one-time Byzantine street (fig. 842). The mosque is set back about 50

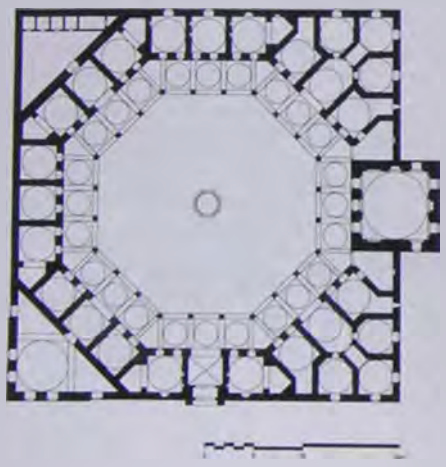
843 Üsküdar, Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, plan

842 Constantinople, Hadim Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, plan



meters from the gate itself. Fronting it is an irregular enclosure that includes in the south corner a further small enclosure with the tomb of the founder. Its scale and the character of its setting have an air of a rural, non-urban solution. It should be remembered that this western area of Constantinople was never heavily populated, and that the foundation of Ibrahim Pasha gives the impression of some setting far away from the imperial capital to which it actually belongs. The Ottoman imperial city faced the Golden Horn and not the Thracian hinterland. In the course of the sixteenth century, as its population grew rapidly, the western part of city developed, but along very different lines from the imperial center. Modest, one- or two-story residential buildings formed irregular blocks clustered around several relatively modest *kulliye*s built by various members of the Ottoman elite, such as Hadim Ibrahim Pasha. The mosque's dimensions – 22.5 × 17.5 meters – bespeak a modest building. The interior, however, reveals Sinan's hand in its design. As opposed to a conventional small mosque with a system of four arches embedded in the thick exterior walls supporting the dome, Sinan opted for a more rigorous, structurally revealing approach. The interior is covered by a dome 11.5 meters in diameter, resting on massive projecting spur walls and pilasters, arranged so as to support eight equal arches that form the base of the dome. One is again struck by the similarity of this design concept to Middle Byzantine architecture, in this case with octagon-domed churches. The uneven arrangement of massive supports that carry the eight arches and the dome deserves some comment. Sinan's intention was to make the structural system as clearly expressed as possible. Thus the spur walls are clearly visible on the northwest side (main façade), as well as on the sides of the main space. On the southeast side, however, these supports are reduced to mere pilasters engaged with the wall. The reason is simple. This being the qibla wall, it could not be divided into compartments. Therefore the centrally located mihrab is the only substantial reveal in the thickness of the wall. The greater thickness of this wall, therefore, compensates for its potential structural weaknesses. The dome, roughly the same size as that of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, also has twelve windows in its drum and four pairs of flying buttresses arranged diagonally in relationship to the drum. The exterior of this dome gives the impression that it rests on a cubical base, thus again recalling the Mihrimah Sultan solution. The sense of the cubical base, defined by the interior height of the eight arches supporting the dome, is accentuated externally by the fact that the walls that conceal them externally are slightly thinner than those of the lower body of the mosque. The resulting skewback is treated as a continuous ledge around the entire building. The mosque was built with alternating bands of single courses of stone ashlars and two courses of brick. The appearance of this technique – by this time used sparingly in the capital – is a further indication of the relatively low status of the patron. At the same time it is an indicator that the technique itself was being used in mostly non-imperial contexts and, particularly, in secular, utilitarian architecture. As such, the technique survived in the city well into the nineteenth century.

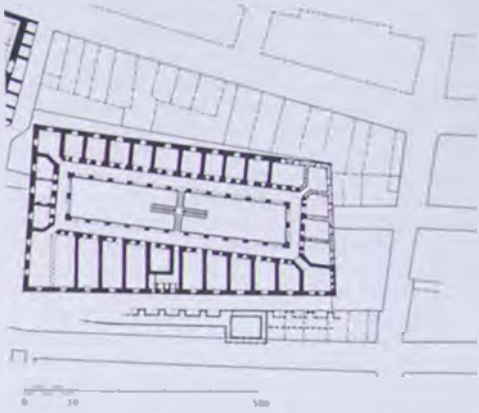
843 Constantinople, Rustem Pasha Medrese: plan



Rüstem Pasha, who succeeded Hadim Ibrahim Pasha as grand vizier, was a man of far greater ambitions and means than his predecessor, reflecting the significant fact that he was also a son-in-law of Süleyman the Magnificent. He first commissioned Sinan in 1550 to build a *medrese* in the vicinity of the Grand Bazaar and the Mahmud Pasha Camii. A far more celebrated and larger commission came during his second, and fatal term as grand vizier (1555–61), when Sinan built for him a prominently situated mosque within the commercial area near the harbor. The investigation of that building, however, would take us beyond the chronological limit that we have set for our present investigation. The Rüstem Pasha Medrese is a building of remarkable geometric simplicity. Its basically square overall form measures 43 × 42 meters, defined by an enclosing wall with a few openings, interrupted only by the main portal on the southeast and a projecting form of *dershane* on the northeast side (fig. 843).[11] Within this perimeter is inscribed an octagon of individual student rooms, each covered by a small dome and marked by the presence of the ubiquitous fireplace expressed externally by a chimney pot. In the middle is a concentric octagonal courtyard surrounded by a portico with an open arcade supported by columns and covered by a series of even smaller domed units

The unusual plan appears to be indebted to a scheme employed in the Kapıağa Medrese in Amasya, built in 1488 and featuring practically identical dimensions, but octagonal internally as well as externally. The Rüstem Pasha Medrese clearly belongs to the early, experimental phase of Sinan's career. Significantly, he never returned to this scheme again. Although basically a building whose function was closely related to religious needs, a *medrese* had certain secular qualities as well. It is instructive in this context to turn to a strictly secular project of Sinan's, whose building occurred during the same year, 1550, and was commissioned by the same Rüstem Pasha. Situated in the suburb of Galata, in the vicinity of a *bedestan* constructed by Mehmed II, the Rustem Pasha Kervansaray (also known as Kurşunlu Han) is of interest in several respects (fig. 844).[84] Its roughly rectangular form measures 34 × 66 meters on a plot obtained by the demolition of the Genoese church of San Michele. The building consists of a series of similar barrel-vaulted rooms concentrically organized in two stories around a narrow central court. The court is surrounded by a continuous two-storied portico with an open arcade supported on square masonry piers and covered by small cross vaults. In principle, the overall idea seems closely related to that of the *medrese* that we have just discussed. It should be noted, however, that the *medrese* rooms were all covered by domes instead of barrel vaults, and that the portico arcade was supported on columns and not on piers. This distinction appears to apply to most *medreses* and kervansarays, apparently underlying a degree of hierarchic difference between certain architectural forms (domes versus barrel vaults and columns versus piers) as they applied to distinctive categories of buildings with clear symbolic implications.

Sometime in 1550, thirty years into his reign and at the height of his power, Süleyman the Magnificent commissioned Sinan to design and build his own *külliye* with the intention of surpassing all previous achievements. At the center of this complex was to rise his "great reputation and fame-proclaiming mosque, the Suleymaniye, the description and enumeration of the uniqueness of which is hardly possible."[85] The apogee of Süleyman's conquests and the maturity of Sinan's development as a great architect fortuitously coincided in the making of what is the most remarkable urban creation in Ottoman history. The *külliye* of Süleyman the Magnificent was built in a central location within the city, on a site covering approximately 5.5 hectares (fig. 845). The land, expropriated by *fiat* on top of the Third Hill overlooking the Golden Horn, overlapped in part with the gardens of the Eski Saray and doubtless many other buildings now lost to memory. The entire undertaking in its spirit and effects on the urban environment must have been an Ottoman equivalent to the so-called urban renewal projects familiar from post-Second World War practice. The massive project, com-



844 Constantinople, Rüstem Pasha Kervansaray, plan

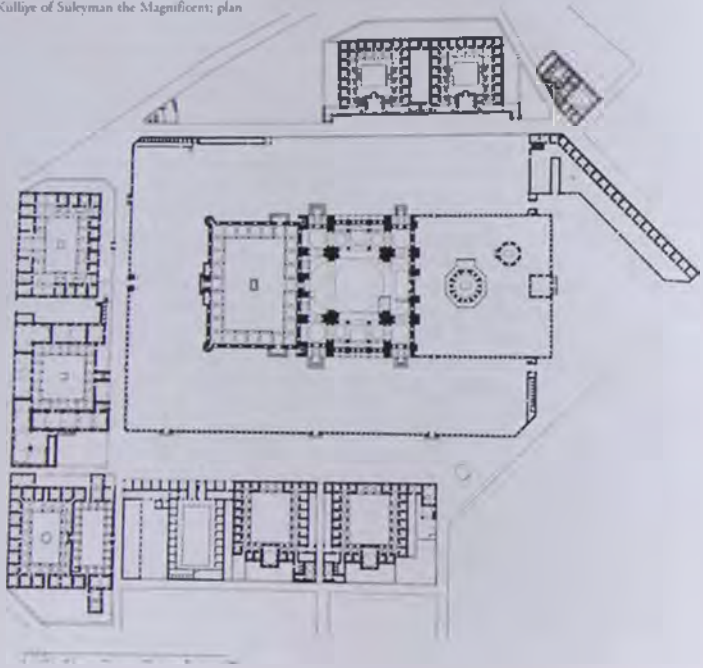
pleted by 1557, involved the employment of a huge workforce consisting of as many as 2,000–3,000 day laborers.[86] Special contingents of the imperial navy were engaged in shipping in materials pilfered from ancient ruins at far-away sites. The digging of the foundations for the mosque alone, according to the seventeenth-century historian Evliya Çelebi, lasted three years. To ensure the best results – according to him – in addition to superior materials, the best artisans and craftsmen from the farthest corners of the empire were brought together for the project.[87] The great undertaking taxed the state treasury in a major way. The income, again according to Çelebi, came substantially from the sultan's booty resulting from the conquests of Belgrade, Rhodes, and Malta. Süleyman's *külliye*, therefore, was a victory monument of sorts, celebrating imperial conquests that had filled the coffers of the empire in a most direct way.

The complex consists of a huge central enclosure (145 × 210 m) including a U-shaped open space enveloping the great mosque, preceded by an enclosed courtyard and followed by an enclosed garden with two freestanding mausolea – those of Süleyman and his wife Haseki Hürrem. The scheme, with minor modifications, was obviously borrowed from Fatih's *külliye*, by that time nearly a century old. The overall scheme of Süleyman's *külliye* is significantly different. Beyond the central enclosure, the rest of the complex is laid out in a decidedly asymmetrical fashion. Furthermore, the entire site, built upon a pronounced natural incline, was not made level by building an enormous artificial platform. Instead, Sinan used subtle forms of terracing, thereby creating an even greater sense

of variety in the complex than had been achieved at Fatih's *külliye*. The central area of Suleyman's *külliye* is completely separated from the peripheral buildings by streets, making the complex a more integral part of the urban fabric. The complex includes two *medreses* on the west side and two on the east. Each pair is planned so that the two adjacent *medreses* appear as mirror images of each other. Next to the northern one is a medical school with an adjacent pharmacy. The west-side *medreses* and the medical school are on a higher ground level. Their substructures facing the street that flanks the main mosque complex were designed as a series of small shops. Rental income from these shops was used as part of the revenue for maintaining the *vakif* of the grand complex. The north flank of the complex, again separated from the mosque enclosure by a street, included a hospital with a ward for the insane, an *imaret*, and a hospice (*tabhane*). The southern flank of the complex displays the greatest degree of irregularity. Here a narrow angled street bypasses the complex tangentially. At the point of contact with the mosque enclosure we find a *darül-hadis* (college for advanced studies of the Prophet's tradition), whose individual student rooms are organized in a row following the layout of the street, but are elevated upon substructures that again contain shops. The complex also includes a small single bath, in the same street as the *darül-hadis*, whose precise function must have been limited in scope, but has not been identified. Finally, opposite the northeastern corner of the main mosque enclosure, on a triangular plot, are the remains of the house that once belonged to Sinan, along with a triangular garden enclosure containing his tomb. The chief masterminds of the great complex – Suleyman the Magnificent and his great architect, Sinan – thus share the space of their grand creation in eternity.

The outstanding component of Süleyman's *külliye* is the great mosque, better known as the Suleymaniye.[8] As impressive as the urban scheme and the individual buildings of the *külliye* complex are, the great mosque overshadows them both in sheer size and in terms of the mastery of its architecture. The Suleymaniye clearly represents the grand *summa* of the first part of Sinan's long and fruitful career. In it, one detects all the lessons learned by the great master, and recognizes how he went about improving his own design process. Hagia Sophia continued to

845 Constantinople. Külliye of Suleyman the Magnificent: plan



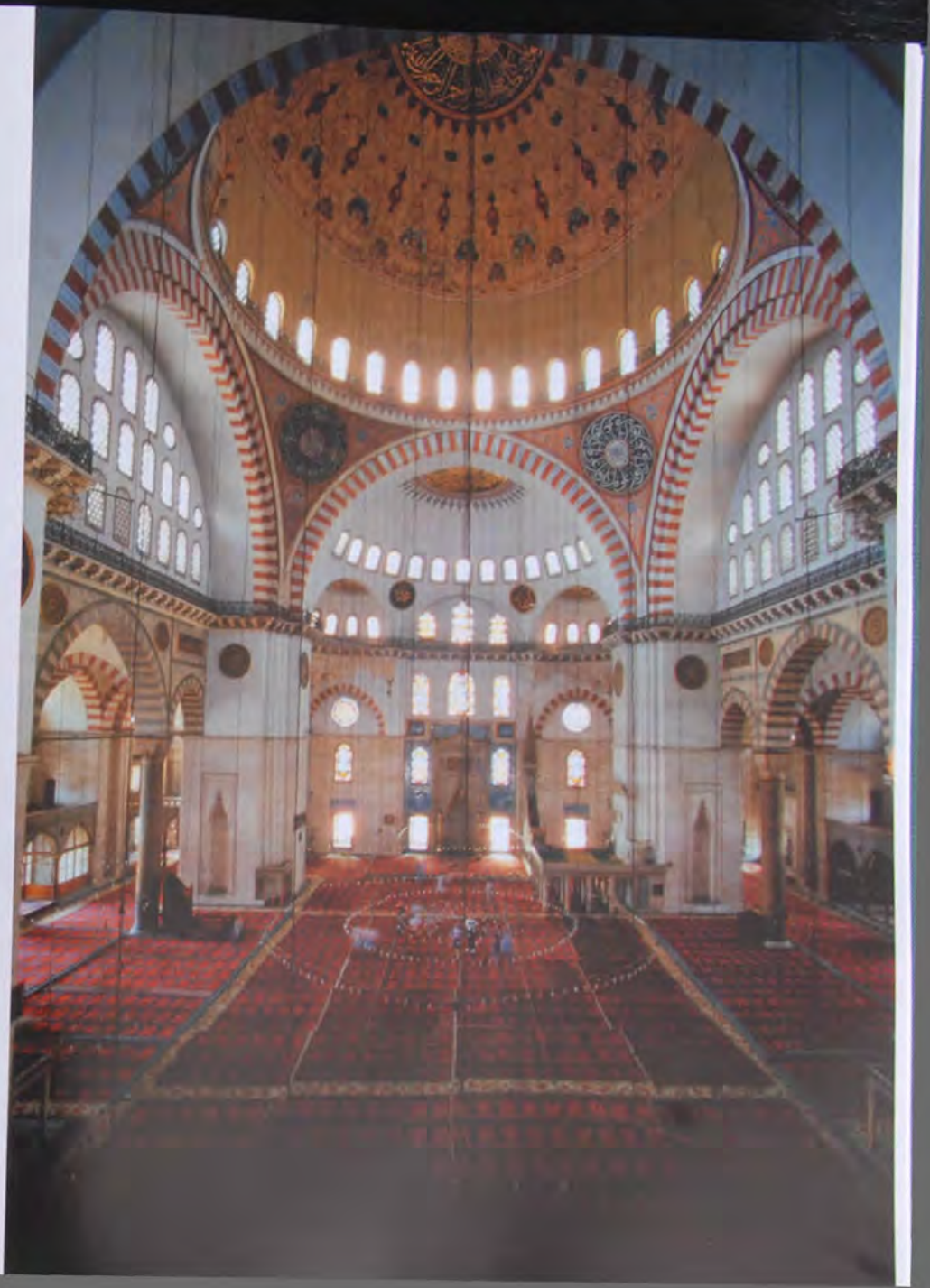
play a decisive role in this process. Measuring 70 × 61 meters, the main body of the mosque constitutes by far the largest mosque built in Constantinople after the conquest, trailing only Hagia Sophia in its overall dimensions (71 × 77 m). The design scheme was closely related to the Great Church, indicating once more that Sinan was taking cues from its architecture, modifying many of its features, but respecting its integrity in a major way (fig. 846). The result may be perceived as a great compromise in relationship to Hagia Sophia, but if one does so, one should bear in mind that the notion of design compromise extended itself also into the realm of the primary functional intent of the building as an Islamic mosque. As opposed to the experiment of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque, Suleymaniye demonstrates Sinan's resolution to return to the basic scheme of Hagia Sophia. Thus he brings back its longitudinal quality reinforced by the placing of two large semi-domes along the main axis of the building, leading one's eye toward the mihrab in the center of the qibla wall. The lateral semi-domes have here been eliminated and replaced by a group of lesser domes in what are generally referred to as the side aisles. The term is thoroughly misleading, for these spaces have little to do with the "side aisles" in Byzantine churches, either formally or functionally. The main dome, with an interior diameter of 26.5 meters, rests on four arches and four intervening pendentives that spring from four immense freestanding piers. Measuring 7 × 6 meters, these piers are tied by subsidiary arches to the correspondingly massive wall buttresses in the peripheral reaches of the building. Following earlier experiments, some of these salient, buttressing elements are expressed on the interior, while others are fully externalized. The skeletal nature of the basic structural system, while partially dependent on Hagia Sophia, as well as on Sinan's own earlier experiments, is brought here to a new state of perfection. The exterior walls of the building are essentially curtain walls, filling in spaces between vertical structural members. Several solutions used at Shahzade Mehmed Mosque were reemployed here. The massive cubical base on which the dome of Hagia Sophia rests has again been "peeled away" (fig. 847). In place of its counterweighting role, Sinan has again introduced four massive octagonal domed turrets in diagonal locations behind the pendentives and on top of the four main piers. As at Shahzade Mehmed

846 Constantinople, Suleymaniye; general view from S

247 Constantinople, Süleymaniye: aerial view from W

Mosque, the dome drum is strengthened by four pairs of flying buttresses placed diagonally. In addition, because of the elimination of the lateral semi-domes and because of the known structural problems of Hagia Sophia, Sinan introduced two additional flying buttresses on the lateral sides of the drum. Two of the four main arches supporting the main dome, as at Hagia Sophia, are visually expressed externally, framing windows within the tympana below their dominant forms. The extrados of these arches, embedded into the cubical base of the dome in the case of Hagia Sophia, here carry stone surcharges in the form of six large steps, giving the lateral façades a distinctive appearance. Another structural modification of the system of buttressing at Hagia Sophia took place in conjunction with the massive lateral buttresses that transfer the loads from the main piers to the outer perimeter of the building. There they rise almost as high as the apexes of the lateral arches, abutting the cubical base of the dome and projecting to the exterior wall of the building. Here, instead, they are expressed merely as wall buttresses, rising as high as the exterior walls of the building from which they protrude, and are topped by small domes. Behind these protruding buttresses, masses of masonry are arranged in four giant steps rising to meet the main piers at the point where massive surcharges in the form of domed octagonal turrets stand. The profile of these steps is such that they are practically invisible from the ground, adding aesthetically to the visibility of the general stepped massing of the building that culminates in the great dome. Once more, we are in a position to understand Sinans learning from the lessons of Hagia Sophia. The mathematical confirmation of his direct reliance on the Great Church comes from ratios of certain dimensions that link the two buildings. The span of the dome of the Suleymaniye, for example, fell short of that of Hagia Sophia (26.5 versus 31.4 m). Expressed as a ratio, the diameter of the dome of Suleymaniye is about 0.8 of the diameter of the dome of Hagia Sophia. If we take into consideration the number of windows in the two drums (40 versus 32), we find that the same ratio of 1:0.8 holds true. As in the case of the Shahzade Mehmed Mosque, it seems that Sinan was scaling down the dimensions of certain components of Hagia

248 (facing page) Constantinople, Süleymaniye, interior



Sophia to arrive at the optimal solutions for his own design purposes. Whether in doing so he was motivated by aesthetic or structural considerations, or both, is impossible to say. What remains beyond any doubt, however, is that the Great Church was his paramount model.

The similarities and differences between Hagia Sophia and Süleymaniye, as has been noted, have preoccupied scholars in the past. All too often the debate has been emotionally charged, revealing deeply entrenched prejudices that have tended to obscure a meaningful discussion of issues. Whereas a type of "competition" between Sinan's design for the imperial mosque and Hagia Sophia cannot be denied, not everything that links the two buildings can be – or should be – understood in that context. The Great Church, converted into the first imperial mosque of the new capital and shrouded by many mythical stories about its origins, became the supreme justification for a new approach to the design of mosques in Ottoman architecture. Sinan, more than any other architect before or after him, championed this particular approach. The interior of Süleymaniye, no less than its exterior, displays startling similarities as well as differences in relationship to Hagia Sophia (fig. 848). These are revealing in many significant respects. On entering the Suleymaniye, one's eyes grasp the great dome sitting in all its geometric purity on four arches and four pendentives. Along the north–south axis the dome is buttressed by a pair of semi-domes. Each of the two semi-domes, in turn, rests on three arches, whose arrangement in plan resembles one half of a hexagon. Up to this point, similarity to Hagia Sophia is undeniably close. Below the springing point of the vaults, the differences between the two buildings are markedly pronounced. So much so, that if one had only the lowest parts of Suleymaniye to go by, it would be unlikely that its superstructure would be compared to that of Hagia Sophia on the basis of that evidence alone. These differences are the results of obvious and major differences in the functional intent and the corresponding articulation of space. More than that, it seems, there is a fundamental difference in aesthetic approach, most broadly speaking. The expression, or lack thereof, of structural elements seems to fall under that umbrella where formal and symbolic statements mingle in creating the desired effect. If the desired aesthetic effect at Hagia Sophia was dematerialization through the concealment of structural elements and the denial of physical weight, at Suleymaniye the opposite appears to have been the norm. At Süleymaniye, the interior is dominated by the four massive piers that support the main dome. Measuring 7 × 6 meters, these huge irregular masses of masonry are in full view, their forms accentuated by their single-tone light color and very limited amount of surface decoration, which includes an attenuated niche on the south face of each of the four piers. These niches – recalling Middle and Late Byzantine *prosklynetaria* – are in fact miniature mihrabs and have the function of orienting the faithful toward Mecca during the prayers. In contrast to this type of display of structural form and symbolic intent, the equally large piers at Hagia Sophia are totally concealed from view. Relegated into the space of the side aisles and revetted with flat marble slabs, the piers of Hagia Sophia draw no attention to themselves. A similar difference in attitude toward "exposure" versus "concealment" of major structural components may be seen in the main arches supporting the dome. The lateral pair of arches in Süleymaniye is highly visible internally, owing to the fact that the tympanum curtain wall with windows below it was pushed out toward the exterior of the building. Exactly the opposite approach was used at Hagia Sophia, where the tympanum curtain wall with windows is barely recessed with respect to the face of the main arch. The effect in the Byzantine building is that of the dome resting effortlessly on relatively thin arches and "invisible" piers. The effect at Suleymaniye is precisely the opposite. Spatial arrangements in the two buildings feature other important distinctions. Whereas at Hagia Sophia the aisles and the galleries above them have the role of creating a secondary envelope around the main domed space, at Suleymaniye there is no such arrangement. Here, despite the fact that "aisles" seem articulated in plan, the term is misleading, for their separation is neither formally nor functionally real. Within them Sinan employed a variety of dome sizes to articulate individual bays of differing dimensions. Spatial screens were set up along the outer fringes of these bays, between individual wall buttresses. Inasmuch as these create effects that distantly recall side aisles and corresponding galleries, they are deeply recessed in space and effectively have no spatial role in the true sense of the word. The use of decoration is relatively sparse. Stalactites, the quintessential decorative feature of earlier Islamic architecture, as well as of early Ottoman mosques, appear here in a very constricted manner. Iznik tiles, though used abundantly in later Ottoman architecture, were used sparingly by Sinan in his mosques, including Süleymaniye. The general impression is that architecture was given an opportunity to speak unequivocally, in contrast to what was the case at Hagia Sophia. Examination of the pronounced contrast between the aesthetic expressions in the two buildings could be carried even further, but for our purposes the point has been made.

Before leaving Süleymaniye, we must address the issue of the setting of its grand building mass in space. Using a well-established formula, Sinan placed a large open court, as wide as the mosque itself, in front of its main, north façade. The court in this case is a huge rectangle measuring 60 × 44 meters, internally lined with an arcaded portico covered by twenty-eight blind domes supported by columns of differing types of stone and color, but grouped accordingly to maximize the effect. The

main axis is emphasized, though the functional aspects of that arrangement are not clear. The court is entered mostly through the side doors. Even the mosque can be entered laterally. Ablution fountains are strung out along the building flanks, providing for the kind of accessibility to the mosque that recalls fifth- and sixth-century churches with their multiple portals. Sinan may have even recognized this in Hagia Sophia itself, though the use of its doors in the sixteenth century in all likelihood did not correspond to that in the sixth. The courtyard features a grand portal, whose form and detailing have been linked to that of the mihrab, at the opposite end of the main axis. The courtyard is visually framed by four minarets. The taller pair, 76 meters high, in fact flanks the main façade of the mosque. The other two, 56 meters high, flank the north façade of the court. Behind the mosque, as was the case of the Fatih mosque, was a large square enclosure with a garden setting for the mausolea of Süleyman I and his favorite wife, Haseki Hürrem Sultan. Inasmuch as the Fatih model was closely emulated, there are some interesting departures from the prototype. Perhaps the most significant is the bold placing of Suleyman's mausoleum on axis, directly behind the mihrab. Thus the ostentation of placing a monumental tomb behind the qibla wall here reached a new level of meaning. The faithful in their prayer face not only Mecca, but also the tomb of Süleyman the Magnificent in alignment with the Holy City itself. The two mausolea differ in their emphasis on ornamentation. The sultan's, much larger of the two, measuring 19 meters in its exterior diameter, has an interior diameter of 13 meters, its double-shell dome rising from a monumental octagonal drum. The mausoleum internally features the late antique system of eight columns whose segmental entablatures are engaged with the exterior wall. From these spring eight pointed arches that support the inner shell of the dome, with a clear span of 10.5 meters. In contrast to the relatively sparsely ornamented mausoleum of Haseki Hürrem Sultan and the great mosque, the mausoleum of Süleyman is overflowing with ornament, both internally and externally. Externally surrounded by an arcaded portico carrying a lean-to roof, the octagonal drum of the mausoleum rising above this portico is marked by eight large arches reflecting the interior structural system. Below these, triple windows with the central light higher than the lateral two, despite their ogival form, have an unmistakable Byzantine look to them in compositional terms.

Rising atop the third hill, overlooking the Golden Horn and the city's main harbor, the Süleymaniye Mosque became the quintessential symbol of the Ottoman capital. Nearly duplicating its Byzantine model in form and size, the grand mosque has immortalized its patron and architect alike. With its construction, the process of rebuilding Constantinople begun under Mehmed II reached a new high point, providing the city with a new image for centuries to come. By *circa* 1550 Constantinople was a bustling new metropolis. With its population possibly numbering as many as 400,000 inhabitants, it was by far the largest city in Europe.[7] The area within the city walls, never fully populated in Byzantine times, was now filling up, giving it a new urban texture. This was especially true of the western parts of the city. Most of the houses that were being built were low, one- or two-story buildings, constructed of cheap materials with a limited life span. Official documents dated to 1559 expressly forbade construction of houses higher than two stories.[8] Repeatedly ravaged by fires and quickly rebuilt, we know next to nothing about the actual appearance of residential buildings during this period. With the exception of the Topkapı Palace, we also know very little about the residences of the Ottoman elite. This may be explained in part by the fact that the Turks apparently attached little value to the durability of their residential buildings. Other factors may have played an equally important role. Ottoman viziers and grand viziers rose to power and often amassed great personal wealth. Their survival in the position of power was a tenuous business, their careers often ending in unnatural deaths. Even those in possession of great wealth and enjoying the fortune of survival seldom had the time or opportunity to translate it into lavish residences commensurate with their means and social status. Even those few who managed to accomplish such goals could count on enjoying them only while they were in a position of power. Their offspring could never inherit their palaces, for the land on which they stood was the property of the sultan, who granted the respective officials the right to use it as long as they enjoyed their status. With an individual official's passing, his building along with the land on which it stood reverted to the sultan, who had the option of dispensing with it at his pleasure. History has recorded several major residences of this type, of which not even

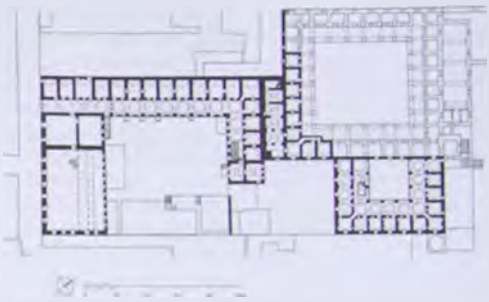


Fig. Constantinople: Palace of Ibrahim Pasha, plan

a trace has survived. Such were the palaces of Sinan Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, both located adjacent to the area of Atmeydani (previously the Byzantine Hippodrome), clearly the most prestigious district for such estates. We should note in passing that the area around the Hippodrome in Byzantine times held a similar significance. To the east of the Hippodrome stood the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors, while in the fifth century palaces of court officials such as Antiochos and Lausos stood on the opposite, west side. The palace of Sinan Pasha, brother of Rustem Pasha, is known to have required the demolition of as many as 300 private houses expropriated for that purpose.[8] The entire area to the east of the former Hippodrome was cleared to make room for the construction of the great mosque of Sultan Ahmet (the "Blue Mosque") in the years 1609–17. The only surviving palace of this type from the era of Süleyman the Magnificent is the palace of Ibrahim Pasha built over the ruins of the Hippodrome substructures on the west side (fig. 849).[9] Its survival is a curious phenomenon that has been attributed to several factors. The one that has been particularly stressed is that the huge building was made of stone, whereas other palaces are believed to have been constructed of more ephemeral materials – wood and rubble. It would seem, however, that the chief reason for its survival was the ceremonial role that it played in the lives of the sultans. The main wing of the palace, projecting toward the Hippodrome, had an elevated loggia used by the sultans for viewing various ceremonies staged at At Meydani. Ibrahim Pasha's palace, therefore, may be seen as the latter-day Ottoman equivalent of the Kathisma Palace that once stood roughly on the opposite side of the Hippodrome and served a similar purpose for the Byzantine emperors.

Around 1550 Constantinople, thanks to its size and architectural splendor, became yet again a major commercial and cultural center, attracting visitors from afar. Riding the crest of its power, the Ottoman Empire welcomed scores of Western visitors, all too often working as foreign agents, in its midst. It was these ambassadors, geographers, humanists, writers, artists, etc., who have left us numerous impressions that enable us to visualize in considerable detail what the capital of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent looked like. Pierre Gilles, a French scholar, humanist, and member of the French Embassy, spent as

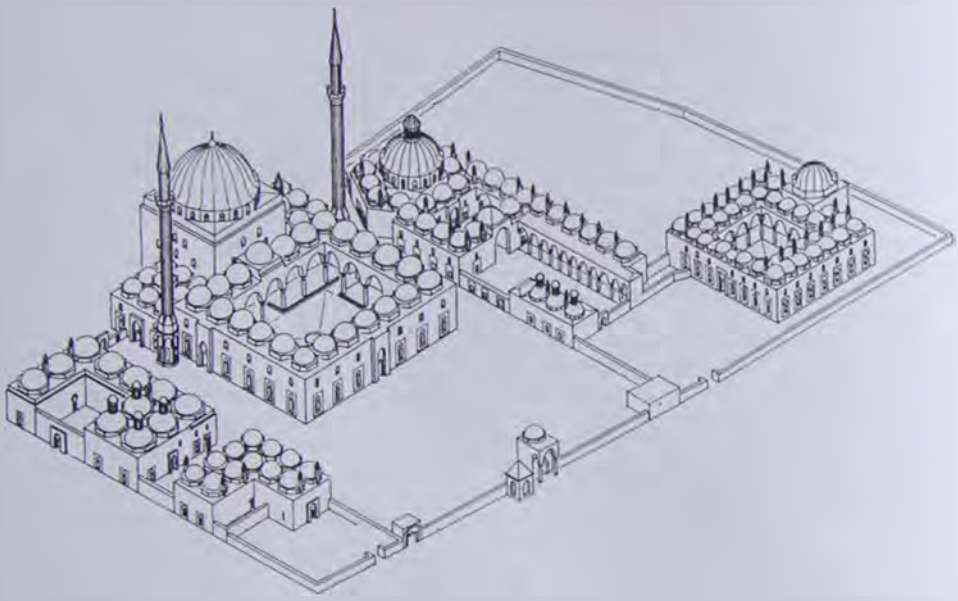
850 Constantinople, panorama, ca. 1560 detail (Melchior Lorichs)

many as three years in the city (1544–47), recording its antiquities. Published as a four-volume work in 1561, his was the first scholarly work on the Byzantine city's topography, initiating French interest in the city that would culminate in the major works of Ducange. While Gilles' work displayed scholarly discipline and focus on the rapidly disappearing remnants of the Byzantine city, other visitors were just as impressed by the Ottoman presence. No record of the Ottoman capital is more impressive than the colossal drawing (11.45 m long and 0.45 m wide) of the city's panorama produced by the Dutch artist Melchior Lorichs *circa* 1557–61 from the top of the Galata Tower. From the point of view of its detailed, remarkably accurate record, this is the most precious visual document of a sixteenth-century city anywhere. Notwithstanding the amount of painstakingly recorded detail, Lorichs' drawing offers a new manner of viewing the city that would from that point on become standard, and would completely supersede the traditional city views that had become popular during the fifteenth century. In Lorichs' drawing the grand new axis of the city that stretched from Edirne Kapı to Ayasofya was turned so as to parallel the picture plane. In doing so, Lorichs produced a view of the new city that maximizes its silhouette with the multitude of minarets piercing its skyline. The new Ottoman capital, whose restructuring had begun under Mehmed II, was now depicted in all its glory (fig. 850). Whereas the Matrakçı plan of 1532 was a highly abstract rendition of achievements up to the time of Süleyman I, the Lorichs drawing provides the *summa* statement of the era. The city skyline, dominated by the grand sequence of mosques, beginning by their majestic prototype Hagia Sophia, followed by Bayezid II, Suleymaniye, Shahzade, Fatih, and the mosque of Selim I, provides the impression of the proud and overwhelming Ottoman architectural display. In this image, Ayasofya became one of several magnificent lookalike buildings. A sense of power emanates from this drawing, pronounced as much by the magnificent mosques as by the full-blown sails of the magnificent commercial and military ships depicted in the waters of the Golden Horn. The age of Suleyman the Magnificent, one must recall, witnessed the apogee of Turkish naval power, the only time in its long history that it became almost capable of matching Western naval powers in the struggle for control of the Mediterranean. Whereas Gilles' detailed account provides a glimpse at Constantinople's vanishing past, Lorichs' drawing is a record of that past seen in its new context. Lorichs recorded Byzantine buildings with the precision of a scientific observer, but he did so alongside the contemporary Ottoman mosques, whose size and number dwarfed the past, graphically demonstrating the extent of change within a century of the conquest. The expansive growth and development of Constantinople, of course, was also the reflection of certain simmering insecurities. Advocates for the reconquest of Constantinople continued to be active in the West. Latent fears of such an enterprise were best countered by the creation of a vast, essentially new city with a substantially altered demographic profile. Enormous resources amassed from foreign conquests were poured liberally into the remaking of Constantinople as the proud capital of an empire that now stretched across three continents. Grown in population, with its magnificent new buildings and sheer physical size, Constantinople was once again *the* imperial center and perhaps the largest, busiest, and most attractive city of the post-medieval world.

EDIRNE (BYZANTINE ADRIANOPLE)

The rapid growth of Constantinople and its massive rebuilding carried out during the century after its conquest resulted, it would seem, in a slowing down in the growth of other urban centers already under Ottoman control. Nowhere was this felt more acutely than in Edirne, the first Ottoman capital in the Balkans. Conquered as early as 1362, Edirne had become a major city during the first half of the fifteenth century. Owing to the aggressive building policies of Mehmed I, and especially Murad II (1421–51), Edirne was embellished with several major buildings whose size and splendor had no equals anywhere in the Balkans. Home of a large imperial palace complex, Edirne had become an urban center of considerable significance. Its surprisingly rapid development slipped into an equally surprising period of stagnation that directly corresponded to the rise of Constantinople after 1453. In fact, during the hundred years under consideration here – from *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1550 – only one complex of major significance arose in Edirne, under Bayezid II. Although Mehmed II continued to reside in Edirne for several years before moving to Constantinople for good, his interest was exclusively focused on the new capital. His long reign – 1451–81 – witnessed practically a complete halt of construction in Edirne. Though he is credited with building a huge enclosing wall around the already existing imperial palace complex, this hardly constituted a major architectural achievement, reflecting the patron's anxieties more than his architectural ambitions or taste.

Mehmed's son and successor Bayezid II (1481–1512), attempting to improve on his father's meager record, returned to the old capital with a single major commission. On his visit in 1484 he ordered the construction of a large *külliye* near the banks of the River Tunca, removed from the town's center. Constructed in four years, from 1484 to 1488, the *külliye* of Bayezid II was the work of a talented, but otherwise unknown architect, Hayrettin (fig. 851). The complex, planned in an orderly, albeit not strictly symmetrical fashion, included a large mosque with a forecourt, an *imaret* with an adjacent bakery and a storeroom, and a

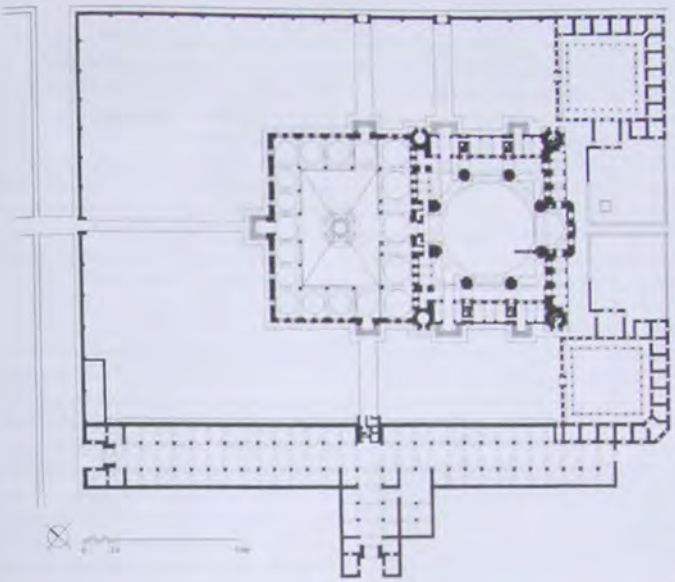


850 Edirne, Kulliye of Bayezid II: axonometric drawing of complex

medical school associated with a hospital. The mosque, the *imaret*, and the bakery are enclosed in a large courtyard, separated from, but abutting another courtyard with the medical school and the hospital within it. Both courtyards, according to a seventeenth-century account, were planted with cypresses and fruit trees, as well as fragrant flowers cultivated for their healing properties. The mosque, the dominant building in the entire complex, is a large cubical mass crowned by a single dome. Measuring 25 × 25 meters in plan, the main room of the mosque is flanked by two cruciform domed *tabhanes*, each measuring 17 × 18.5 meters in plan. The mosque and the *tabhanes* form a continuous façade on the north side, at the end of which rise two slender minarets, set 60 meters apart. In this regard the scheme anticipated the mosque of Bayezid II in Constantinople. The overall mosque plan was followed even more closely by the design for the mosque of Selim I, also in Constantinople, but its minarets were set closer together. Whereas the plan for the medical school follows closely the design for *medreses*, the adjacent hospital displays a highly original plan dominated by a hexagonal domed hall (fig. 852). The sides of the hall open into iwan-like spaces with intervening irregular enclosed rooms. The dome, 14 meters in diameter, is unusual for Ottoman standards insofar that it is lit not only through the windows in its drum, but also through a lantern at the apex.

851 Edirne, Kulliye of Bayezid II, hospital: plan

It was eighty years after the completion of the *kulliye* of Bayezid II, during the reign of Selim II (1566–74), that a major architectural masterpiece would arise again in Edirne.[4] The construction of the Selimiye Mosque (1568–75), perhaps the greatest achievement of the aging master architect Sinan, was a symbolic, but nonetheless remarkable vindication for the declining former capital. Perched atop a huge artificial platform, meas-



813 Edirne, Selimiye complex: plan

814 Edirne, Selimiye: general view from SW

uring 130 × 190 meters, the mosque looms over the city, its powerful form framed by four 71-meter-high minarets (figs. 853 and 854). The mosque is dominated by an immense dome supported on eight twelve-sided polygonal piers, six of which are freestanding. Each of the eight piers is topped externally by a polygonal turret of solid masonry crowned by a helmet-like domical form. These provide evenly spaced lateral buttressing via small quadrant arches that abut the dome just above the windows. Essentially matching the size of the dome of Hagia Sophia, with a diameter of 31.28 meters, its crown rises to a height of 43.40 meters, over 12 meters short of the height of the dome of Hagia Sophia.[11] The dialogue with the Great Church had clearly continued in Sinan's mind. Among many interesting details one should point out that Selimiye's dome drum is actually "false" and that its forty windows are cut through the base of the hemispherical shell, as in the case of its great predecessor. The number forty, it should also be noted, corresponds exactly to the number of windows at Hagia Sophia, just as the diameters of the two domes essentially match. Selimiye represents the summit of Sinan's long and distinguished architectural career, and of his long process of learning from the great Byzantine building. At the same time, it marks the apogee of the empire, just as Hagia Sophia did at the time of Justinian. As was the case with its venerable predecessor, Selimiye's ingenious architectural design and its scale were never to be repeated in subsequent Ottoman architecture. Technically, Selimiye falls outside the chronological framework of our investigation. Symbolically, however, it provides a fitting end of this phase of Ottoman architecture, as well as of this chapter of Balkan history. Ironically, nowhere else would the sense of a "swan song" have been more readily perceptible than in the context of Edirne itself. Following this brief moment of revived glory, Edirne began a long process of slow but steady urban decline from which it never recovered.

PLOVDIV (OTTOMAN FILIBE)

The fall of Plovdiv to the Ottomans came in 1363–64, only two years after their conquest of Edirne, but the city reached a new peak of prosperity during the fifteenth century. Several notable Ottoman buildings have been preserved, but they have never been seriously studied and the information on them is scanty.[12] Excluding the two mosques from the first half of the fifteenth century, mentioned in the previous chapter, we should note four hamams, a *bedestan*, and a *kervansaray*. Three of the four *hamams* are of the single-bath type, intended for use by members of one sex only. The largest of the four is the so-called Çifte (Double) Hamam. Measuring 32 × 45 meters, it belongs to a building type that was relatively common in the course of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The male section of the *hamam*, as was fairly common in double baths, was larger than the female section. It was entered though the cold room with a large dome, nearly 15 meters in diameter. A variety of domical vaults covers individual smaller rooms. The domes are internally decorated with patterns executed in stucco, while their shells are invariably perforated and covered with glass bells that provide for interior lighting while enhancing the aesthetics of the building. Two commercial buildings from the period are preserved in Plovdiv. The first is the fifteenth-century *bedestan* built in the heart of the former market district. The building belongs to a type found most commonly in medium-sized Ottoman towns in the Balkans. Rectangular in plan, its interior is divided into six square bays covered by six blind domes. The domes rest on the exterior walls, as well as on two freestanding piers in the center of the building. The *bedestan* was entered through four doors situated on both building axes. These could be closed at night to secure the expensive goods usually sold in buildings of this kind. The solid exterior walls of the domed hall were abutted externally by shops built against the main part of the building and opening toward the streets that surrounded it. The great Kurshumli (Kurşunlu) Han, located near the *bedestan*, was built *circa* 1500 as part of the market area of Plovdiv. The *han*, one of the largest surviving examples of the type in the Balkans, is essentially rectangular in plan, with one corner curiously angled, apparently reflecting the preexisting urban fabric in the area. The angled corner is also where one of the *han* gates is located; the other one is at the corner point diagonally opposite. The two-storied *han* is organized around a large open central courtyard. Some seventy rooms, forty-five of which are on the upper floor, are arranged around the perimeter wall. Individual rooms are accessible from open, but covered porticoes that surround the courtyard on both levels.

THESSALONIKI (OTTOMAN SELANIK)

Although greatly overshadowed by the activity in Constantinople, the fate of the second largest city of the Byzantine Empire – Thessaloniki – was slightly brighter than that of Edirne.[13] Although lacking any grand architectural statements on the order of the *külliye* of Bayezid II, or the Selimiye, Thessaloniki seems to have had steady architectural production during the later fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth. Among the still-preserved buildings are large additions to the city fortification system, two mosques, three *hamams*, and a *bedestan*.[14] Thessaloniki enjoyed its privileged status probably on account of its strategic location, but the quality of its buildings never came close to matching the architecture of the capital. Despite its economic prosperity and an enterprising elite that supported

a considerable amount of building in the city, the general quality of what was built was not exceptionally high.

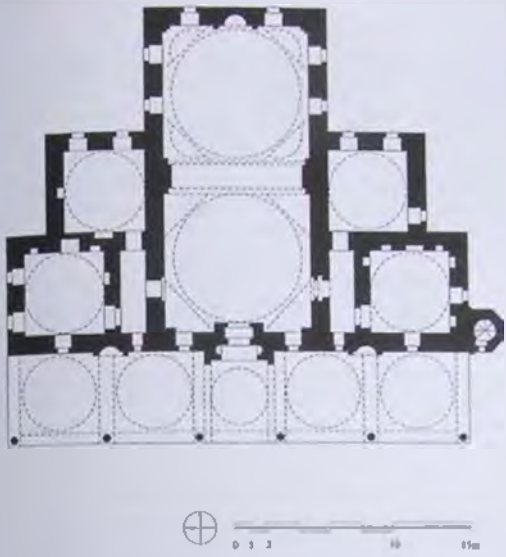
In general, as we have seen elsewhere, the Ottomans invested comparatively little in fortification architecture at the peak of their might, during the first half of the sixteenth century. Thessaloniki reinforces this general perception. Its city walls seem to have been partially upgraded during the century between 1450 and 1550, but all of these enterprises were relatively modest in scope. The first involved the reinforcement of a much older Byzantine corner tower, known as the Trigonion Tower, at the very top of the eastern stretch of the city walls. The new construction, also known by its Turkish name as Zincirli Kule or Kushaklli Kule, involved the physical incorporation of a Byzantine tower into the massive cylindrical form of the new tower, constructed under Ottoman auspices during the second half of the fifteenth century.[1] Measuring 23 meters in its exterior diameter, the tower envelops most of the older Byzantine rectangular tower (14 × 17.5 m in plan), only a small section of which remains visible on the north side. Constructed of rubble masonry with an occasional use of brick, all bonded with large quantities of mortar, the Ottoman tower displays an imposing masonry mass perforated internally by a highly complex system of stairs linking different levels with small vaulted chambers for the accommodation of a defense team. The external wall rises to a maximum height of 23 meters on the east side, where the terrain drops off sharply. Approximately 8 meters above the exterior grade level the tower is circumvented by a string-course with a torus profile that separates the lower, slightly battered part of the wall from its upper, straight part. The tower may have had another cylindrical section of smaller diameter above the present flat roof, which may have been topped by a conical lead-covered roof, as was customary in contemporary fortifications elsewhere. Comprehension of the Trigonion Tower helps in the understanding of the largest Ottoman addition to the fortification system of Thessaloniki – the so-called White Tower – a building engulfed by a major controversy concerning its date (fig. 855).[2] Though surrounded by tall modern apartment blocks, the White Tower retains its presence on the city's sea front. In terms of its original function it appears to have been constructed as a replacement for the Byzantine southeastern corner tower of the city walls, as an exact counterpart to the Trigonion Tower, which it resembles in several respects. In this case, the Byzantine predecessor was completely razed so that the tower as it stands was a new construction. With an exterior diameter of 21.7 meters and a height of 34 meters, the tower stands apart from the rest of the city's Byzantine fortifications. Made of irregular fieldstones with occasional bricks mixed in with large quantities of mortar, the exterior wall of the White Tower resembles closely that of the Trigonion Tower. The same may be said of the irregular placement of small window openings and a stone string-course of torus profile that circumvents the cylindrical tower on the exterior. The tower's circular plan is defined by a massive exterior wall, 6.6 meters thick. Within this thickness is accommodated a spiral ramp that connects individual floors and which once facilitated the movement of artillery weapons and the supplying of ammunition. Special chambers for the accommodation of weaponry and crew are also contained within this wall mass. The ramp is covered by a brick barrel vault built in a true Byzantine manner. The central part of the building was built essentially as a huge well, whose walls constituted the inner face of the massive structural wall. Only the ground floor of this cylindrical central space is covered by a brick hemispherical dome, while all of the other six levels had wooden floors. The central cylinder projects above the present flat roofline of the main part of the building.

855 Thessaloniki, White Tower, general view

856 Thessaloniki. White Tower with Ottoman enclosure wall: 19th-century photograph

forming a turret-like feature with battlements and originally covered by a conical roof. Battlements supported on an arched corbel-table also cap the exterior perimeter of the main building mass. A lean-to roof rose from these battlements and rested on brackets preserved on the outer faces of the crowning cylindrical turret. The entire system of roofing resembles what was employed in Ottoman fortifications in Constantinople – at Rumeli Hisar, and especially at Yedi Kule Kalesi. Most of the other features of the White Tower also match those seen on Ottoman fortifications of the second half of the fifteenth century. Its dating to this period, along with its counterpart the Trigonion Tower, seems reasonable. In part the controversy regarding its dating stems from the fact that an Ottoman inscription on a marble slab with a date of 1535–36 once stood above its main door. It has been proposed, with good reason I believe, that the inscription referred to the second Ottoman intervention in the city's fortifications. It was at that time, it would seem, that the White Tower was surrounded by an irregular polygonal enclosure wall topped by battlements and featuring small domed octagonal watchtowers at three of its corners facing the sea (fig. 856). This enclosure, clearly intended to strengthen the city defenses at the easternmost point along the shore, was completely destroyed with the modernization of the city after the First World War. Ten years after its completion, another comparable construction arose at the opposite, western end of the city's waterfront. Built in 1546, the so-called Frourion Vardari (Tophane, in Ottoman times) was situated at the vulnerable point where the western city wall reached the ancient harbor. Its aim, obviously, was the increased protection of the harbor through the use of firearms. The enclosure featured low walls with battlements and an octagonal corner watchtower, the entire ensemble resembling closely in form and function the enclosure put up around the White Tower a decade earlier.

The process of Islamicizing Thessaloniki proceeded at a much slower pace than was the case in Constantinople. None of the Ottoman sultans was evidently interested in building there any large-scale *külliyes* on the order of those in the empire's capital, or, for that matter, in the former capital of Edirne. Murad II converted the church of Acheiropoietos into the main mosque immediately after the conquest of the city in 1430, but the initiative to build new mosques was evidently left to the enterprising local elite. Of the once many mosques in the city, only two have survived, and both were built during the second half of the fifteenth century. The older of the two, Hamza Bey Camii, was built in 1468 by one Hafsa Hatun, daughter of the military leader Sarabadar Hamza-Bey. It is a single-domed mosque, the main part measuring 12.5 × 12.5 meters in plan. The dome, whose interior diameter is 10 meters, is supported by corner squinches and rests



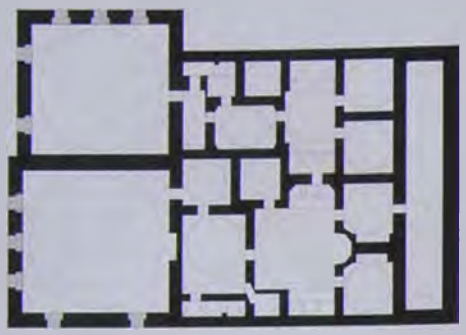
857 Thessaloniki, Alaca Imaret: plan

858 Thessaloniki, Alaca Imaret, general view from S

on a relatively high octagonal drum perforated by eight small single windows. The building was disfigured by subsequent alterations and additions, though these affected mostly its exterior appearance. Far more impressive is the so-called Alaca Imaret or Ishak Pasha Camii, built in 1484 (fig. 857).[1] The mosque belongs to the axial double-domed type, different variants of which were already known from *circa* 1400. Measuring 29 × 28 meters in its overall dimensions, the mosque is comparable in size to similar mosques in Constantinople (Mahmud Pasha Camii of 1464, and Murat Pasha Camii of 1469). The plan here features two axially aligned domes, the northern one supported on pendentives, the southern one on squinches. Two pairs of domed side rooms flank the building on the east and the west sides. Unlike other buildings of this type, neither of these side rooms communicates directly with the interior of the mosque itself. A narrow corridor separates the front pair of rooms from the first domed space of the mosque. These corridors provide the only access to the back pair of domed rooms along the building's flanks. A minaret attached to the northwestern corner of the building has not survived. A monumental porch consisting of six reused ancient columns supporting an arcade and five blind domes precedes the mosque. The vaulting is entirely of brick, while the exterior walls feature a cloisonné technique of fine quality (fig. 858). Alaca Imaret, in general, is one of the best-constructed Ottoman buildings of this period in Thessaloniki. It is also distinguished by its marble window and door frames and fine interior decorative elements.

The only surviving commercial building from this period in Thessaloniki – the *bedestan* – was probably built around the same time as the Alaca Imaret.[2] Still situated in the city's commercial district, the *bedestan* of Thessaloniki was unusual in the sense that it was incorporated into the existing market district, which had remained in a relatively fixed position since ancient Roman times. The building measures 18.5 × 29 meters in plan (fig. 859). Its highly symmetrical plan features four doors in the centers of the four exterior walls that were related to the clusters of shops forming the market area surrounding the building. The market no longer survives, as is the case with the sixty-nine original small shops within the building itself. The forty-four other shops that were attached to the external walls of the *bedestan* survive in a modified form. The building comprises a large inte-

859 Thessaloniki, Bedestan, aerial view



860 Thessaloniki, Pazar Hamam: plan

rior space covered by six identical blind domes, 7 meters in diameter. The domes are organized in two rows of three, in a scheme commonly employed in many of the Ottoman-era towns throughout the Balkans. The interior of the building is marked by two massive stone and brick piers, each measuring 2.5 × 2.5 meters, whose structural function is to support the six domes that also rest on the relatively thin (1 m) continuous exterior walls. Neighboring domes are supported by independent, deep brick arches, separated from each other by narrow spaces covered by barrel vaults. Presumably the arrangement was warranted by the perceived advantage in allowing the independent structural behavior of each of the domed units. Domes, as was the case with those in most of the mosques, were externally covered with lead sheathing, while clay tiles were used for other sections of the roof. The exterior walls were faced in cloisonne technique, as was the case at Alaca Imaret.

Of the three fully or partially preserved late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman *hamams* in Thessaloniki, by far the most important and most extensively studied is the so-called Pazar Hamam (also known as Yahudi Hamam) (fig. 860).[61] It was built in the late fifteenth century within the market area and close to the ancient harbor, but its early history is rather murky. Practically swallowed up as a result of various adaptive uses, rebuilding enterprises, and additions in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the building was painstakingly retrieved from virtual oblivion, though its unexcavated entrance level still lies some 2 meters below the present street. The *hamam* belongs to the "double-bath" variety, commonly encountered in Ottoman towns. Measuring 24.5 × 35 meters in its overall dimensions, it consists of two similar, but asymmetrical halves. The men's, western half of the building was dominated by a large domed cold room. Its brick dome, 10.5 meters in diameter, rose to a height of 14 meters from the floor. The room was entered through a door in the north wall, flanked by a pair of windows. The smaller cold room for women was entered through a similar door, but located on the east side, so as to ensure privacy and avoid social encounters among members of the opposite sex. The dome of that room had a diameter of 9.5 meters, but nearly the same height as that of the neighboring men's room. Both domes are supported on a system of brick ogival arches and corner squinches. Interior wall surfaces were covered with stucco, the squinches and other elements elaborately decorated with various motifs executed in the same material and originally painted. The sequence of the smaller warm and hot rooms that follows was especially elaborately decorated with a great variety of dome patterns executed in stucco and enhanced with small lighting apertures covered with special glass bells. The overall massing of the building steps down toward its back on the south side, where a long barrel-vaulted cistern and the furnace for heating the water and the rooms were located. An elaborate hypocaust system consisting of small brick pillars extended below the entire section of the bath complex where the warm and hot rooms were situated

SERRES (OTTOMAN SEREZ)

Situated on the southern fringes of Mount Menikion, overlooking the River Strymon and a large fertile plain, the town of Serres has a long history marked by perpetual conflicts over the control of its exceptional strategic location. Captured as early as 1383, Serres was among the first Byzantine towns to succumb to the first wave of Ottoman invasions into the Balkan heartland.[62] From the outset of their rule, the Ottoman authorities were set on turning Serres into an important Muslim city. Turkish nomads and farmers from eastern Anatolia are known to have been settled there with this aim in mind. The town experienced a period of prosperity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it became an important trading center sustained by a successful agricultural economy. The fortunes of Serres rose especially during the last years of the fifteenth century when a daughter of Sultan Bayezid II, Selçuk Hatun, residing in Serres with her second husband, Grand Vizier Ahmad Pasha Mehmed Bey, took an active interest in sponsoring construction projects in town. Nothing of Selçuk Hatun's several foundations has survived, but an impressive mosque commissioned by her husband still stands as an eloquent testimony to the high building standards they had brought to Serres. The Mehmed Bey Mosque, on the outskirts of the town, was built in 1492–93 (fig. 861). Impressive both on account of its size and the quality of

its construction, this mosque may be compared with the best architectural achievements of this period in Edirne and in Constantinople. Measuring 30.5 × 30.5 meters, this is a single-domed mosque flanked by two double-domed rooms and preceded by a magnificent five-domed portico supported on four slender columns. The minaret, at the junction of the portico and the western room flanking the main prayer hall, has been entirely destroyed. The main hall is covered by a sizable brick dome with a clear span of 14.58 meters. The mihrab niche is accommodated within a five-sided, apse-like projection directly opposite the main entrance. The similarity to an apse is accentuated by the presence of a large window in four of the five facets of the "apse." The exterior of the building displays exquisitely proportioned massing. The main, cubical building form rises above the roof lines of the portico and the side chambers, its pristine geometric form capped by the twelve-sided blind drum of the dome. The dome shell, now exposed, was once probably covered with lead sheeting that would have given the building the final touch of exquisite workmanship. The structure is faced with cut sandstone ashlars with practically invisible joints. The window openings, door arches, and portico arches, along with the roof cornices, display the highest-quality workmanship. Add to this the stalactite white marble capitals specially made for this mosque and it becomes clear that its construction must have been the product of artisans imported from a major center, in this case probably from Constantinople.

Two other impressive mosques have been preserved in Serres — the Mustafa Bey Mosque, built in 1519, and the Zincirli Mosque, of unknown date but probably constructed *circa* 1577–85. The Mustafa Bey Mosque is the smallest and, from the design standpoint, the most conservative of the three. Its plan, measuring 18 × 13 meters, consists of a single-domed prayer hall

861 Serres. Mehmed Bey Mosque: general view from S

861 Serres, Bedestan; interior view

flanked by two oblong rooms, half as wide as the prayer hall and of the same length. Much as at the Mehmed Bey Mosque, a pair of domes covers each of these two lateral rooms. The prayer hall is much smaller in this case – the span being only 7.2 meters – and shares its exterior south wall with the exterior south walls of the two side rooms. The mihrab is in the middle of the wall within the main prayer hall, but unlike at the Mehmed Bey Mosque it is not axially aligned with the main portal. On account of the fact that the mosque, in this case, was preceded by a four-domed portico, the main prayer space was not entered axially. The basic planning scheme of the Mustafa Bay Mosque harks back to the early years of the fifteenth century, resembling most closely the Güzelce Hasan Bey Mosque in Hayrabolu, Turkey, built in 1406 (see p. 610). In many ways the most remarkable of the Serres mosques is the Zincirli Mosque, which, technically speaking, falls outside the scope of this study. Its impressive dome, 10 meters in diameter, rests on eight slender supports – six freestanding and two engaged columns. This type of daring structural scheme became the subject of experimentation in the late work of Sinan. In fact, Zincirli Mosque resembles closely the plan of Azapkapı Mosque in Constantinople, built by Sinan in 1577. The latter date, in fact, has been used as the *terminus post quem* for the dating of the Zincirli Mosque. Whatever the correct answers regarding this interesting mosque may ultimately turn out to be, the general impression is that patrons in Serres, even during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, maintained sufficiently strong ties with the Ottoman capital to be able to procure the best architects and artisans for building jobs in their town.

As was the case in other prospering Ottoman towns, Serres had its market area, the centerpiece of which was a monumental *bedestan*.[8] Built shortly before 1494, it was commissioned by one Ibrahim Pasha, a member of the influential Candarlı family. The building belongs to a type of *bedestan* most commonly

employed in medium-sized Ottoman cities. Measuring 21 × 31 meters in plan, it is subdivided internally into six bays by two huge piers that carry pairs of massive brick arches necessary for supporting the six brick domes that cover the interior of the building. As is the case with most *bedestans* of this type, the lower part is enclosed by solid walls, perforated merely by four gates on the main building axes that facilitated access to the building from the surrounding market area. These gates, as was normal for buildings of this type, were shut at night for security reasons. The curious aspect of this building is that at one time it had thirty-two windows on the lower level, but all of these were blocked up at some early point. This may have been brought about by the addition of stores around the periphery of the building that may not have been initially planned. The only remaining apertures are the twenty-six rectangular windows within the vaulting zone. The building features cloisonné building technique both on the exterior and the inside (fig. 862). The interior was originally plastered and decorated with bands and surface-relief patterns executed in stucco, some of which survive. Among the formal characteristics of the Serres *bedestan* are the highly visible windowless pseudo-drums at the bases of the six domes. Similar drums, it should be noted, appear on all three surviving mosques in Serres, suggesting the possibility that this may have been a local architectural characteristic. At the same time, we must emphasize that the use of very different building techniques on two major buildings, such as the Mehmed Bey Mosque and the *bedestan*, that were being built essentially simultaneously makes it unlikely that a single local building workshop existed in Serres.

SKOPJE (OTTOMAN ÜSKÜB)

Skopje became part of the Ottoman Empire as early as 1392.[1] Because of its recognized strategic importance, controlling the main south–north route linking Thessaloniki with Belgrade and beyond, Skopje assumed the role of a major hub for the Ottomans. Here, more than in any other city of the Balkans, with the exception of Constantinople, a concentrated effort was made by the authorities to transform it into a genuine Islamic city. It is quite remarkable that, as a result, with the exception of parts of its medieval fortress, no traces of any medieval buildings have survived. This is stunning, considering that in the fourteenth century Skopje was the capital of Stefan Dušan's "Empire of the Serbs and the Greeks" and that the city boasted several major churches and a royal palace among its most important structures. The city's main churches were apparently not converted into mosques, as was almost routinely done elsewhere, but were physically destroyed and replaced by new buildings. The process of transformation was apparently systematic and relentless and lasted into the sixteenth century. It was most intensive, however, during the second half of the fifteenth century, when Skopje became a major center of architectural activity, easily surpassing all other cities in the region of Macedonia, including Thessaloniki. Although a number of representative Ottoman buildings from this period have survived, a more graphic measure of the city's urban growth during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is obtained from an account of Evliya Çelebi, a renowned seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler. Though not always reliable in the factual information he supplies for various places, his account of Skopje is worth mentioning. According to Çelebi, in his time Skopje had twelve large public baths (two of which survive) and as many as 1,000 private baths. Even though the latter figure must be an exaggeration, the implication of a large proportion of private bathing facilities is indicative of the wealth accumulated in the city at the time. Normally, only large private residences would have been equipped with private baths. Another telling indicator of economic prosperity is the figure of 2,150 private shops also mentioned by Çelebi as existing in the market area. Equally important for our understanding of the growth and expansion of Skopje during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are references in the Ottoman sources to the construction of water-supply lines from nearby mountains in 1453–54 (by Isa-bey), in 1513 (?) (by Mustafa Pasha), and in the middle of the sixteenth century by Muslihuddin al-Madini.[2] Substantial sections of one of these, probably the aqueduct of Mustafa Pasha, are still standing on the northern outskirts of the city (fig. 863). Resembling Roman and Byzantine aqueducts in scale and general character, it was long thought to belong to a much earlier period. Recent studies, however, confirm that this is an Ottoman work, whose architectural and constructional details match those on several buildings preserved in the city itself.

Although the construction of new buildings in the city under Ottoman auspices began shortly after 1392, the peak of construction enterprises came, according to the surviving evidence, during the second half of the fifteenth century. Several impressive mosques from this period have survived, attesting to both the volume and the quality of construction in Skopje during the peak period of Ottoman power. Isa Bey's (Beg's) Mosque, despite the various vicissitudes it has suffered over time, is the oldest surviving religious building from the second half of the fifteenth century.[3] Built in 1475–76, it is related to the older Imaret Mosque in Plovdiv and two "axial double-domed" mosques in Constantinople. It is also closely related to the Alaca Imaret in Thessaloniki, which it antedates by nearly a decade. Measuring 25 × 29 meters in plan, it is also comparable in size to other mosques of the same type. Its spatial organization is simple. Its main hall is covered by two domes, each 9.5 meters in diameter. The domes are supported by arches embedded

865 Skopje, Aqueduct of Mustafa Pasha: general view

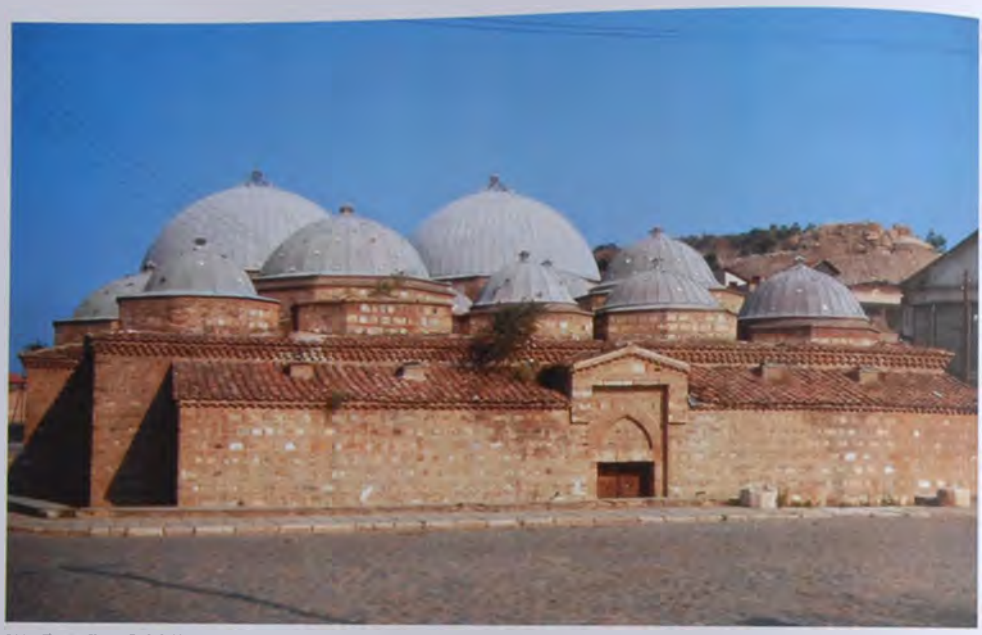
within the walls, only a single arch between the two domes being open, as is characteristic of the type. Triangular pendentives with muqarnas mark the transition from the square plan to an octagonal form, constituting a low drum upon which each of the domes sits. Both drums are expressed externally, but only the one in the front bay has two windows to admit light into the building. The front part of the building is flanked by a symmetrical pair of two rooms, accessible, like the mosque, from a five-domed portico on arcades fronting the entire width of the building. Comparable lateral rooms, as we have seen, occur commonly in mosques of this type. Here, they differ in size, the front rooms being slightly larger and directly accessible from the main part of the mosque. The mosque is faced in regular cloisonné technique, consisting of two rows of bricks alternating with single rows of stone ashlars, each of the latter separated from its neighbor by one or two vertical bricks. The technique, as was also the case in Thessaloniki, became a local construction norm. In both cases this may well have been related to the perpetuation of locally strong building workshops still active at the time of the Ottoman conquest.

The most impressive among the surviving mosques from this period is the Mustafa Pasha Mosque, built in 1492 (fig. 864).[1] Koça Mustafa Pasha, who rose to fame under Bayezid II, was one of the great sponsors of the development of Skopje. After Bayezid's death he fell out of favor, and was executed in 1513 by Selim I. He was buried in a fine hexagonal marble-faced *turbe* that he had prepared for himself, next to his mosque. The mosque, measuring 20 × 20 meters in plan, is crowned by an impressive dome, 16 meters in interior diameter, and elevated on an octagonal drum perforated by eight windows. Four enormous arches supporting the dome rise nearly from the floor level and frame the interior space. Four flat triangular pendentives are decorated with elaborate floral vine scrolls executed in paint. Despite the wall thickness of nearly 2 meters, the inte-

864 Skopje, Mustafa Pasha Mosque: general view

rior is well lit by a series of symmetrically placed windows, arranged in three tiers. The building is fronted by a fine portico featuring an open arcade supported on four slender marble columns. Each of the five portico bays is domed, the central dome being slightly higher than the rest. The main mosque portal is a masterpiece of stone craftsmanship, featuring many design elements, such as joggled voussoirs, rarely found in buildings outside Constantinople (fig. 865). Clearly, special craftsmen must have been hired to do such specific tasks, presumably at considerable cost. Exquisite workmanship also marked the exterior of the building. Though here cloisonné technique is immediately apparent, a close inspection reveals that all bricks and mortar joints were covered with a fine coat of plaster, decorated and painted. This gave the building a certain decorative touch, serving at the same time as a reminder of the Byzantine plastering and painting of church exteriors discussed in the preceding chapters.

865 Skopje, Mustafa Pasha Mosque, portal



866 Skopje, Davut Pasha's Hamam: general view

The Yahya (Jahja) Pasha's mosque, built in 1503–04, was another resplendent building, but unfortunately it does not survive in its original form.* Measuring 20.5 × 20.5 meters in plan, it was clearly intended to outshine the Mustafa Pasha Mosque completed eleven years earlier. Despite apparent similarities, the two mosques had very different structural systems supporting their domes. The Yahya Pasha's mosque also had a single dome, 15.5 meters in diameter, but it collapsed, possibly in the seventeenth century. The interior walls, preserved to a height of 9.5 meters, show no evidence of large structural arches that may have supported the dome, as in the case of the Mustafa Pasha Mosque. Thus, it is clear that the dome must have had a system of corner squinches at a much greater height supporting its dome. This also implies that the dome would have been proportionally higher than that of the Mustafa Pasha Mosque. The greater height of the dome may also be reflected in the different thickness of the exterior walls in the two buildings – here 2.7 meters as opposed to 2 meters at the Mustafa Pasha Mosque. Another aspect of the competitive endeavors on the part of the builder may be seen in the mosque's extraordinarily high minaret (50.5 m), in contrast to the 47-meter minaret at the Mustafa Pasha Mosque. The Yahya Pasha Mosque has a façade that is wider than the building, and a correspondingly wider five-arched portico. The greater width was apparently a consequence of the subsidiary rooms that originally flanked the mosque, but no longer survive. The portico columns and the main portal are made of white marble in clearly another effort to outdo the Mustafa Pasha Mosque, where darker, less expensive stone was used.

In addition to these three mosques, Skopje has a number of secular buildings from the same period that clearly convey the sense of its urban prosperity at the time. Daut (Davud) Pasha's hamam, one of the best-preserved Ottoman *hamams* anywhere, was built by Davud Pasha during his role as the beylerbey of Rumelia, in the years 1468–97 (fig. 866).* Situated on the left bank of the River Vardar, the *hamam* is the only surviving building of an entire urban section chiefly built under Davud Pasha's patronage. It belongs to the *çifte* (double) *hamam* type. The overall building block measures roughly 27.5 × 42 meters. It is entered from the west through two separate domed halls constituting men's and women's "cold rooms." Of equal dimensions

867 Skopje, Davut Pasha's Hamam: interior

– each dome measuring 12 meters in diameter – the two rooms do not display the conventional distinction between men's and women's sections by means of size. Difference of size and character does become apparent, however, in the rest of the bathing establishment. The men's section, approximately 20 percent larger than the women's, differs also in the character of its interior layout and decoration. The fifteen domes of differing sizes that cover the various spaces within the building feature different decorative patterns in their transitional zones, while the dome shells remain essentially smooth and were probably covered with painted decoration (fig. 867). Among the three-dimensional decorative elements executed in brick or in stucco some were conservative, while others were more up to date in terms of their origins. Thus, the appearance of the so-called Turkish triangles may be seen as a distant echo of the Seljuk architectural style, still partially in vogue during the first half of the fifteenth century, but generally superseded after *circa* 1450. Externally, the flat walls of the *hamam* were faced in cloisonné technique, distinctive of Skopian architecture, as has been noted in several previous examples.

Large sections of the urban fabric of Skopje have repeatedly been damaged and destroyed over time. Efforts to preserve some of its urban character have almost invariably focused on one or another of its "key monuments." The case of the Kuršumli Han, one of the four Ottoman kervansarays still preserved in the city, is particularly instructive (fig. 868).[11] Badly damaged during an earthquake in 1961, Kuršumli Han has been completely restored. At the same time, a small mosque and a fine bath built as integral parts of the complex were destroyed, but were never rebuilt. Consequently, the restored Kuršumli Han now constitutes a "monument" devoid of its broader architectural and urban context. The foundation of one Mula Muslidin Hodja, the building appears to have been built by 1550. It consists of two parts – a two-storied front part for guests and single-storied stables at the back for animals. The front part, organized around an open central court, is a fine piece of architecture (fig. 869). The rooms, all organized peripherally – twenty-eight on each level – are accessible from porticoes supported on massive stone piers that carry large brick arches and brick vaulting. Stairs placed near the main ground-level pas-

868 Skopje, Kurshumli Han: plan

sageways communicate with the upper story with a comparable layout. Rooms were heated individually by small fireplaces, each fireplace featuring its own chimney pot. Collectively, these gave the building its characteristic silhouette. Only rooms on the second level had exterior windows, while – probably for security reasons – the ones on the ground level had windows facing only the interior court. Equipped with a projecting gatehouse with a massive door, the building was built for the security of its guests. The workmanship, including the fine cloisonne technique on the exterior, reveals the survival of high building standards in Skopje in the middle of the sixteenth century. Only certain details, such as fine mosque portals and other decorative features, betray the occasional presence of imported artisans and illustrate a limited influx of the "high style" from the capital.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Skopje was one of the most prosperous Ottoman cities in the Balkans. An important crossroads of strategic and commercial significance, by *circa* 1550

869 Skopje, Kurshumli Han: courtyard peristyle, detail

it had become a totally Islamic city. Most of its earlier architectural vestiges razed to the ground, the city was completely rebuilt in accordance with the Turkish Islamic urban standards. In this respect the transformation of Skopje was far more dramatic than that of Thessaloniki and even of Constantinople itself.

SARAJEVO (OTTOMAN SARAYOVA)

Whereas Skopje constituted a case of an older city completely transformed within a century-and-a-half of Ottoman rule, Sarajevo was a city essentially created *ex novo* by the Ottomans. Although urban habitation in the area is known to have existed since Roman times, major urban growth was not recorded before the Ottomans made it into a regional center of their own by the late fifteenth century. In 1507 the name Sarajevo appears for the first time in documents. The new town experienced a period of distinctive growth under the patronage of Gazi Hustef Beg (Ghazi Khusrou Bey) from 1521 to 1541 (fig. 870).[1] Gazi Husref Beg was a son of Sanjak Bey Ferhad, a native of Trebinje and of Selçuk Hatun, a daughter of Sultan Bayezid II. As such, he was a man of considerable social stature within the Ottoman Empire. Distinguished as a military figure as well as an administrator, Gazi Husref Beg amassed an enormous fortune, which he invested in its entirety in constructing buildings, as well as endowing them with income from assigned properties that would ensure their maintenance in perpetuity. In addition to his own mosque and *turbe* for which he is most renowned, he built a *medrese*, a Qur'an school, a library, a double *hamam*, an *imaret*, and a dervish convent (*hangah*). His wealth continued to be used after his death in 1541, for the completion of a *bedestan*, a *kervansaray*, a clock-tower, and a hospital. Pride of place on this long list of buildings is reserved for Gazi Husref Beg (Ghazi Khusrou Bey) Mosque, completed in 1531. The mosque is a large building, measuring 32 × 29.5 meters in plan. Its distinction is based on specific aspects of its plan and its relative height (24.5 m to the apex of the dome). The plan, following in the tradition of the modified scheme of the original Fatih Mosque in Constantinople, has close parallels in such buildings as the Rum Mehmed Pasha Camii in Üsküdar of 1471 and the Atik Ali Pasha Camii in Constantinople of 1497. Combining the scheme derived from the original Fatih Mosque with that of the "cross-axial iwan" mosques popular in Bursa, Ghazi Khusrou Bey's architect demonstrated his knowledge of the more recent developments in the capital, ignoring other trends in the geographically closer but more conservative regional centers in the process. The mosque features a large domed space, 13 × 13 meters in plan, expanded into a half-domed bay containing the mihrab. Both the main dome and the half-dome feature low pseudo-drums perforated by windows. This design formula, as well as the use of pairs of buttressing spurs at the four corners of the dome exterior, also suggests a certain familiarity with contemporary architectural developments in the capital. The main domed space opens laterally into two smaller domed spaces, also linked to the exterior. These two domed spaces formally function much like lateral iwans popular in Bursa mosques during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Despite its many similarities with the architecture of the capital, Ghazi Khusrou Bey's mosque was not the work of builders from that part of the world. Characterized by relatively rough stone construction and externally plastered, it was built by workmen from the western Balkans. While its main architect was Açem (Adzem) Esir Ali, a Persian by birth, a man who held the office of the main architect in the empire just before Sinan, the builders and artisans engaged in its construction came from Dubrovnik.[2] Ghazi Khusrou Bey's mosque provides us with rare but exceedingly important insights into how a major building of this type was actually created – from design to execution.

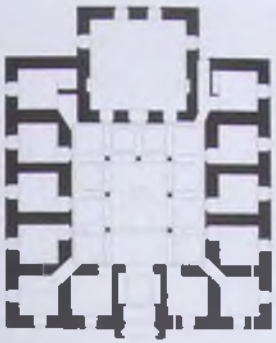
Directly across the street from Ghazi Khusrou Bey's mosque stands the so-called Kuršumlija Medrese, built in 1537–38, also under the auspices of Khusrou Bey. The building measures 19 × 24 meters in plan and employs a conventional plan for a *medrese* (fig. 871). Internally focused, it is organized around a small courtyard with a centrally situated fountain. A portico consisting of seven columns surrounds the open space. Eight pointed arches connect the columns and help support eight small blind domes that cover each of the portico bays. Behind the portico are the student rooms, twelve in all, organized around the building's perimeter. All rooms are square and have the same dimensions. Each is covered by a blind dome, 2.8 meters in diameter, and equipped with a heating stove, externally expressed in the form of a tall chimney flue. Each room was equipped with an exterior window protected with an iron grill; the four facing the main street were subsequently blocked up. Directly opposite the monumental main entrance, on the main axis of the building, stands the domed classroom. With its dome measuring 6.8 meters in diameter, this is a sizeable room providing ample space for gatherings.

Begun in the year of his death, 1541, Gazi Hustef-beg's (Ghazi Khusrou Bey's) *hamam* is another of his surviving foundations. Physically somewhat removed from the original city center, the hamam belongs to the double-bath type that was widespread in Ottoman urban centers. Measuring 21 × 36 meters, the building consisted of two, roughly symmetrical but segregated halves – for men and for women. As was the norm, the *hamam* was entered through two separate entrances that led into domed cold rooms, each covered by a dome 8.5 meters in diameter. From these one proceeded into a sequence of smaller, medium-hot and hot rooms. At the far end of the complex were a large

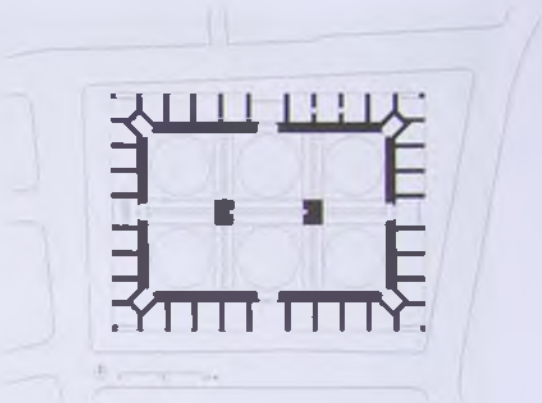
872 Skopje. Central part of Ottoman town, reconstruction drawing

longitudinal water cistern and a heating stove for the entire building.

Ghazi Khusrou Bey's mosque and the Kurşumlija Medrese stand at the edge of the market (*carsija*) area. The centerpiece of this area was the Brusa-Bedestan, completed in 1551 (fig. 872).[1] The building core, measuring 19.5 × 30 meters in plan, consisted of a large interior room covered by six identical domes, 7 meters in diameter, supported by two massive piers (2.3 × 2.9 m) and by the exterior walls. This large hall was entered through four gates, each centrally located in relation to the particular façade. The doors were originally massive for security reasons and were shut when the market area was closed. Surrounding the building externally were thirty-two shops organized symmetrically as cells and separated from each other by masonry walls built integrally with the rest of the structure. The interior must have also been divided into smaller compartments that would have contained individual shops, but their original layout is not known. In all likelihood they were made of wood and must have perished long ago, since the building suffered from periodic fires and changed its function over time. Initially, precious fabrics were sold within its walls, among which silk products from Bursa were especially valued. The name of the building apparently derives from the latter.



871 Sarajevo, Kuršumlija Medrese, plan



872 Sarajevo, Bruša Bedestan, plan

Founded by the Ottomans within the territory under their full control, Sarajevo must have been considered a place safely distant from potential enemy attacks. Thus, not surprisingly, Sarajevo never acquired fortification walls, nor did the Ottomans ever build any forts or similar military structures within it. It was protected by a loose network of fortifications in its surroundings, many of which remained in place from medieval times and were reemployed and upgraded by the Ottomans only as necessary.

BELGRADE (BEOGRAD; OTTOMAN BELIGRAD)

A very different story from that of Sarajevo is that of Belgrade. A heavily fortified outpost overlooking the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, Belgrade was a city with a long history. The capital of Serbia until 1427, Belgrade passed into Hungarian hands after the death of Stefan Lazarević.[1] The Ottomans, recognizing its major strategic importance, staged several attacks on Belgrade, in 1391, 1440 and 1456, all ending in failure to capture it.[2] It was only in 1521 that Süleyman the Magnificent laid a successful siege, resulting in its ultimate conquest. In the aftermath of the conquest of Belgrade, Suleyman invaded Hungary, which led to two decades of intermittent warfare. It was only after the final capture of Buda, in 1541, that the Ottomans could consider their military engagement with the Hungarians finished, and could turn their attention to the consolidation of the situation. Belgrade became their principal stronghold in the region and, as such, the object of major reconstruction and development. The tone for such action, as was customary, was set by the sultan himself immediately after the conquest of the city in 1521, but the real flurry of building activity began in earnest only after the capture of Buda in 1541. Within decades Belgrade grew into a major center, of military as well as commercial significance. By 1560 as many as sixteen mosques rose in it, and by 1575 it had five *kervansarays*. None of these early Ottoman building has survived. Many of them were destroyed already during the Austrian–Turkish wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Others were eliminated with the development of the modern city during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[3] Various written and visual records of many of these buildings have survived, as have Ottoman legal documents that permit insights into Belgrade's appearance at the time when it was being built up as one of the main Ottoman urban centers in the Balkans. Especially impressive is a general view of Belgrade, painted in 1603 by Ferenc Wathay, a Hungarian military officer captured by the Ottomans and taken as prisoner first to Belgrade and ultimately to Constantinople. His notebook, recording the years of his captivity and including various drawings, among them also the panorama of Belgrade, has been preserved (fig. 873).[4] It depicts Belgrade from the north, with the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers in the foreground. Clearly visible is the walled enclosure of the lower city, as well as the highly fortified citadel in the upper city with the huge tower that was part of the palace of Despot Stefan Lazarević, still standing at the time. Several minarets associated with mosques are also visible, as is a large *bedestan*, evidently featuring sixteen domes. *Bedestans* with more than six domes were quite rare in the Balkans, and were generally located in the impe-

823 Belgrade. 1601 panorama (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest: Wathay Codex, cat. no. K 62, ff. 23v and 24r)

rial capitals – Edirne and Constantinople. The *bedestan*, as a commercial building par excellence, was apparently situated close to the medieval harbor, the entrance to which was guarded by the octagonal Nebojša Tower, also visible in this representation of Belgrade.

The only visible traces of the late medieval and early Ottoman building heritage of Belgrade may be seen in its fortress.[823] Unsuccessfully besieged by the Ottomans twice in the course of the fifteenth century – in 1440 and in 1456 – the fortress was repeatedly repaired and strengthened. In 1456, despite their numerical superiority and their extensive use of artillery weapons of various calibers, from boats as well as from land, the Ottoman forces under the command of Mehmed II were repelled, but not before inflicting serious damage on the city's aging fortifications. In the aftermath of the siege, the fortress was repaired and strengthened once more. The most important precautionary measures began, however, already in the last decades of the fifteenth century with the addition of the octagonal multistoried gun tower, at the time situated at the entrance into the city's harbor, now known as "Kula Nebojsa" (Nebojsa Tower). Extensively modified in the eighteenth century, this was initially equipped by as many as fifteen to twenty cannon, but its effectiveness may have been hampered by the heavy accumulation of smoke inside the tower if all the guns were fired simultaneously together with another comparable gun tower, now known as "Jaksićeva kula" (Jaksić Tower), constructed at the easternmost point of another added enclosure on the northeastern fringe of the upper fortress, this constituted the extent of the late fif-

teenth-century upgrading of the Belgrade fortress. Whatever precautions the Hungarians may have taken in maintaining this strategically crucial outpost, these were proven inadequate in 1521, during the next Ottoman siege of Belgrade laid by Süleyman the Magnificent. Despite a month of successful resistance, Belgrade was ultimately captured, and the gates for the Ottoman penetration into central Europe were flung wide open. Within weeks, the Ottoman army repaired damages made to the fortress during the siege. It is notable that the Ottomans, having taken Belgrade, envisioned it as a potentially important center, but at this point in their history they no longer considered it a frontier city. After centuries of having figured as an important border fortress of the Byzantines, the Hungarians, and the Serbs, Belgrade ceased to fulfill that function. The project for strengthening the fortifications of the lower town with another, outer wall, apparently conceived by Süleyman himself, was soon after abandoned when the Ottomans became convinced that Belgrade no longer had the strategic role it had long held.

Despite its loss of military significance, Belgrade rose as a major commercial and administrative center. The seat of the *Sanjak* of Smederevo was moved from Smederevo to Belgrade. Notwithstanding their reluctance to invest in new military architecture, the Ottomans poured money into other new buildings, changing the character of the city, much as they had done in Skopje, Serres, and elsewhere. The setting of the tone in these activities came from the sultan himself, who acted as his great conquering ancestors had done before him. A day after the capture of the city, he prayed in the former metropolitan cathedral of Belgrade, newly converted into an imperial mosque. He issued orders for the entire Christian population to be moved out of the fortified part of the city; the lower city was to become a Muslim settlement. Although other dignitaries followed the sultan's orders, an explosion of new construction did not occur until 1541, when, with the final conquest of Buda, Hungary was finally brought to heel, and attention could be turned to other matters. Within a few decades Belgrade became a major Ottoman city, boasting as many as sixteen mosques by 1560, as many as five kervansarays by 1575, major official buildings, and an extensive infrastructure that went with the building of such a settlement. Belgrade's residential quarters spilled out well beyond its original fortification walls. At least two *vakif* establishments associated with high-ranking individuals have been identified and discussed – that of Mehmed Pasha Jahjapashic (*circa* 1536–48) and that of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha (*circa* 1544–61).[11] Despite the fact that none of the buildings associated with these two *vakif* establishments, or any other buildings from this period, survives, enough written and visual information has been preserved to warrant a few comments.[12]

Pride of place among the Belgrade mosques was apparently reserved for another mosque associated with Sultan Süleyman, this one built in the upper town sometime after 1541. Its architect seems to have been Mimar Sinan, who, at an early stage of his career, was in the sultan's army during the conquest of Belgrade. Though evidently an outstanding building with an exceptionally tall minaret, it was a square, single-dome mosque, of a type that had become a dominant, if not an exclusive standard in most Ottoman towns in the Balkans. Several other early mosques commissioned by high-ranking Ottoman officials also belonged to this type, though they presumably differed by virtue of their size, quality of construction, and decoration. Outstanding among those was Bayram Bey's (Bajram Beg's) mosque, built *circa* 1557–60, of which several images, including a photograph made in 1865, have been preserved (fig. 874). The mosque measured 15 × 15 meters in plan. Its dome, apparently, rested on squinches and externally covered by triangular slanted roofs sloping away from the corners of the octagonal drum. The drum was relatively low and evidently had only *four* windows, on the diagonals. The building was built of stone, as was the case with most other buildings built by the Ottomans in Belgrade. In large measure this must have been due to the fact that quality stone could be easily quarried in Belgrade, but in part it may have had to do with the general preference for stone in Ottoman architecture during its so-called Classical Period. The most monumental structures built during the early period of Ottoman rule were constructed during the 1570s and, therefore, technically fall outside the scope of this book. We will only note the famous kervansaray of Mehmed Pasha Sokollu (Sokolovic), built in the years 1571–74, possibly incorporating a Christian church, or on the site previously occupied by a church; and the so-called

874 Belgrade, Bajram Beg Mosque; painting, c. 1865

Vizier's Saray, built by Hasan Pasha Sokollu, Mehmed Pasha Sokollu's son. The two buildings drew the attention of many visitors to Belgrade. Both were sizeable, well-built structures, whose remains survived well into the nineteenth century, when they were finally pulled down.

Architectural Developments

Architectural developments within the framework of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, as we have seen, depended heavily on the preexisting urban network in the region.[103] To be sure, many of the urban centers experienced new levels of economic prosperity and growth, while others declined dramatically. Occasionally, though rarely, the Ottomans established new settlements, as was the case with Gianitsa (Yenice-i Vardar) in Greece and Sarajevo (Sarayova) in Bosnia. Dependence on established settlements presented the Ottomans with many advantages, but also with certain challenges. Using established settlements had more to do with the desire to maintain order and to control the existing population than with the practicalities of reusing existing buildings and other urban amenities. With the exception of fortifications and churches, Ottomans rarely resorted to adapting older buildings. Inasmuch as their conception of urban life differed from that of the Byzantines, a substantial rebuilding of the existing urban environment appears often to have been a necessity. If one adds to this the damage done to cities taken by force, or the vexing issue of proprietary rights, it stands to reason that complete rebuilding was frequently resorted to as the most appropriate "urban renewal" alternative. Many cities, as was the case with Adrianople (Edirne) and Skopje (Üskub), changed their appearance so radically that practically no traces of their pre-Ottoman urban past remain. The reconstruction procedures were fairly conventional. Newly conquered Christian cities were claimed by the immediate conversion of one of the city's main churches, or by the construction of a new mosque, in accordance with the Islamic tradition that a place used by Muslims for prayer constituted Islamic territory.[104] Thus, a significant number of mosques were constructed in cities on any given territory shortly after its conquest. The construction of mosques invariably preceded other building types. While the building of mosques was usually the task for a conquering sultan or one of his military commanders, the task of building cities was in the hands of local administrators, individuals not uncommonly tied to a particular region by birth. By relying on the long-established *imaret* tradition of building for charitable and pious reasons, and establishing large endowment trusts with considerable wealth through the institution of *vakifs*, these individuals performed a vital role in the process of Islamizing and developing cities.[105] The state supported the building of roads that linked cities into a vast commercial network, while private individuals contributed by building bridges, *kervansarays*, and other facilities that supported the system of transportation and commerce. It is of some significance that the Ottomans apparently built fortifications only under duress. The construction of new fortresses was never high on the list of their priorities. Whenever possible, the appropriation of an older fortress and its upgrading were the preferred options.

As far as the practice of architecture is concerned, the Ottomans relied on architects whose predominant responsibility was designing; only occasionally did they supervise construction directly. The chief imperial architect and his "office" were always in the capital. Drawings are known to have existed and these were used for transmitting ideas into the distant provinces, where the task of executing a design would be passed on to local experts. These local architects could and most certainly did also function independently, but the infusion of ideas from outside was a common occurrence that could be occasioned by a variety of factors. The actual construction was entrusted to a team of individuals specializing in different trades. Not uncommonly, these had to be brought in from elsewhere. Differences in their approach to construction are often recognizable on larger projects, much like the handwriting of different individuals. Only places where a need for construction persisted over longer periods of time did the circumstances permit the establishment of local "workshops," as was certainly the case in Skopje. Such centers, then, in times of need, could supply skilled workmen for construction jobs elsewhere. In general, it appears that the system functioned not unlike what must have been the case in the Byzantine Empire. Our information concerning Ottoman building practice, however, though itself limited, is considerably more extensive.

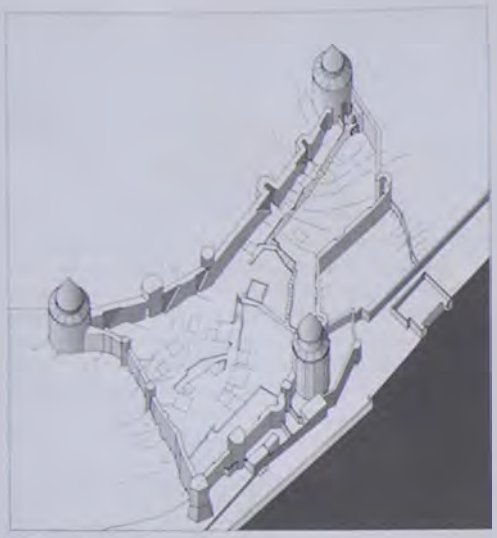
FORTRESSES

One of the surprising general aspects of Ottoman architectural production in the Balkans during the period in question is their relative lack of interest in military architecture. Considering their overall architectural output, the number of fortifications represents a remarkably small percentage of the total volume. This is unusual from several points of view. In the first place, the Ottomans conquered large territories relatively quickly. Controlling these territories was a considerable challenge, all the more so because for a long time Muslims constituted a minority population in these areas. Under such circumstances, one would expect the new rulers to have depended more heavily on fortified buildings, at least for their own safety. Despite such expectations, the facts do not support them. The Ottomans apparently invested in

new fortifications seldom and did so only under particularly demanding circumstances. On the basis of the surviving evidence we can generalize that they routinely depended on the surviving older fortifications. These they repaired and, occasionally, modernized so as to make them suitable for their own needs.

The greatest builder of fortifications among Ottoman sultans was Mehmed II. It should be stressed that practically all of his main fortress projects were built just before and immediately after the conquest of Constantinople. The best known among these is Rumeli Hisar (Bogazkesen), Turkey, on the west bank of the Bosphorus at the narrowest point of the channel (figs. 875 and 876).[1] Built in a remarkably short period of time – 12 April–31 August 1452 – the fortress was a major feat in several respects. It was designed as a pendant to the so-called Anadolu Hisar, a fortress built on the opposite, east bank of the Bosphorus by Bayezid I. Its construction was entrusted to three viziers who supervised a huge workforce consisting of 1,000 masons and 2,000 laborers. Strategically speaking, it was intended to check the water approaches to Constantinople. Measuring 250 meters in overall length by 125 meters in width, the irregularly shaped fortress was adapted to the natural topography of the terrain by straddling a valley at its midpoint. Two of its three main towers – the Zaganos Pasha and the Saruca Pasha – were built at the farthest and highest points of the enclosure. The third, Halil Pasha Tower, by contrast, was built at the lowest point at the very waterfront. The Saruca Pasha Tower, with its diameter of 28.6 meters and height of 32 meters, is the largest of the three. Internally it features seven levels, subdivided by wooden floors that still survive. Only the top level is covered by a masonry dome. The towers massive walls, 7.5 meters thick at the base, contain a spiral staircase and numerous small rooms of variable disposition at different levels. The other two towers, only slightly

875 Rumeli Hisar, fortress; aerial view



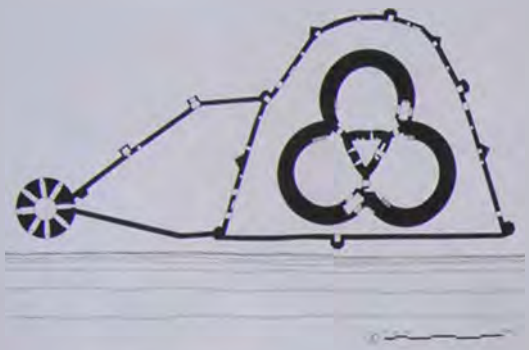
876 Rumeli Hisar, fortress: axonometric

smaller, also had slightly different internal layouts, but equally massive walls. All three towers originally had conical roofs that no longer survive. A low-walled barbican, originally outfitted with twenty cannon, guarded the main, waterfront entrance. Though cannon were known and used by the Ottoman military, the Rumeli Hisar gives little indication that the new firearms had any effect on its design. Many of the features of contemporary Italian fortification architecture appear not to have been known to the builders of this complex. It is only the great thickness of the tower walls that reveals any concern for the potential effects of the firearms. The use of Byzantine sculptural spoils in the walls of the complex, as well as the characteristic building technique, the use of recessed sawtooth friezes and decorative brickwork panels, gives indication that at least some, if not all of the builders may have been Byzantines employed by the new masters (fig. 877). This practice, though not specifically known in conjunction with the Rumeli Hisar, was recorded in reference to the Yedi Kule Kalesi, built by Mehmed II in Constantinople immediately after the conquest.[3]

877 Rumeli Hisar, fortress, Zaganos Pasha Tower: masonry detail

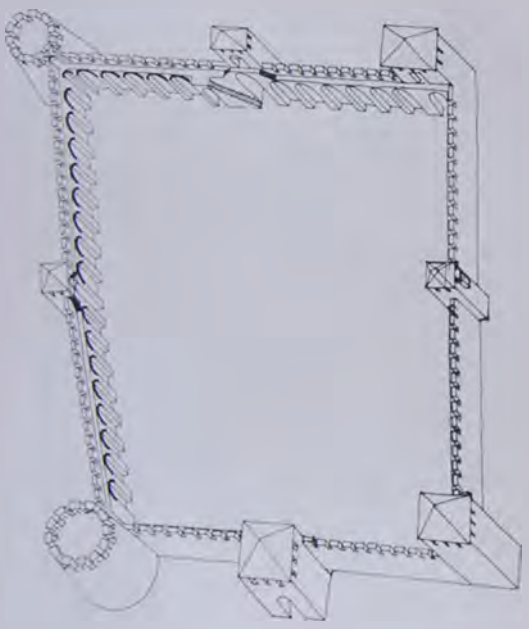
The construction of Rumeli Hisar was followed in 1461–62 by the construction of a pair of fortresses, this time intended to protect the entrance into the Sea of Marmara through the straits of Çanakkale (Dardanelles), Turkey.[4] Strategically, the basic concept echoed the arrangement on the Bosphorus, where a pair of fortresses – Rumeli Hisar and Anadolu Hisar – formed a tightly guarded water approach to Constantinople from the northeast. With the construction of the new pair of fortresses – Kilid-ül-Bahir on the European side and Kal'a-i Sultaniye (Çanakkale) on the Asian side – Mehmed II had rendered the sea approach to Constantinople from the southwest practically impossible (fig. 878). The two fortresses reveal a sophistication of design and construction that puts them into a class of their own, even in comparison with contemporary fortresses in the West. Compared with other fortifications from the time of Mehmed II, on the other hand, it is clear that they must have been the work of architects brought from elsewhere. A similar kind of fortification architecture, significantly, does not recur in the Ottoman world. The fortress of Kilid-ül-Bahir is the more sophisticated of the two. Its original scheme involved three main elements – the main, essentially triangular tall tower, a cloverleaf-like massive enclosure with three separate courtyards, and a polygonal outer enclosure strengthened by a system of alternating triangular and polygonal towers (fig. 879). The central tower is nearly 30 meters high. Its walls, 4 meters thick, are made of small stone blocks set in large quantities of mortar. Brick was used sparingly, around main doors and large windows and for an occasional decorative band or frame in the upper parts of the building. The inner "well" of the tower was subdivided into seven levels by wooden floors. The top floor was vaulted in brick. The walk at the top of the tower was protected by an externally rounded banquette clearly inspired by architectural solutions in the West that were taking the effect of firearms into consideration. The massive cloverleaf enclosure surrounding the central tower has walls that are 18 meters high and 7 meters thick. These are also topped by a walk protected externally by a rounded banquette. Two of the three courtyards have double

878 Kilid-ul-Bahir and Kal'a-i Sultaniye (Çanakkale), fortresses; 16th-century MS illumination (Museo Civico Correr, Venice)



879 Kilid-ül-Bahir, fortress, plan

880 Bashtovë, fortress, axonometric



gates through which one can enter, while the single gate of the tower opens from the courtyard and cannot be entered from the outside. The basic principle of "bent entrances" was obviously maintained, though within a highly modified design context. The outermost enclosure is a type of a barbican, though in this case it surrounds the entire main part of the fortress. The water-front part of the enclosure was originally equipped with positions for cannon. These no longer survive, but are clearly depicted in a seventeenth-century illumination (fig. 878). This battery of cannon must have been the backbone of this fortress's offensive function, as was also the case with the partially preserved barbican at Rumeli Hisar.

Mehmed II's interest in sophisticated military architecture was evidently not extensive and did not reach too far from his new capital. Caught up in fighting a protracted rebellion in Albania, for example, he resorted to a different kind of expedient. Requiring a base for his military operations in 1466, he ordered the refurbishing of the late antique *castrum* of Scampis, in present-day Elbasan, Albania (see fig. 35). The extant remains of this huge fortified enclosure with multiple projecting towers were restored using contempory architectural details and building technique. Needless to say, the result was a far cry from the current "state-of-the-art" fortification design that would have responded to the innovations in warfare technology. While a restoration project such as that at Elbasan may be viewed as sheer expedience related to the prevalent conditions in the region, the conservative nature of another fortress built *ex novo* requires a different explanation. This is Bashtovë, Albania, probably built in the years 1467–79 (fig. 880).[1] In this case, a highly conservative scheme can be explained only as a reflection of the remodeling that took place at Elbasan. The basic rectangular plan, measuring 60 × 90 meters, is strengthened by square and cylindrical corner towers. Connected by curtain walls lined internally with engaged arcades on piers supporting walkways on top and equipped with crenelations, the system recalls centuries-old schemes totally untouched by the new thinking related to firearms technology. Differences between Kilid-ül-Bahir and Bashtovë are helpful in understanding the degree to which Mehmed II lacked a comprehensive policy with regard to military architecture. The reconstruction of Elbasan and the construction of Bashtovë were clearly products of a regional emergency situation. Even at that, these fortresses were probably not viewed as long-term investments, but merely as creations necessitated by the momentary needs.

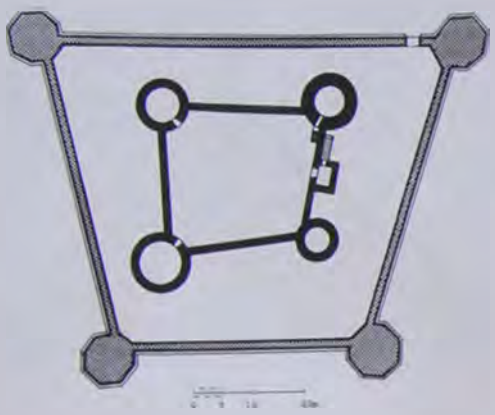
Equally important was the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman perception than their state borders were always "temporary," to be superseded by future territorial expansions. This must have affected their thinking regarding the meaning and usefulness of fortifications. Under such circumstances a natural border, such as the Danube, would also have been viewed as

requiring fortifications only on a limited basis. Examples that will be discussed illustrate this point in no uncertain terms. The case of the upgrading of the fortress of Smederevo, Serbia, by 1480 deserves attention from several points of view.[81] The large fortress built by the Serbs during the first half of the fifteenth century fell to the Ottomans in 1459. By 1480 the Ottomans had strengthened the fortress by the addition of a lower outer wall with four polygonal towers – three at each of the main corners of the fortress enclosure and the fourth guarding its main entrance on the south side. The three surviving corner towers show similarities in design, but are completely different in terms of their construction, suggesting that each was built by a different team of builders, all brought together in haste (fig. 881). The towers are much lower than the original fortress towers. Polygonal in plan, they feature massive battered walls accommodating positions for cannon. The upgrading of the fortress of Smederevo was a response to the growing threat of the Hungarians, across the river. By 1488, according to an Ottoman *defter* for Smederevo, there were 1,690 soldiers stationed in the fortress. As the Ottoman military fortunes improved, the number of troops at Smederevo declined sharply. By 1528, two years after the decisive battle at Mohács, the number of Ottoman soldiers in the fortress stood at only 419. Within a few decades of its hasty upgrading, Smederevo had lost its strategic importance for the Ottomans. The same can be said even of the fortresses newly built by the Ottomans on the Danube. Thus, the fortress of Ram, Serbia, for example, constructed in its entirety in 1483, appears to have shared the ultimate fate of the Smederevo fortress (fig. 882).[82] The fortress of Ram is a relatively small, rectangular enclosure, measuring roughly 50 × 30 meters. Situated on a cliff overlooking the Danube, it commands a good view of the surrounding territory. Its five towers differ as to their form, but are conceptually related. Built in a manner reminiscent of older medieval fortifications, Ram was designed for the use of firearms. Its walls, on average 3 meters thick, accommodate multiple cannon positions. Again, one is confronted with a work by conservative builders trained to build old-fashioned types of fortresses, but advised as to how to accommodate the new weaponry. The fortress of Ram was probably built for a contingent of 100–150 soldiers and possibly more; by 1536 that number stood at only 59, reflecting the fact that by then the borders of the empire had moved much farther to the north, rendering its location strategically irrelevant.

In Bosnia, where dozens of medieval fortifications survived and where the terrain itself naturally aided defense prospects, the Ottomans showed no inclination toward the construction of new fortresses, keeping the borders toward the Habsburgs and the Venetians relatively loosely defined. Occasionally, they undertook to improve the existing situation through repairs or, at the most, additions to or modifications of existing fortifica-

881 Smederevo, fortress, SE. corner tower; general view

882 Ram, fortress; plan



883 Buzim, fortress: plan

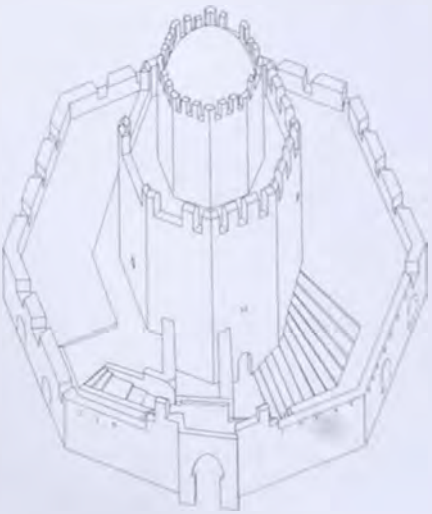
tions. One of the most instructive examples in the latter category is the fortress of Buzim (near Bihać), Bosnia and Herzegovina (fig. 883).[11] A relatively small earlier medieval fort with four cylindrical towers, it was strengthened in the early 1490s by the addition of another, more-or-less concentric enclosure with four polygonal towers. The outer enclosure is considerably lower and appears to be designed with the use of cannon in mind. The system of fortress reinforcement recalls the intervention at Smederevo, where much lower polygonal towers with battered walls were added around the late medieval fortress built a decade or so earlier. The new enclosure at Buzim measures roughly 70 meters (longest side) by 50 meters and covers an area of only 0.3 hectares. It is the height of the enclosure walls and the polygonal shape of the towers that point to the late fifteenth-century Ottoman input. In addition to Smederevo, similar towers and walls intended as outer defenses to resist firearms have been noted in the Ottoman intervention at Golubac, Serbia, and at several fortresses in Albania.[12] Thick, low, slightly battered walls and polygonal towers appear to have been the only improvements in military architecture known to the Ottoman builders in respose to the new firearms technology.

Nowhere is the Ottoman ambivalence about fortification architecture clearer than in the Morea (Peloponnēsos), where by *circa* 1500 they were able to dislodge the Venetians from several of their strategic strongholds. The Ottomans, in control of the Morea since 1460, were seriously threatened by the Venetian presence in the major seaports and strategic locations - Lefkada, Zakinthos, Methōnē, Koronē, Nauplion, and Argos. The Ottoman conquest of Argos in 1463 marked the beginning of the first war with Venice, and the first of their important takeovers of Venetian strongholds. Unlike the Venetians, who had invested in a major way in building new fortifications, the Ottomans were generally satisfied with relatively minor interventions combined with simple maintenance of the captured fortifications.[13] Following the outbreak of the second war between the Ottomans and Venice in 1499, Sultan Bayezid II ordered the construction of a pair of forts at the western end of the Gulf of Corinth with the aim of controlling the passage of enemy ships into the gulf. The idea was based on Mehmed II's concept of checking the passage into the Sea of Marmara at the straits of the Dardanelles. The two forts – Rio and Andirio, Greece – built in 1499 and 1500, respectively, were even referred to as Küçük Çanakkale ("Small Dardanelles") in the Ottoman sources.[14] The fort of Andirio was destroyed and rebuilt several times during its tumultuous history, while the fort of Rio, on the south side of the gulf, has preserved parts of its original Ottoman construction. Triangular in plan, the fort enclosed an area of just over 1 hectare. A twin-tower bastion occupied the northern end of the triangular enclosure, pointing to the north and toward the sea. The manner of construction of these towers with their rounded battlements, as well as of another two towers flanking the gate in the south wall, reveals further links with the Kilid-ül-Bahir. Neither the planning scheme nor the size, nor for that matter the architectural details of the fort at Rio, reveal any substantive changes in the general Ottoman approach to fortress construction.

Interventions that took place after 1500 at Methōnē (Modon), Greece, offer further insights in this respect (figs. 884 and 885).[15] Methōnē, at the southwesternmost tip of the Mesinnian peninsula, was the largest fortress built by the Venetians in the Morea, with the aim of guarding its commercial routes to the East. The Venetians were apparently in the midst of constructing a strategically important and massive, low octagonal tower on a rocky outcrop in the sea just off the shoreline when they lost Methōnē to the Ottomans in 1500. Faced with neatly cut ashlars, the 4.25-meter-thick walls rose to a height of 12.5 meters, terminating in battlements. The completion of this tower was evidently interrupted in 1500, the entire concept undergoing an alteration by the Ottomans after this date. They enclosed the tower by an octagonal wall, 3 meters thick, rising to a height of 6 meters with its own battlements. The wall contained thirteen gun positions, subsequently blocked up during a later Venetian remodeling. Such gun positions in lower outer fortification walls, one should recall, existed in other Ottoman fortifications from the time of Mehmed II. The outer wall, in contrast to the lower part of the main tower, was built of rough stone rubble with large quantities of mortar. The same building technique was used for the construction of the upper part of the tower that rose to a total

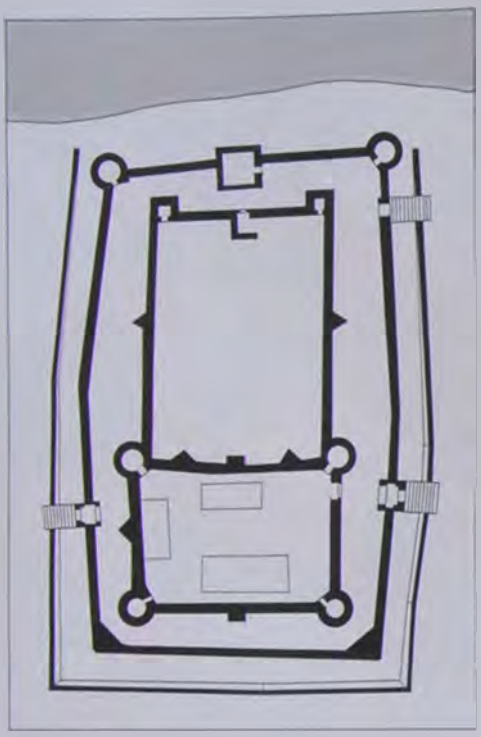
884 Methone. "Castello da Mare": general view

885 Methone. "Castello da Mare", axonometric

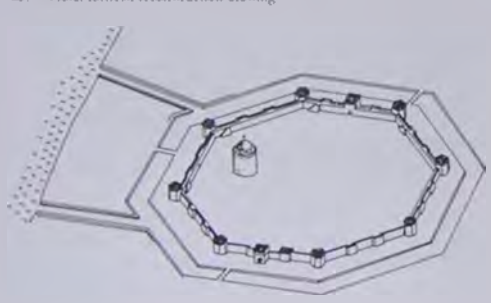


height of 23 meters. The walls of this part of the tower are only 1.5 meters thick, the difference in the thickness, in contrast to its lower part, accommodating a battlement walk. The newly added walls support a brick dome, the crowning feature of the tower. This, along with the use of pointed brick arches in conjunction with the window openings in the upper part of the tower, point unmistakably to Ottoman construction.

General Ottoman attitudes toward military architecture, as it evolved already during the reign of Mehmed II, did not change significantly even as their empire reached its apogee under Suleyman the Magnificent. On the basis of the evidence preserved in the Balkans, it is clear that Suleyman I also built fortifications only where and when local circumstances warranted such a move. The notion of fortifying the "border" remained as unpopular a strategic concept as it had been during Mehmed II's reign. Wherever possible, existing fortifications were used, occasionally modernized and maintained in direct response to particular needs. Though Süleyman I conquered Belgrade in 1521, a year after his accession to the throne, moving aggressively into Hungarian territory, he did sponsor the construction of what may be thought of as a "token" strategic fort on the southern



886 Fetislam, fortress; plan



887 Vlore, fortress; reconstruction drawing

bank of the Danube near the modern town of Kladovo, Serbia. The fort, known as Fetislam, derives its name from the Turkish Feth-ul Islâm, meaning "Gate of Islam."[118] Located near an ancient fort and the site of the famous bridge built by Apollodorus of Damascus, and possibly on the site of the destroyed medieval fortress of Novigrad, Fetislam was built in 1524. Relatively small in size, the rectangular fortress measures 60 × 90 meters, covering an area of just over 0.5 hectares (fig. 886). It actually consisted of two sections – a smaller, upper rectangular enclosure measuring 27 × 35 meters, with four round corner towers connected by curtain walls with strategically spaced rectangular and triangular buttressing in between, and a larger, lower, also rectangular enclosure stretching toward the Danube. The lower enclosure had two square towers at the corners of its northeast enclosure wall. At the midpoint between the two towers was a bent entrance leading into the lower enclosure. The lateral curtain walls also feature triangular wall buttresses roughly at their midpoints. The southwest side of the lower enclosure was abutted directly against the heavily fortified northeast wall of the upper enclosure. The fort is enclosed by a secondary wall fortified by two cylindrical towers along the Danube façade, with an additional large square tower at the midpoint between the other two. Finally, the entire complex was surrounded by a moat on three sides, while the fourth side facing the Danube had none. Despite having been designed with firearms in mind, the overall character of this fortress is distinctly conservative. In terms of many of its features and design characteristics it recalls Yedikule in Constantinople, built in 1454 by Mehmed II. Fetislam, of modest size and conservative appearance, demonstrates Süleyman I's apparent misgivings about the benefits of investing in military architecture.

At the opposite end of the Balkans, at Vlore (Valona), Albania, Süleyman I built a very different kind of a fortress, also apparently necessitated by a specific momentary need (fig. 897). Related to an agreement reached with Francis I of France for a two-pronged attack against the forces of Charles V in Italy, Süleyman amassed his forces in Valona in 1537, using it as a base for his operations.[119] His arrival in Valona may have occasioned the construction of a large fortress, the evidence for which is preserved only in a number of old drawings.[120] The fortress consisted of a massive tower, 20 meters in diameter and seven stories high, covered by a dome. This huge tower stood within a very large octagonal enclosure, with an interior space measuring 205 meters across. Eight hexagonal corner towers, sixteen rectangular tower-like wall buttresses, and two square gate towers strengthened the enclosure wall. The complex was surrounded by a moat filled with water through two channels that linked it to the nearby sea. The enormous space of the enclosure, measuring 3.5 hectares, was clearly intended for the accommodation

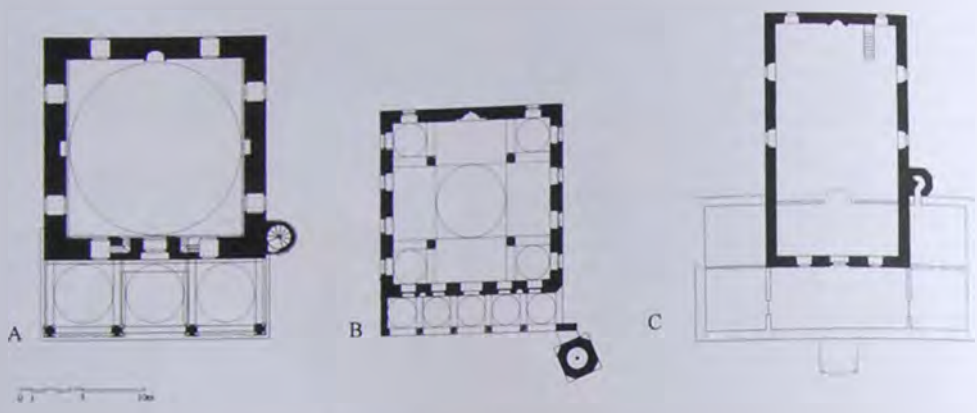
of troops. Conceptually related to the arrangement surrounding the White Tower in Thessaloniki, this was a much larger complex, whose interior was subsequently filled with a small settlement. The fortress of Vlore, as was the case with so many of the Ottoman fortification enterprises, quickly outlived its original function and was apparently converted to other uses. Its remains were completely razed in 1906.

The number of fortresses built by Suleyman the Magnificent in the Balkans, as was the case with Mehmed II, was remarkably small. Even in cities of considerable strategic importance, as in the case of Thessaloniki, the extent and nature of fortification construction under his auspices were decidedly restrained. Ottoman sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries clearly considered attacks on their adversaries and territorial expansion a far more effective means of guaranteeing internal security than the building of fortresses. In conjunction with this one should note that the construction of new arsenals for the building of ships for the Ottoman naval forces was on the rise during the period, as was the incredible volume and speed of shipbuilding. Flexible borders and expandable frontiers appear to have been at the root of Ottoman policies and clearly affected, among other things, their attitude toward military architecture.

MOSQUES

The rebuilding of Constantinople, as we have seen, resulted in the construction of a very large number of mosques. The imperial mosques constituted a special category, whose size and quality easily set them apart from other mosques. The imperial mosques in the capital formed a class of their own with a symbolic role of enormous significance. Within the shadows of these grand imperial creations arose scores of other, neighborhood mosques whose characteristics varied vastly. All in all, the capital city, as in Byzantine times, continued to produce innovative

888 Prizren, Fatih Mosque; general view



889 Mosque types: (a) Priština, Fatih Mosque; (b) Athens, Fethiye Mosque; (c) Prilep, Çarı Mosque; plans

ideas, alongside traditional and even outright conservative solutions. Because of the great demand, the architecture in the capital, as was also the case in the Byzantine past, depended not only on architects currently active in the city, but also on people of talent attracted there from the provinces. Thus, ideas, concepts, and construction techniques developed in places such as Bursa and Edirne found their way to Constantinople, from where they may have fanned out into the provinces. The building of mosques was one of the most prolific and geographically most widespread architectural activities of the Ottomans. Our task here cannot be to record all mosques built in the various cities and towns in the Balkans in the years *circa* 1450–1550. Some of the important mosques, of course, have already been taken into consideration in our discussion of several important urban centers. What follows is a selection of some of the more distinguished examples in other centers that illustrate various aspects of this category of architecture. One particular phenomenon stands out in this context. All but two of the mosques that will be discussed belong to the type that has already been defined as the "square single-domed mosque." The selection offered here was not deliberately distorted, but reflects a very significant reality in the realm of architectural production. Clearly, it seems to have been determined that this mosque type best suited the needs of patrons and local populations everywhere. Its simple design without exception provided a stamp of monumentality, while its forms invariably differed from those of the existing Christian churches, thereby giving the Muslim community a cherished sense of identity, visibility, and social superiority. Needless to say, it was this very factor that fueled the retaliatory destructive backlash in later times. That subject will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

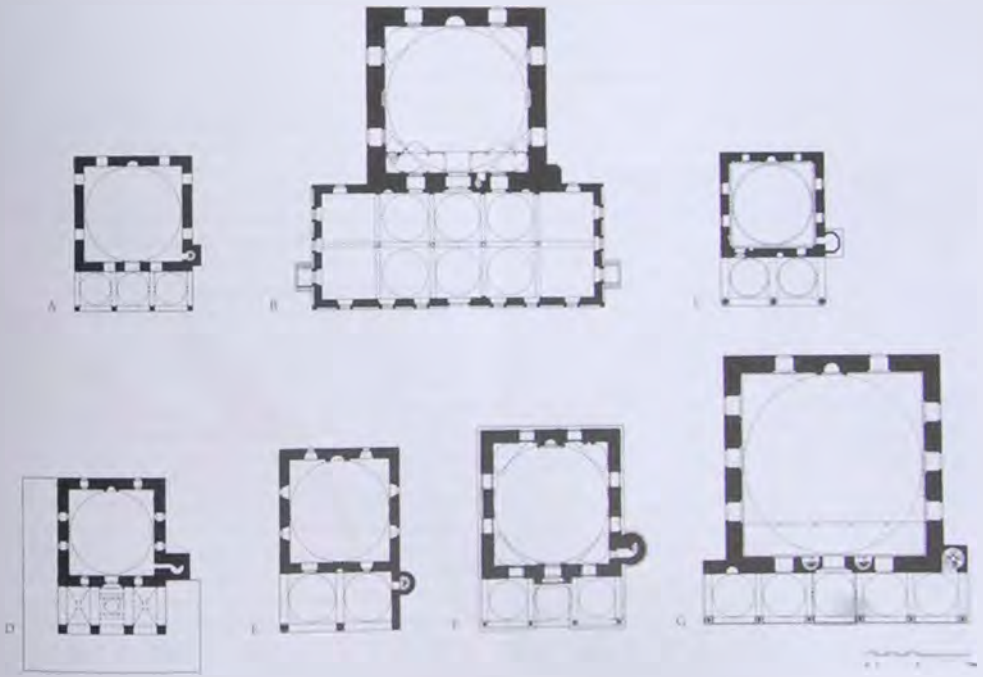
One of the oldest and finest of the mosques in this group is the Fatih Mosque in Priština, region of Kosovo. Built in 1461, it was commissioned by Sultan Mehmed II, after whom it is named the Fatih ("Conqueror") (figs. 888 and 889a).[39] The mosque features what was to become the standard square plan, with interior dimensions of 14.14 × 14.14 meters. Approximately 3.3 meters from the floor, four large stone brackets serve as the springing points of four massive pointed arches that rise to a height of 12.5 meters to support the dome. Four large pendentives fill the space between the arches and make for a smooth transition to the circular base of the dome. Its hemispherical shell springs directly from this base, rising to 19.5 meters from the floor to its apex. The twelve windows in the dome cut the shell at its base, following the model of early Byzantine architecture. The Byzantine model appears to be followed also on the exterior, where the twelve-sided drum in reality is a "pseudo-drum" that envelops the base of the dome shell. Each of the twelve corners of this "pseudo-drum" is marked by a pilaster-like projection that further recalls some of the early Byzantine solutions. The mosque is approached through a monumental portico, as wide as the mosque itself and 6 meters deep, covered by three blind domes carried on arches and pendentives. The front side of the portico consists of four elegant, 6-meter-high octagonal columns. A very slender minaret stands at the northwest corner. Though bonded with the building, it is entered from outside the mosque. The minaret and the exterior of the mosque are faced with finely cut sandstone ashlars. The interior reveals bricks as the facing material of its walls. All

of these surfaces were subsequently plastered and painted with characteristic floral patterns. Information about the architect or builders is lacking, but it seems almost certain that all were outsiders, brought to Priština to build this mosque shortly after 1455, when the Ottomans took control of this region.

The Fethiye Mosque in Athens, built sometime after the Ottoman conquest in 1456, is one of the oldest and best-preserved mosques in the city.[10] Situated in the area of the Roman Agora, long since destroyed by that time but still marking the heart of the city, the mosque was erected only 50 meters from two medieval churches, those of the Taxiarchai and of Profetēs Ēlias, and approximately equidistant from the Tower of the Winds to its east. Both of the churches were destroyed to make way for the archaeological exploration of the Roman Agora in modern times, but the Fethiye Mosque survived this campaign. The mosque features one of the more unusual plan types (fig. 889B). Measuring 15.5 × 15.5 meters in plan, it appears to have borrowed the cross-in-square scheme from Byzantine church architecture. Its 6-meter-wide main dome is supported on four freestanding columns. Low in profile and windowless, the main dome is symmetrically abutted by four semi-domes, while the corner square compartments are covered by four small blind domes, 2.75 meters in diameter. Preceded by a five-bay portico, covered by five saucer domes, the mosque originally had a freestanding minaret near its southwest corner that has been destroyed to its foundations. In an urban center where column shafts were readily available, the builder of this mosque apparently chose to take advantage of this fact and thereby to reduce the span of the vaulting elements, above all that of the central dome. The result was a spatial affect that must have recalled Middle Byzantine church architecture. Possibly for that reason, this scheme was used extremely rarely.

The Çarşı Mosque in Prilep, FYROM, like the two preceeding mosques, belongs to the early period of Ottoman rule, having

890 Square single-domed mosques: (A) Arta; (B) Bitola; (C) Niš; (D) Konya; (E) Novi Pazar; (F) Foča; (G) Trikala, plans



891 Arta, Faik Pasha Mosque: general view

been built in 1476–77.[11] Unlike the mosque in Priština, however, it was built under the auspices of a local man, one Haçi Hüseyin, son of Abdullah, a recent convert to Islam. Its modest appearance betrays the relatively limited means of its patron. The original mosque was a simple hall, measuring 9.5 × 18 meters, covered by a hipped wooden roof with a flat ceiling (fig. 889c). The mosque has a well-preserved, tall brick minaret, featuring two balconies supported by elaborate stalactite corbels. Its general character is related to the tradition of Bursa. The exterior faces of the mosque are executed in a fine cloisonné technique that may also be related to the architecture of Bursa.

The three examples of mosques built within two decades of each other in different parts of the Balkans conquered by the Ottomans in the 1450s illustrate the different approaches to mosque design that were characteristic during the early period of Ottoman construction. For a variety of reasons, the first – the square, single-domed type – became the most popular, and would be predominantly built throughout the Balkans in the following centuries. We can surmise that the unobstructed interior space under a single dome had a particular appeal on account of its simple, monumental spatial character. Likewise the monumental character of these buildings, dominated by a single large dome, must have given them a symbolic weight that was especially desired. Although it can be argued that this type may be ultimately derived from Byzantine architecture, the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople being its great model, such an association would have had special meaning, given the immediate conversion in 1453 of the Byzantine cathedral into the imperial mosque par excellence, whose emulation was highly encouraged and desired. By the same token, a general association with Byzantine church architecture not only had less appeal, but also must have been viewed as undesirable in a society in which the Christian religious presence was viewed as a persistent threat. It is conceivable that mosques, such as the Fethiye Mosque in Athens, may have been viewed as resembling the more familiar and widespread Byzantine church type, which could account for its lack of popular appeal among Islamic patrons. Finally, the wooden-roofed mosques, as the basilica type of old, enjoyed a limited degree of popularity throughout the Ottoman era, though this could never be compared with the degree of popularity achieved by the square, single-domed mosque type.

The building of the Faik Pasha Mosque in Arta, Greece, in 1491 illustrates the geographic extent of the building activities of the conquering elite generated within decades of major Ottoman expansion into the Balkans under Mehmed II (figs. 890a and 74). The best-preserved component of a *külliye* built in the low-lying area on the outskirts of the town by one Faik Pasha, the mosque is in a ruinous condition, surrounded by a jungle-like forest that has claimed this area since the complex was abandoned in 1881.[12] The mosque has since lost its lofty portico, still visible in old photographs. It is a square, single-domed mosque of a standard type, with a tall, now truncated minaret at the northwest corner. The mosque measures 11.5 × 11.7 meters externally, while its dome has a clear span of 9.55 meters. The walls of the mosque were built of courses of sandstone ashlars framed by double bricks in the manner of Byzantine cloisonné technique. Its arches and dome, also consistent with Byzantine practice, were built entirely of brick. The Faik Pasha Mosque has preserved yet another important technical detail that suggests its strong ties to the Late Byzantine building tradition. Its walls were evidently all plastered, scored, and painted in emulation of the *opus* that was actually employed in the building itself. Thus, the Byzantine method of long standing that we have noted repeatedly throughout this book was embraced by the Ottomans and continued in their building practice, along with other Byzantine structural and constructional principles.

The Ilyas Bey Mosque, also known as Mirahor, in Korça, Albania, belongs to the square, single-domed mosque type (figs. 890b and 892). It was built by Ilyas Bey, a local strongman, born in the vicinity of Korça. Korça was a new town, the center of which was dominated by Ilyas Bey's grand foundation (*külliye*) that included, in addition to the mosque, also a *medrese*, an *imaret*, a dervish convent, and a bath.[13] Conceptually related to grand *külliyes* known from the capital, the Ilyas Bey complex left the famous local son's indelible mark on his town. Built in 1495, his mosque is one of the more impressive early examples of the type. Its starkly cubical overall form is modified by the gently sloping triangular roofs at the four corners of the building. These accentuate the location of interior pendentives that support the main dome. The dome has a low eight-sided drum, each face of

which is perforated by a small circular window. A porch, whose three saucer domes are supported by an arcade on four massive piers, precedes the mosque. A new town, such as Korça, without an older urban tradition, would not have had ready access to column spoils. The use of piers for the porch arcade is a clear reflection of this reality. The building technique – a fine cloisonné – is related to the Bursa tradition that, as we have seen, had found its way into the Balkans already several decades earlier.

The Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey Mosque at Giannitsa (Ottoman Yenice-i Vardar), Greece, was damaged during the Balkan wars and practically completely destroyed after 1923.[10] Built *circa* 1495, this was a variant of the single-domed mosque type: in fact, it could be said to combine the schemes of single-domed and double-domed mosques. As in typical single-domed mosques, its main prayer space was surmounted by a large dome supported by four massive wall arches. An oblong space surmounted by a smaller dome flanked by two lateral semi-domes preceded the main prayer space, forming an extension, reminiscent of the so-called cross-axial iwan mosques. Fronting the oblong space was a standard open portico, in this case consisting of five saucer-domed bays carried on an open arcade with six freestanding columns.

The Isak Çelebi Mosque in Bitola, FYROM, is one of the largest, finest, and best-preserved mosques in this group.[11] Commissioned by one Isac Çelebi, a judge from Thessaloniki, the mosque, according to an inscription above its main portal, was built in 1506. Measuring 18 × 18 meters in plan, the mosque is covered by a dome, with an interior diameter of 14.5 meters and rising to an interior height of 25 meters (fig. 890B). The mosque was built in cloisonné technique. Its minaret, 45 meters high, is fully preserved, though its upper part, made of stone, appears to be the result of a later reconstruction. The lower part is made entirely of brick. The great height of the dome is the result of the vertical attenuation of the main space achieved by the elevation of the supporting system of squinches some 5 meters above the level where the conventional system of arches and pendentives may have occurred. Externally, this is expressed in the form of an additional base upon which the dome with its drum rests. The arrangement in many respects recalls that seen at Ilyas Bey Mosque at Korça, though the Isac Çelebi Mosque is a considerably larger building.

The Beli Reis Mosque in the fortress of Niš, Serbia, is a very small version of the square, single-domed mosque type (fig. 891C).[12] First mentioned in the sources in 1523, the mosque could not have been built before 1516. Constructed over the remains of an older building, it was built for use by a relatively small congregation. Measuring only 8.52 × 8.60 meters in plan, its prayer hall was covered by a dome supported on four pointed wall arches and four intervening pendentives. Its dome is hemispherical and rises directly from the top of the pendentives and has no windows. Its low, false drum is crowned by a sawtooth frieze of bricks. This, along with the fine cloisonné technique, recalls the earliest Ottoman buildings in the Balkans and illustrates the survival of building practices whose ultimate source may have been Bursa, where the Byzantine building tradition was first extensively appropriated by the Ottomans. The mosque is also distinguished by a two-bay portico covered by small domes on arches supported by columns.

While most of the mosques discussed above show remarkable similarities not only in overall design, but also in building technique, occasionally the manner of construction reveals the presence of building teams that clearly came from regions beyond the frontiers of the Balkans. Such is the case with the small, unusual Tatar Sinan-Bey Mosque in Kumanovo, FYROM. Presumably built *circa* 1520–30, the mosque belongs to the square, single-domed variety. While its disposition shows a general adherence to the characteristics of the type, its execution betrays the work of foreign masons (fig. 893). The mosque is externally faced exclusively with large, carefully cut ashlars of different colors that create an impressive polychromatic effect. With good reason, the building technique and detailing on this mosque have been compared to the construction of the church of St. George at Mlado Nagoričino, not far from Kumanovo (see fig.

891 Korça, Ilias Bey Mosque, general view

893 Kumanovo. Tatar Sinan-Bey Mosque; general view

894 Kavala, Ibrahim Pasha Mosque: general view

911). The church of St. George is also insecurely dated, so that a closer examination of the two monuments – a task not yet undertaken – could produce invaluable information on several different levels. Among these is also the possibility that the builders of these two structures were connected with an Armenian community that had settled in the region during the later Middle Ages.[124]

The mosque of Ibrahim Pasha in Kavala, Greece, was part of a large *külliye* established *circa* 1528–36 by Ibrahim Pasha, a grand vizier of Süleyman the Magnificent (fig. 894). The establishment included also a kervansaray, a bath, a school, and an *imaret*, none of which survives. The mosque is the only building that remains, converted into the church of Hagios Nikolaos. The building is a medium-sized mosque of the square, single-domed type. Built of rough fieldstone with a random admixture of brick, it was undoubtedly plastered externally and possibly painted in emulation of a finer building *opus*. The cubical build-

ing mass that visually supports the twelve-sided dome on its drum is itself accentuated by four miniature pseudo-domes located at the four corners. It is unclear whether these were part of the original construction or whether they were added at a later time. Miniature pseudo-domes began to appear in Ottoman architecture in the work of Sinan during the 1540s, hence it is very likely that these may have been introduced later, as an afterthought.

The Altun-Alem Mosque in Novi Pazar, Serbia, was in all likelihood built in the early 1540s.[10] Though the founder's inscription is not preserved, the legal document establishing a *vakif* that also included the mosque survives. The founder, Muslihudin Abdul Gani, is also known as a builder of mosques, baths, and other buildings in Skopje and elsewhere. The Altun-Alem Mosque was built at the end of the market area (*carsi*), at the junction of the main road that connected Novi Pazar with Skopje. A relatively small building, measuring 12 × 18 meters in plan, the mosque belongs to the square, single-domed type (fig. 890E). Its dome, 10 meters in diameter and only 13 meters high to its apex, covers the relatively low main space and rests on four large pointed arches built integrally with the exterior walls. The four arches are connected by four pendentives to form a base upon which the hemispherical dome shell rests directly. Three small windows are cut through the dome shell and through a very low octagonal pseudo-drum visible on the exterior. The dome is an all-brick construction, laid in concentric circles, while the building's rising walls were built less carefully of fieldstone with an irregular admixture of brick. The exterior surface was plastered and painted in imitation of regular cloisonné technique, which has recently been restored.

One of the finest square, single-domed mosques, the Aladža Mosque in Foča, Bosnia and Herzegovina, unfortunately, is no more (fig. 945). It was destroyed by Serbian nationalists in the early 1990s during the tragic civil war that raged in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mosque was distinguished in several different ways and above all by the degree of preservation of its interior, which included rich marble carving and painted wall decoration.[11] A carved donor inscription once preserved above the portal identified one Hasan Balija Nazir, the son of Jusuf, as its patron, and the fact that the mosque was built in 1550–51. It is evident from other preserved documents that Hasan Nazir, as the chief caretaker of the sultan's properties in the Sanjak of Herzegovina, was also the builder in Foča of an *imaret* and a *turbe* for his prematurely deceased son. The mosque's measurements were 14.5 × 19 meters in plan (fig. 890F). Its dome had an interior diameter of 11.5 meters, while it rose to a height of 20 meters. In terms of its attenuated proportions, the Aladža Mosque was related to the Isak Çelebi Mosque in Bitola, in contrast to the relatively squat mosques such as the Beli Reis Mosque in Niš and the Altun-Alem Mosque in Novi Pazar. The relative height of the dome of the Aladža Mosque was the function of two factors, as was the case at the Beli Reis Mosque in Bitola. First, the system of eight arches related to the four corner squinches supporting the dome was placed at a considerable height, introducing another window zone in the interior. Second, the dome was elevated upon a real drum perforated with eight additional windows. The mosque was abutted, in the usual manner, by a finely proportioned minaret, 39 meters high. According to the famous seventeenth-century Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, the mosque was designed by Ramadan-Aga, the chief assistant of the aging architect Sinan. Equally interesting is that the construction involved a large number of masons from Dubrovnik. This is known from documents preserved in the Dubrovnik archives, but also from the fact that for the actual measurements of the building, a measuring unit used in Dubrovnik, known as a *lakat* (55 cm), was employed, rather than the Turkish *arsin* (75.8 cm). Finally, the mosque was constructed of small, carefully cut stone ashlars laid in regular horizontal courses, while no brick was employed, likewise reflecting the practices of Dalmatian builders, whose participation in hinterland projects was common throughout the medieval period.

The Osman Shah Bey Mosque in Trikala, Greece, built in the 1560s, or possibly somewhat earlier, is one of the largest mosques of its type in the Balkans.[12] Though it falls outside the chronological scope of this book, it is included here on account of its considerable intrinsic importance and its alleged links with the great architect Sinan. The town of Trikala was taken by Bayezid I as early as 1395, but remained substantially Christian even in the sixteenth century. The building of the Osman Shah Bey Mosque, in a prominent location within a large walled enclosure that also included the founder's mausoleum (*turbe*), was not only a reflection of the needs of the local Islamic population, but also a major symbol of their presence in a town where they were not in the majority. The mosque is based on the standard square plan measuring 20.5 × 21 meters, preceded by a portico, 25 meters long and 5 meters wide (fig. 890G). The portico was originally fronted by an arcade carried on six columns and was covered by five brick domes. This feature of the mosque no longer survives. The minaret, originally accessible from the right end of this portico, has been partially preserved, its top section destroyed after this part of Greece had gained its final independence from the Ottomans at the end of the First World War. The mosque is one of the largest examples of this type. Its dome has an interior clear span of 17 meters and rises to a height of 24 meters, putting it, scale-wise, into the category of imperial monuments. It rests on four giant arches and four pendentives built integrally with the exterior walls of the mosque. The four main structural arches, made of brick, are slightly pointed, in

keeping with then current standards. An interesting feature of the Osman Shah Bey Mosque is the four additional, round-headed brick relieving arches, built within the thickness of the mosque wall, slightly below the main structural arches. The idea is strongly reminiscent of the structural solution on the north and the south sides of the domed bay of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The presence of this feature could be viewed as an indicator that the builder of the mosque may have been intimately familiar with the Great Church. The attribution of the mosque to Sinan by one Mustafa Shai Çelebi, not universally accepted in scholarship, needs to be reexamined in view of this detail. It was Sinan, as we saw above in our discussion of Constantinopolitan architecture, who was not only intimately familiar with Hagia Sophia on account of its restoration that he supervised, but was also engaged in employing many of its technical and aesthetic details in his mosque projects through much of his long career.

While mosques, as was the case with Christian churches in earlier times, tended to be better built than most other buildings, the Ottomans did also invest in the careful construction of public buildings such as *hamams* (baths), *bedestans*, inns, *medresas*, *imarets*, etc. Needless to say, the size and the quality of construction, as well as decoration, depended heavily on the means of the patron. Imperial commissions in the main centers, especially in Constantinople, easily stood out above the rest, setting a standard that other high-ranking state officials – grand viziers, begs, pashas, etc. – were expected to emulate at home and abroad. For an empire whose functioning depended on security and sound economy, a smoothly functioning infrastructure was also a necessity. Hence, the building of roads, bridges, roadside inns, and various related facilities was a constant objective of the Ottoman state.

HAMAMS

The importance of *hamams* in the Ottoman urban culture has already been stressed. It should be noted, however, that they were built not only in the larger urban centers; they were also quintessential components of all settlements in the remotest areas of the Ottoman Empire. The number of surviving Ottoman baths in the Balkans is quite large. A number of important *hamams* were discussed in an earlier section of this chapter dealing with urban developments (Constantinople, Plovdiv, Thessaloniki, Skopje, and Sarajevo). It would be counterproductive to attempt to deal with other additional individual examples, hundreds of which survive. It should be noted, however, that in recent years this body of material has received recognition as an important part of the cultural heritage in different Balkan countries. In addition to studies related to individual *hamams*, a number of general ones have also appeared, making access to this material more fruitful.[111]

BEDESTANS

Ottoman city centers were organized around major functional nodal points. In all of them one of the main such points was the market area. The physical center of most market areas, on the other hand, was the *bedesten*, a large domed market hall, whose significance in the life of the major Ottoman cities in the Balkans (Constantinople, Plovdiv, Thessaloniki, Serres, and Sarajevo) was discussed earlier in this chapter. As in the case of *hamams*, the surviving Ottoman *bedestens* have attracted the attention of scholars. Though the subject has been approached in a broad fashion, most studies have focused on individual buildings, with occasional efforts to present the significance of one or another of these buildings within a somewhat broader framework.[112]

KERVANSARAYS, HANS

A related category of commercial buildings, often found in the commercial districts of Balkan towns, was the so-called *kervansarays* or *hans* (inns).[113] Built for the accommodation of traveling salesmen and merchants, these structures were organized around the needs of the travelers and their horses and carriages. A building type that emerged generally favored the organization of individual rooms around open courtyards, from which the rooms received light and air. Entered through well-protected gates, *kervansarays* generally presented a forbidding exterior appearance predicated on security considerations. Often two-storied, the individual rooms were entered from arcaded porticoes surrounding the central courtyard. A separate stable building, also accessible through a secondary gate, was usually located at the back of the main block.

AQUEDUCTS

Fresh water supply was a priority in all Ottoman cities. Often this entailed bringing water some distance from surrounding hills or mountains, requiring the construction of large aqueducts. At times, repairs to existing water-supply systems could be implemented, as was the case in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, while in other cities, as in the case of Skopje, an entirely new supply had to be constructed. The high point in the construction of waterworks, as well as many other urban amenities, was the age of Süleyman I and his grand master builder, Sinan. Sinan's office was in charge of an incredible array of undertakings, as impressive in volume as it was in geographic spread. While the personal input of Sinan himself in each of the proj-

895 Maglova. Aqueduct: general view

ects associated with his office will continue to be debated among scholars, there is no doubt that he had many capable young men working under his supervision and that detailed drawings were sent to distant locations, where the actual execution of a project was in the hands of local masters. Sinan's involvement in the upgrading of the water-supply system of Constantinople was major, and it took place from 1553 to 1556.[1] Though falling outside the chronological scope of this book, we will refer to these projects briefly. Outdated supply lines could no longer carry enough water for the bustling new metropolis that Constantinople had become, so Sinan was engaged to repair or build anew as many as six aqueducts. In learning about the construction of water-supply lines, he relied enormously on the accomplishments of the Byzantines, some of whose aqueducts continued to function in his day. From the Byzantines he also learned about methods of carrying the main pipeline across valleys and rivers. As visible parts of engineering enterprises that were far more extensive, those structures remain in modern perception "the aqueducts," though in reality they may have constituted only small segments of gargantuan projects. The most celebrated masterpiece of all of Sinan's projects in this line is his aqueduct-bridge construction at Maglova. Though initially built during the 1550s, the Maglova Aqueduct, 260 meters long and 36 meters high, had to be modified after catastrophic floods in 1563 (fig. 895). Based on the principles of classical Roman and Byzantine aqueduct construction, Sinan introduced also an interesting system of prismatic buttresses, whose effect is that of a "perforated dam" – they add resistance to water pressure, but allow large quantities of water through in times of violent flooding. They were built of solid stone, using rusticated ashlar blocks, a favorite Roman and Byzantine construction technique for utilitarian structures such as this. Far more conservative than the

896 Kavala, Aqueduct: general view

Maglova was Sinan's Uzun Kemer (Long Aqueduct) project. Covering an impressive distance of 710 meters and rising to a height of 26 meters, this was evidently a reconstruction of a Byzantine aqueduct. Consisting of massive piers supporting a two-storied arcade, the Uzun Kemer closely resembles the Valens Aqueduct, whose remains still stand in the city (see Chapter 2). Far more impressive is the graceful aqueduct at Kavala, Greece, which dominates the central part of the town, linking its prominent acropolis near the sea with the hilly hinterland from where the needed water was brought (fig. 896).[11] The date and the authorship of this aqueduct are still disputed, but regardless of the final outcome of this debate, the aqueduct of Kavala will remain one of the undisputed masterpieces of sixteenth-century Ottoman engineering.

BRIDGES

Bridges are closely related to the "visible" aqueducts just discussed, both functionally and formally. By the middle of the sixteenth century they too became an area of major Ottoman investment. Clearly related to their desire for improving transportation means, and thereby strengthening the economy, as well as the means of control, the Ottoman authorities began to build numerous bridges throughout the Balkans. This process continued in later centuries, though by the eighteenth century patronage of bridge construction had passed into the hands of local strongmen and, symbolically, signified the weakness of the central government, precisely the opposite of what had been the case at the height of the empire in the sixteenth century. The construction of bridges, as was the case with aqueducts, is also closely associated with Sinan and his office. Among his masterpieces is the famous Büyükçekmece Bridge, built in the years 1565–67, supposedly the only bridge on which an inscription with Sinan's name has actually been preserved.[12] It was built across a low-lying area, surrounding a river that at times could become dangerously powerful during flooding seasons. The situation, in other words, was similar to that faced by the builder of the Uzunköprü Bridge (See Chapter 8) commissioned by Murad II more than a century earlier. Sinan's solution, however, took a different approach. Instead of attempting to build a long

89. Mostar, Old Bridge: general view

sequence of equal arches carrying the road, he effectively built four "bridges" over the total length of 637 meters. Each of the "bridges" has a high midpoint, and is joined to the next "bridge" at a common "low point." In making such a choice, Sinan was clearly anticipating that in times of critical flooding the water could more easily surge across the low points between the "bridges," thereby reducing its potentially disastrous effect on the structure as a whole.

Among the numerous bridges built across the Balkans, two will be singled out, not only because of their intrinsic qualities, but also because of the attention that they have attracted over time. Both are associated with Sinan, though it is unlikely that he saw either of them in person. The possibility that drawings originating from his office were employed should not be dismissed, however. The first of the two bridges is the so-called Stari Most (Old Bridge) at Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina (fig. 897).[93] Its construction is associated with one Mimar Hayruddin, apparently an apprentice of Sinan. According to the preserved documentary evidence, the construction of the bridge was completed in 1566, at the orders of Süleyman I, who is also associated with the construction of two towers serving as checkpoints on the opposite banks of the River Neretva, which the bridge spans. The bridge was constructed at a point of a rocky narrowing of the riverbed, its foundations taking advantage of the natural bedrock. The bridge has a single arch with a span of 28.7 meters and rises to a height of 21 meters above the average water level. The arch span of over 28 meters was an impressive engineering achievement for its time. It is not without interest to put this into the context of Sinan's own development as a builder at the time. In 1557 Sinan had completed the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Constantinople, whose dome has a span of 26.5 meters. As we saw, Sinan's continuing efforts to match the size of the dome of Hagia Sophia in the construction of his greatest mosques reached its climax precisely during these years. By 1568–69 he had completed his largest mosque, the Selimiye in Edirne, whose dome's diameter is 31.28 meters. The span of the Mostar bridge of 28.7 meters, then, fits between the spans of the domes of Süleymaniye and Selimiye. Could Sinan have had the idea of such a structural experiment in his mind if, indeed, he was the designer of the Mostar bridge? Without

898 Višegrad. Bridge: general view

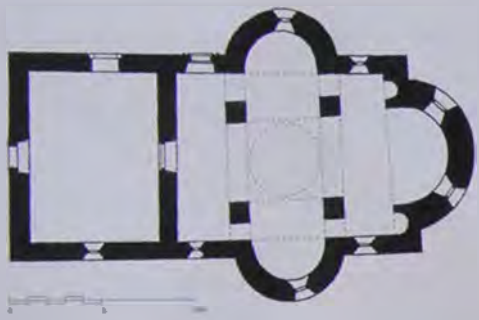
wishing to enter the realm of pure speculation, this hypothetical question is worth posing, even if a definitive answer may be impossible. The fact that large arched spans in the range of 30 meters were being used in Ottoman architecture in the 1550s is an important fact in itself. The Mostar bridge, in that respect, was a notable achievement. Adding to that its fine proportions, the high quality of construction, and its exquisite urban setting, it is clear that the praise received by the bridge in some scholarly accounts was well deserved. It should also be noted that its construction might have involved stonemasons from Dubrovnik, whose participation in the construction of the Aladža Mosque at Foča (built in 1550–51) has already been discussed. The destruction of the Mostar bridge in the course of the Bosnian war in 1993 drew worldwide attention and led to its internationally supported reconstruction, completed in 2004.[10]

The bridge over the River Drina at Višegrad, Bosnia and Herzegovina, is linked with the names of the famous grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Mimar Sinan. While the accuracy of the first of these claims is fully attested by two inscriptions on the bridge itself, the association with Mimar Sinan is more allusive. The impressive nature of the bridge, built between 1571 and 1577, however, lives up to the standards of the great architect.[11] The bridge, 180 meters long, consists of ten large pointed arches and one small one, resting on massive piers in the river (fig. 898). The bridge has endured various calamities throughout its history – among them total submersion in catastrophic flooding in 1896 and partial destruction during the First (1914) and Second (1943) World Wars. Repeatedly restored, more recently the bridge has been endangered by the creation of an artificial lake for a hydroelectric plant and by the volume of traffic that crosses it daily. As a work of architectural engineering, the bridge is one of the masterpieces of Ottoman bridge building, and may be compared to their finest bridge constructions in the vicinity of Constantinople.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE OTTOMANS

Contrary to what pioneering scholars in the field of Byzantine church architecture believed, the construction of churches under the Ottomans did not cease; in fact, in certain periods it was marked by a considerable volume of construction and by extraordinary quality. These are general conclusions that can be drawn from the extensive research conducted on the relevant monuments in recent years. It should be borne in mind that the subject continues to be fluid and controversial, with differences of opinion on basic issues such as what to call this architecture, let alone how to interpret it. One of the terms – "Post-Byzantine Architecture" – has gained considerable currency, but has also been questioned, with good reason. The subject is deserving of much greater attention, but thus far few serious studies have appeared that address the developments even within any of the individual Balkan countries, let alone on a Balkan scale.[1] This is not the occasion to undertake a broad critical assessment of this important topic. An attempt will be made, however, to present an outline of the most important trends and their characteristics, as well as some of the outstanding monuments built within the time span of *circa* 1450–1550. Before doing so, some general considerations will be highlighted, since they have considerable bearing on the subject as a whole. First, church architecture under the Ottomans did not have a steady line of development. Its fortunes oscillated considerably over time, from being utterly threatened, even destroyed, and marginalized through legal mechanisms, at one end of the spectrum, to being tolerated and legalized to such a degree that the buildings that were being built occasionally even exceeded in size and quality those that were built before the Ottoman conquest. Second, Ottoman policies toward church architecture, including expropriation, building restrictions, prohibitions against the use of bells, etc., were applied far more rigorously in urban areas than in the countryside, particularly in remote areas, where there was no Muslim population. Third, Orthodox Christians, as subjects of the Ottoman state, had no access to political decision-making processes unless they converted to Islam. The only political factor among Christians – albeit of a very limited scope – was the Orthodox Church, itself divided into national entities: Greek, Bulgarian, and Serbian. In extending and rescinding various privileges to different groups at different times, the Ottoman authorities found a convenient mechanism for manipulating the situation in the Balkans and maintaining general overall control to their best advantage. Given all of the above, the promotion and implementation of new church construction rested almost exclusively in the hands of the monastic community. The large churches that were built were essentially all monastic. Such churches could be, and were, built in non-urban areas, in places removed from the centers with large Muslim populations. The main ideological center of monastic activities through the centuries under Ottoman rule continued to be Mount Athos. Having negotiated its own status vis-à-vis the Ottoman state at an early stage, Mount Athos, generally speaking, enjoyed special broad privileges that did not apply elsewhere. Because of its "international" standing within the Orthodox community, on the other hand, Mount Athos was in a position to export its ideas, influence, and at times even financial support into all of the Balkans. In some sense, the importance of Mount Athos for the Balkans during Ottoman times could – in a qualified way – be compared to that of Constantinople in the past. Finally, it has to be stressed that the fifteenth century – the century of Ottoman conquest – saw relatively little construction after *circa* 1450. Things began to change visibly only after *circa* 1500, as the Ottoman Empire itself slowly reached the zenith of its stability and power. The sixteenth century, then, may be said – as paradoxical as this may sound – to be the "Golden Age" of Christian church construction and monumental painting under Ottoman rule. The geographic spread of this limited "flowering" of church construction also deserves a comment. The areas most directly affected during the first half of the sixteenth century appear to be the central areas of the Balkans – territories corresponding to modern Serbia, Bosnia, and mainland Greece. Surprisingly, neighboring territories – those corresponding to the modern states of Albania and Bulgaria – apparently did not experience similar developments until well into the second half of the sixteenth century and even into the seventeenth. While no quick answer to why this may have occurred is possible, the phenomenon deserves to be noted and further explored in the future. Chronologically and otherwise this reaches well beyond the scope of this book.

The role of Mount Athos in the development of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century church architecture, as noted in Chapter 8, manifested itself in the broad dissemination of churches with lateral apses along their northern and southern flanks. At home on Mount Athos since Middle Byzantine times, churches of this type were occasionally "exported." In the last quarter of the fourteenth century and during the first half of the fifteenth, as we have seen, the type became quite widespread. In the context of Serbian developments (the so-called Morava School) we were able to allude to the specific mechanisms that made such a phenomenon possible. The fate of Serbia as a state was sealed in 1459, with the Ottoman conquest of Smederevo, Serbia's last capital. Developments in Serbian culture and its architecture did not have the same abrupt ending, however. The remaining descendants of the last Serbian ruling dynasty, the Brankovics, along with numerous refugees, were able to cross the Danube and to settle on Hungarian territories. The Brankovics



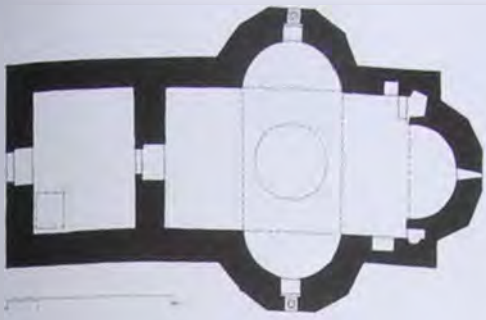
899 Slankamen, Church of St. Nicholas, plan

900 Lapušnja, Church of St. Nicholas: general view from SW

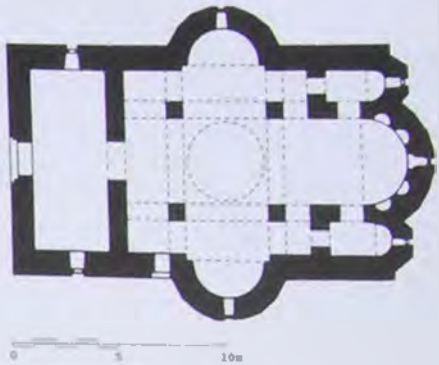
even enjoyed privileges extended to them by the Hungarian kings. Though their political role was essentially negligible, as the leaders of the Serbs on Hungarian territories they did play a significant cultural role. One these leaders, a man by the name of Vuk Grgurović (d. 1485), the grandson of Despot Djuradj Branković (d. 1456), may have been responsible for what was ostensibly the first large Serbian church built after the Ottoman conquest, Sv. Nikola (St. Nicholas) at Slankamen, Serbia.[1] Though technically outside the territory of the Balkan peninsula, the area, known as Srem, situated between the Sava and the Danube rivers and dominated by Mount Fruška Gora, is closely linked to the architectural developments discussed in this book and, therefore, must be introduced briefly. The church of Sv. Nikola has a triconch plan, measuring 10.4 meters (17.5 m including the lateral apses) by 26.8 meters (fig. 899). The church lacks precise historical documentation, but it was certainly completed before 1500. Closely related to the church of the Ascension at Ravanica Monastery, whose dimensions it practically repeats, it has been identified as a link with the architectural tradition associated with the last phase of Serbia's statehood. The comparison between these two buildings, however, stops at the level of the abstract scheme of their plans and dimensions. Nothing in the architecture of Sv. Nikola otherwise recalls the church at Ravanica. The comparison is relevant only insofar that we can surmise that an actual drawing of the plan of Ravanica may have been in the hands of the builders of the church at Slankamen, but that the actual construction of the new building was left entirely to the resources of its builders, who probably had never seen Ravanica.

The church at Slankamen, whose exact original function also remains unknown, may have set into motion a trend that eventually turned the region of Fruška Gora into what was to become known as the Serbian "Holy Mountain."[2] Two significant monastic churches, those of Krušedol and Rakovac monasteries, were built within a quarter of the century following the construction of Sv. Nikola at Slankamen. The church of Krušedol Monastery, built in the years 1509–14, is of similar size to the church at Slankamen, but it differs from it in some aspects of its plan and in the higher quality of construction.[3] The main changes in plan involve a large, fully segregated narthex and an enormous main apse, as wide as the church building itself. Commissioned by the metropolitan Maksim, previously Despot Djordje Branković, the church became the mausoleum of the despots of Srem and, as such, wielded enormous influence in the following centuries. The church of Rakovac Monastery, built before 1521, is only slightly smaller than Krušedol, and essentially repeats the plan of its illustrious predecessor.[4] The method of repetition again appears to have relied on the ability of the builders to produce an accurate drawing of the plan of Krušedol and to repeat it at a slightly reduced scale at the new site. The relative prosperity and the resulting building activity in the area of Srem came to an abrupt end following the fall of Belgrade to the Ottomans in 1521 and their penetration into Hungary, whose resistance was crushed in 1526 at the decisive Battle of Mohács. Though the area on Mount Fruška Gora would continue to be inhabited by Serbian Orthodox monks, the renewal of building activity in the region had to wait for several more decades.

The architecture of the church of Lapušnja, in eastern Serbia, derives from the same ultimate sources as the churches in Srem, but via a very different route (fig. 900).[5] Built in 1500–01 by a *knez* (prince) Blagoje during the reign of the Wallachian *voevode* Radul, the church is another close replica of late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century Serbian churches. Links with Wallachia, a province that retained a degree of autonomy



901 Poganovo, Church of St. John the Evangelist: plan



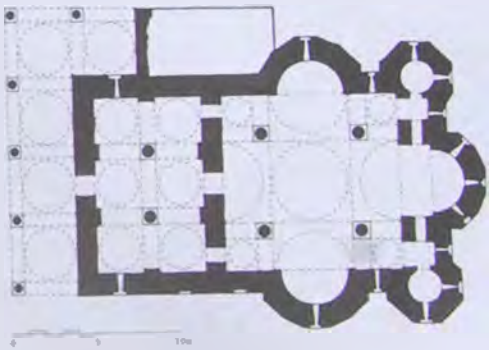
902 Papraca Monastery, Church of Annunciation, plan

under the Ottomans and whose fifteenth-century architecture was closely related to the earlier Serbian tradition, help explain the phenomenon. The church was constructed in a fine stone technique, using regular small ashlars. Exterior detailing, dependent on earlier models, displays impressive carving skill, and bespeaks conditions of considerable economic prosperity. It also suggests that a sufficient amount of construction must have been under way at the time to warrant the existence of building workshops and the training of artisans of very high caliber. One of the finest examples of the so-called compact triconch type, also related to the late fourteenth-century tradition in Serbia, is the church of Poganovo, near Pirot in southeastern Serbia (fig. 901).[49] Built in 1499 by a nobleman named Konstantin, this church, along with several others in the area, displays characteristics of late fourteenth-century architecture in Serbia, including the presence of a prominent tower rising above its square narthex. Measuring 9 × 15 meters in plan, the church is also comparable in scale to the compact triconch churches, generally built by the wealthy Serbian nobility a century or so earlier.

The final example of this group of triapsidal churches is the church of the Annunciation at Papraca Monastery, at the source of the River Spreča, near Zvornik in eastern Bosnia.[50] The dating of Papraca is problematic, but it cannot be much later than 1550. Measuring 10.5 × 20 meters (30 m including the exonarthex), this is a large building for the period. Its remarkably well-designed plan is in stark contrast to its clumsy construction and exterior articulation (fig. 902). Papraca once more reminds us of the probability that the builders were in the possession of an architectural plan, acquired from elsewhere, whose sophistication far exceeded their competence, as the poor quality of the final product attests. In this case, with good reason, we may postulate that the plan for the church was brought to Bosnia from Mount Athos, most probably from the Serbian monastery of Hilandar (see fig. 772).

The appearance of a large church in the central Balkans around the middle of the sixteenth century whose plan shows demonstrable links with Mount Athos has yet another level of significance. The traditional "Athonite" church plan used in the past for a large number of monastic katholika was put to use again in a new spree of construction that took place in the monastic enclave during the first half of the sixteenth century. Surprisingly, this Athonite building spree evidently did not begin until the late 1530s, decades after the construction of some of the churches in the Balkans that we have discussed. What were the exact reasons for such a delay is not clear; the fact remains that once the permission for construction was granted, several large

903 Kourloumoutsou Monastery, Katholikon, plan



904 Koutloumousiou Monastery, Katholikon, exterior from NW

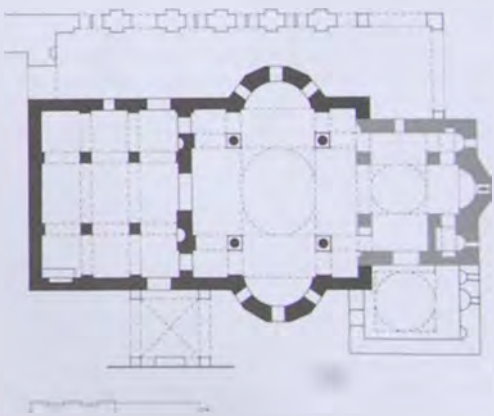
monastic katholika were built in short order. The first among these were the katholika of the Dionysiou (1537) and Koutloumousiou (1540) monasteries. The two are characterized by plans that are nearly identical. Their core is a cross-in-square naos, preceded by a sizable narthex (*lite*). In both cases the naos is expanded in the easterly direction by a tripartite sanctuary, of which only the main apse is externally visible, while the apses of the pastophories are contained within the thickness of the eastern wall. In both cases, the pastophories are flanked externally by additional domed chapels (*typikaria*). Invariably, these chapels are accessible only through the pastophories. The katholikon of Koutloumousiou Monastery measures 13 meters (17 m including the side apses) by 28 meters in plan (fig. 903).[16] Well preserved, its architectural forms reveal a style closely affiliated with earlier Byzantine katholika on Mount Athos (fig. 904). Having undergone careful conservation in recent times, details of its construction technique, involving an array of different brick patterns in decorative niches on its apses, have come to light. These, along with other details, reveal the high level of workmanship that generally characterized architecture on Mount Athos over the centuries. Its façades, covered with plaster and painted crimson, reveal another conservative aspect of Athonite architecture. The replastering and repainting of church façades in this context suggests an uninterrupted tradition that goes back to Middle Byzantine times. Preserved within the monastic environment of Mount Athos, this tradition was probably simplified over time, but the original concept and the reasoning behind it were never lost. Thus, this practice, carefully maintained over the centuries, offers an invaluable insight into a much older Byzantine practice, the evidence for which has been preserved only sparsely.

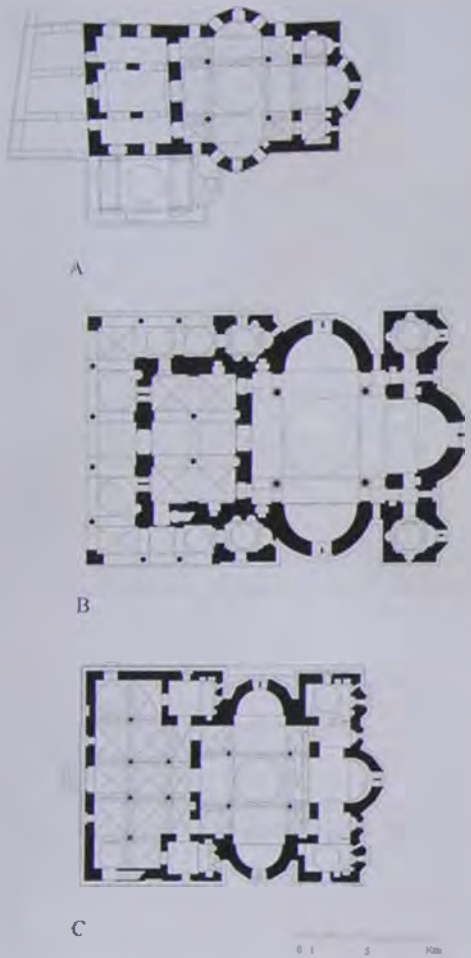
Practically simultaneously, another important monastic enclave, in central Greece, known as Meteora – whose links with Mount Athos are well attested – witnessed the construction of three relatively large churches within a few years of each other: the katholika of the Varlaam (1542), Rousanou (1545) (fig. 905), and Megalo Meteoro (1544–45) monasteries. Situated within a foreboding landscape, near the medieval town of Kalambaka, the monasteries of Meteora ("in mid-air") are individually perched on top of inaccessible rocky formations. The origins of the monastic presence at Meteora go back to the twelfth century, though its establishment as a monastic community is associated

905 Rousanou Monastery. Katholikon, general view

with the arrival of St. Athanasios from Mount Athos in the early years of the fourteenth century.[11] Despite some constructions that took place during the fourteenth century, the main building spree occurred in the 1540s. All three katholika employed the three-apsed Athonite plan, based on a cross-in-square naos preceded by a spacious narthex (*line*). The two smaller katholika, those of Varlaam and Rousanou, in fact, were based on a planning scheme that resembles more closely late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Serbian church architecture. The similarity derives from the fact that these churches lack a separate sanctuary bay. The sanctuary, in fact, is the eastern part of an elongated "cross-in-square" scheme, much as in late fourteenth-century Serbian churches. The iconostasis in these churches rests against the eastern pair of piers supporting the main dome. Somewhat different was the situation in the largest of the three katholika within this group – that of the Megalo Meteōro Monastery. In this case, the new church was, in fact, a major augmentation of the monastery's first katholikon, built in 1387–88. The old building was preserved nearly intact, only its western wall demolished to make a junction with the new addition (fig. 906). The addition involved a cross-in-square naos, its sides

906 Megalo Meteōro Monastery. Katholikon, plan





907 (a) Monastery of Petra, Katholikon; (b) Monastery of H. Demetrios, Katholikon; (c) Monastery of H. Dionysios, Katholikon; plans

opening into two lateral apses. Featuring four freestanding columns, the naos is dominated by a dome elevated on a tall drum, rising to a height of 16 meters. The old katholikon, in this new scheme, became a spacious sanctuary retaining also its original dome. The new church was preceded by a very large narthex (*liti*), which nearly repeats the size of the naos. The nine-bay layout of the narthex is essentially replicated in the gallery arrangement directly above. The overall dimensions of the new church – 11 meters (15 m, including the side apses) by 28 meters in plan – suggest similarities with the katholika being built on Mount Athos around the same time.

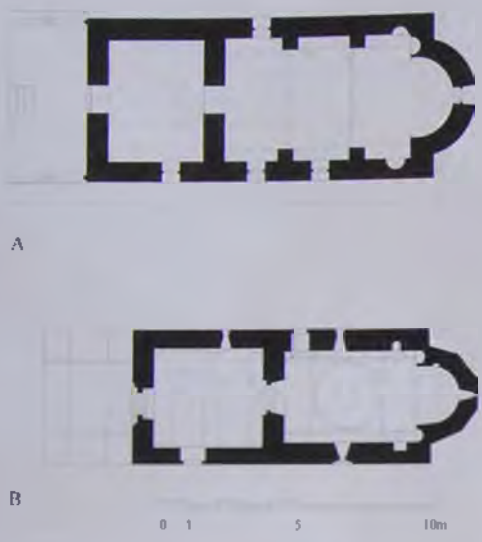
The appearance of relatively large churches within the monastic enclaves of Mount Athos and Meteora during the 1540s is a surprising phenomenon. Even more surprising is the appearance of equally large monastic katholika in isolated mountainous locations in central Greece around the middle of the sixteenth century. Three of these stand out as being particularly remarkable. The first, the katholikon of the monastery of Petra, near the village of Kataphyge, on the south side of Mount Pindos, was probably built around 1550.[43] This triapsidal church, recalling Athonite katholika, measures 9.2 meters (11.5 m including the lateral apses) by 19 meters in plan (fig. 907a). In keeping with the Athonite tradition, the plan is dominated by a cross-in-square naos, featuring four columns that support the main dome. A pair of piers, along with an iconostasis in the same position, separates the sanctuary from the eastern arm of the cross. The main apse, polygonal externally and semicircular on the interior, is marked by three windows. The apses of the two pastophories are accommodated within the thickness of the eastern wall. The "diaconicon" has a chamber directly above it accessible via a stair within the thickness of its exterior wall. The lateral apses, whose dimensions and disposition match those of the main apse, had two of their original three windows blocked up before the interior of the church was decorated with frescoes. The naos was preceded by a narthex on the west side. A separate room with a chapel on a gallery above the narthex, as well as a chapel on the south side of the church, all constitute later additions.

Far more impressive, both in size and in actual execution, is the katholikon of the Panagia at the monastery of Hagios Demetrios, at Stomion (formerly Tzagezé), on the eastern slopes of Mount Ossa.[44] This large church, measuring 17.8 × 27.2 meters in plan, was built in 1543, according to a carved, no-longer-preserved inscription (fig. 907b). The monastery was destroyed in the nineteenth century, the katholikon itself suffering a major collapse in 1868. Several rare photographs and drawings made prior to its demise, along with its remaining ruins, provide sufficient information to appreciate the importance of this extraordinary monument. The building adopted the familiar Athonite planning scheme, featuring a cross-in-square naos expanded eastward into a tripartite sanctuary, of which only the large, polygonal apse is externally visible. What distinguishes the cross-in-square scheme of the church of the Panagia are its proportions – its central "cross" is very wide (5.5 m), as opposed

to its corner compartments, barely more than 1 × 1 meters in plan. This implies that the church had an unusually large central dome. As known from the photographic evidence, it was once elevated on a tall, ten-sided drum. The planning scheme, along with its proportional characteristics, and even its very measurements, finds exact parallels in the church of Profetes Elias in Thessaloniki, built *circa* 1360–70 (see Chapter 8). Thus, the church of the Panagia has an identical narthex with a stair in its southern wall thickness leading to a gallery space directly above the narthex and communicating with the naos through an opening. In front of the narthex and surrounding it on the north, west, and south sides was an open vaulted portico with a pair of centralized domed chapels at the extreme north and south points. A comparable pair of centralized domed chapels (*typikaria*) was located adjacent to the sanctuary, with which these chapels had the only direct communication. Such similarities can neither be accidental nor the product of a well-"memorized" planning layout. They are explicable only as a result of a carefully made architectural scale drawing of one building transferred to another, distant location. In this respect, the church of the Panagia at the monastery of Hagios Demetrios, despite the lack of a specific document-drawing, provides us with clear proof that such means and methods for the duplication of church plans must have been available around the middle of the sixteenth century. The church of the Panagia is also interesting from the point of view of its fine technique, which involved alternating single courses of small stone blocks with double courses of brick, as well as all-brick vaulting. Both techniques are in evidence in the church of Profetes Elias, one of the reasons why the early investigators of the Panagia church ascribed it to the second half of the fourteenth century. On account of the many carved details in the building that show affinities with sixteenth-century Ottoman architectural details, the issue of dating has now been resolved.

Nor was the church of the Panagia an isolated phenomenon. Nearly the same plan was repeated in another sixteenth-century monastic katholikon at the monastery of Hagios Dionysios in the valley of the River Enipeus on the eastern slopes of Mount Olympos.[14] Situated at an altitude of 850 meters, this picturesque, isolated monastery was blown up by German troops in 1943, during their occupation of Greece in the Second World War. The katholikon, dedicated to the Trinity, though its exact date of construction is unknown, displayed considerable affinities with the church of the Panagia at the monastery of Hagios Demetrios. Slightly smaller than the Panagia, the church of the Trinity measured 15.4 × 21.3 meters in plan (fig. 907c). Its cross-in-square naos had the more common proportions, the arms of its cross being approximately twice as wide as the corner compartments. Correspondingly, its pastophories were proportionally wider, their apses externally visible and three-sided. The pastophories were flanked by and directly communicated with two small rectangular chapels (*typikaria*) on the north and south sides of the building, each covered by a dome, elevated on a tall drum. To the west of the two lateral apses, on the north and south sides of the naos, another pair of chapels, matching the two *typikaria* in size, produced a symmetrical organization of forms. These chapels were accessible only from a very large narthex in front of the building. The narthex, three bays deep and five bays wide, in this case enclosed also the open space corresponding to the portico at the church of the Panagia. The explanation for such an arrangement offers itself readily. At an altitude of 850 meters above sea level, the usefulness of an open portico would have been sharply curtailed by the climate. Hence, this space must have been enclosed for practical reasons, becoming an integral part of a large narthex. Above the narthex was a gallery space, accessible from below by a staircase built into the thickness of the south wall, as was the case with the church of the Panagia at the monastery of Hagios Demetrios. The church of the Trinity, in addition to the obvious, formal links with the Panagia, also shared a building technique consisting of alternating single courses of small ashlars and double courses of brick. Two domes, elevated on tall drums, covered the extreme northwestern and southwestern compartments of the narthex gallery. Though on a higher level, and farther removed from the main, central dome, together with the pair of domes over the *typikaria*, these gave the building the appearance of a five-domed church, lending it an air of monumentality unexpected for the period.

In addition to the extraordinary scope and quality of the buildings discussed above, which had their ultimate links with Mount Athos, we must also note other, more local phenomena that likewise occurred during the period. Isolated churches, at times of considerable size and quality, but most often of modest scale and unassuming appearance, were also built sporadically. Not uncommonly, these churches, regardless of their scale and perceived significance, contained references to past architecture. Such "quotations" could be as simple as the emulation of a building technique, to repeating certain architectural elements, such as windows, to more complex forms of emulation, involving similarities in planning or overall building form. We will refer to but a few characteristic examples. The church of Sv. Jovan (St. John) at Jasunja, near Leskovac in southeastern Serbia, is dated precisely to 1516–17.[15] According to an inscription, its main patron was one Andronikos Kantakouzenos, together with his brothers. Another inscription, dated 1524, mentions the patron of the frescoes, one Petar, from Sofia. Clearly this small monastery was the home to individuals of different ethnic backgrounds. Its architecture was extremely simple. Single-aisled, without a dome, 6 × 18 meters long, it was internally subdivided



908 (a) Jasunja, Church of Sv. Jovan; (b) Borač, Church of Archangel Michael; plans

into a naos and a narthex (fig. 908a). The naos was further subdivided into three equal bays by means of transverse arches supported on projecting spur walls. Coveted by a barrel vault, the church is marked externally by a continuous wooden roof that covers also an open wooden portico in front of the narthex. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of this modest church is its

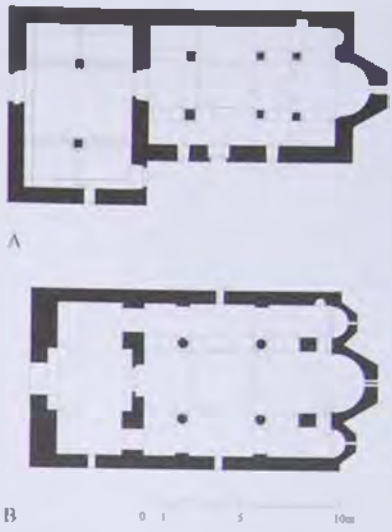
909 Banjani, Sv. Djordje; general view from S

building technique: a variation of cloisonné, featuring double horizontal and vertical bricks framing rectangular fields that contain irregular fieldstones, while the rest of each field is completed with large quantities of mortar. This building technique, obviously based on the Byzantine cloisonné technique, in this characteristically modified form, had become standard in Ottoman architecture in the Balkans already during the last decades of the fifteenth century. A more "classical" example of cloisonné technique is notable in the church of Sv. Djordje (St. George) at Banjani, on the outskirts of Skopje, FYROM.[907] Here, single horizontal rows of bricks separate courses of stone blocks, while individual blocks are vertically also predominantly separated by single bricks. The stone elements in this case have the form of regular blocks, giving the impression of being more closely related to the Byzantine manner of using the cloisonné technique (fig. 909). In other respects, the church at Banjani is an unassuming, single-aisled, dome-less church with a wooden shed roof covering the building. It is by virtue of its building technique that the church at Banjani is related to the rich Byzantine and Serbian architectural heritage of the region of Skopje. In other respects, as, for example, the rectangular window openings, it unmistakably betrays its much later date.

The third example to be considered presents yet another interesting perspective on this important period of Christian architectural activity in the Balkans under Ottoman rule. This is the church of Archangel Michael at Borač, in the region of Kragujevac, in central Serbia.[908] The church was located just outside the medieval fortification of Borač, whose ruins are still visible. The church itself is remarkable for several reasons. Single-aisled, and measuring 5 × 16 meters in plan, it is internally subdivided into a naos and a narthex, and preceded by an open, but vaulted portico (fig. 908b). Both the naos and the narthex are barrel-vaulted. The naos has a small blind dome at its midpoint, expressed externally as a very low tower with a pyramidal roof. In plan, the church displays some similarities to the one at Jašunja. Both are single-aisled buildings and have similar internal divisions and overall proportions. Yet, in terms of their exterior appearance, the two churches could not be more different. The church at Borač was built entirely of fieldstone, in a crude technique. It displays certain decorative elements that link it unmistakably to the monuments of the first half of the fifteenth century in the region. This is especially true of a large corbel-table that runs below the eaves of its north and south façades. The building has door and window frames that are arched and decorated with simple moldings. Originally plastered, the church must have stylistically resembled the architecture of the church of Vraćevšnica Monastery, also in the region of Kragujevac, built in 1431 (see Chapter 8). The churches of Jasunja and Borač illustrate two important points. First, is that the planning

of the two buildings followed similar essential principles, as far as the elements of the plans and their proportions are concerned. The second point, by contrast, is that in the execution of the two buildings, an older local tradition in each case appears to have played a decisive role. This, rather than being the survival of a tradition, especially in the case of Borač, should probably be viewed as a form of limited, local revival.

Similar phenomena, on a somewhat grander scale and with broader implications, may be seen in another two churches, both belonging to the sixteenth century, although their precise dating is somewhat tenuous. The first of these is the church of Sv. Djordje (St. George) at Mlado Nagoričino, FYROM.[10] Relatively large, it measures 10 × 17 meters in plan (fig. 910A). Its naos displays a cross-in-square scheme defined by four free-standing columns; its sanctuary, marked by an additional pair of columns, extends the church eastward. The building is preceded by a very large narthex, wider than the church itself, but only on the south side. The narthex has a three-aisled interior disposition and is fully barrel-vaulted, as is the naos, whose central bay is covered by a saucer dome, barely visible on the exterior in the form of a very low "tower" with a pyramidal roof. The church of Mlado Nagoričino has long since been recognized as a conscious copy of the early fourteenth-century church of St.



910 (a) Mlado Nagoričino, Sv. Djordje; (b) Astere Monastery, Katholikon, plans

911 Mlado Nagoričino, Sv. Djordje; general view from SE

912 Mlado Nagoričino, Sv. Djordje, south façade, tympanum

George in the village of Staro Nagoričino, a few kilometers away. Similarities, in this case, are largely in evidence in the exterior articulation of the two buildings. Mlado Nagoričino is a meticulously constructed building marked by the use of carefully cut, rather large ashlars laid in regular courses (fig. 911). The lower parts of the building have relatively few openings and they are predominantly small rectangular windows with simple, unarticulated frames. It is only in the upper part of the church that decorative touches occur. These involve three large tympana – on the west, north, and south façades – framed by double-skewed arches executed in different colors of stone as well as brick (fig. 912). These tympana frames rest on monumental corbels. In the middle of each of the three tympana is a double-light window. Each of the three windows is differently articulated through the use of moldings and sculptural decoration. Conceptual ideas in the treatment of the exterior in practically every respect show an adherence to the model – the fourteenth-century church of St. Djordje at Staro Nagoričino (see pp. 663–64). Furthermore, as has been pointed out, the church of Mlado Nagoričino displays many technical and architectural affinities with the Tatar Sinan-Bey Mosque in the nearby town of Kumanovo, built *circa* 1530–40 (fig. 893). Clearly, the execution of the church reveals two things: conscious emulation of a major work of architecture in the region, and the work of highly skilled, non-native stonemasons, capable of this level of achievement. The relationship between the mosque in Kumanovo and the church at Mlado Nagoričino deserves further close scrutiny, because it may provide indication of the same workshop having been involved in building a mosque and a church.

Returning to Mlado Nagoričino, we need to note that in this case, though vague similarities with the plan of Staro Nagoričino exist, its plan is a clear adoption of the Byzantine cross-in-square type, with a sanctuary extension to the east. Furthermore, at Mlado Nagoričino columns were employed throughout the building, whereas at Staro Nagoričino only a pair of columns was used in the narthex. The rigorous application of planning

characteristics and the employment of columns imply that the builder of Mlado Nagoričino was also informed about earlier Byzantine practice and that he may even have had a plan of a Byzantine church in his hands at the time of the construction.

Another sixteenth-century church, the katholikon of Asteré Monastery, on the slopes of Mount Hymettos, just outside Athens, contributes significantly to our understanding of these processes.[17] The church is also based on a cross-in-square plan with a sanctuary extension, not too dissimilar to what we saw at Mlado Nagoričino (fig. 910B). Here, however, we are on firm grounds in assuming that the source of the plan was one of the Athenian Middle Byzantine churches, conceivably the nearby katholikon of Kaisariané Monastery. While the plan of the katholikon of Asteré Monastery shows rigorous adherence to the Middle Byzantine prototype, its exterior reveals another story (fig. 913). The overall forms of the building carefully emulate the Middle Byzantine Athenian paradigm, but its execution is quite crude, the walls built of rubble with an admixture of brick, all presumably once externally plastered. Only its eight-sided dome drum reveals a more careful use of materials – larger stone blocks, horizontal brick coursing, scalloped eaves outlined with dog-tooth friezes, and even marble colonnettes at the corners of the drum. In this case there can be no doubt about local artisans looking at the fine work of their predecessors and attempting to copy it. As impressive as this is, another point is equally symptomatic – the church was tucked away in a small monastery on a wooded hillside, and not built in the city of Athens itself. Ottoman tolerance for Christian church construction, even at the height of their power and economic prosperity, had its carefully drawn limits.

Our discussion of church architecture under the Ottomans has demonstrated several general points that are worth recapitulating. First and foremost, we have seen that Christian architecture – and this is also true of monumental painting and other forms of cultural expression – did not disappear with the political demise of the Byzantine Empire and other Balkan states (Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia). The second point is that cultural leadership within the Christian communities under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire passed almost exclusively into the hands of the Orthodox Church. Equally important is that the major driving force that was able to function across narrowly defined regional frontiers was Orthodox monasticism. Major monastic centers – above all Mount Athos – for various reasons, including political ones, retained an extraordinary degree of authority and an ability to exercise that authority across visible and invisible frontiers. The third general point that needs to be stressed is that the economic conditions of certain Christian groups during certain periods of time were not as dire as has at times been assumed. The volume and the quality of construction of some of the buildings we have seen bespeak quite favorable economic means. At the same time, and this is equally important, such conditions were neither widespread nor of extended duration. The final point is that the volume and quality of construction indicate that the building trade, generally speaking, was at a high level in its own right. In sum, the impressive volume of construction, the size of buildings, and the high quality of workmanship point to the conditions of relative peace, stability, and economic prosperity that characterized the Balkans under Ottoman rule during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Orthodox Christian communities, as indirect beneficiaries of these conditions, could and obviously did take advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves. These opportunities must be understood exactly in those terms. Their occurrences were never signals of any substantive general change, nor were they ever of significant duration. Taken advantage of when they arose, they conveyed their creators' enduring spirit and will. Never distinguished by innovative sprees, these were actually tokens of "creative conservatism," whose results, by echoing the past, became identified with it, thus outliving in their own importance the narrow time frame during which they were created.

914 Asteré Monastery, Katholikon, general view from E

* * *

Having essentially brought their conquest of the Balkans to a close by *circa* 1500, the Ottomans were beginning to turn their attention to other matters in their newly conquered territories. In the process, as we have attempted to demonstrate, architectural production became intertwined in numerous, complex ways with the heritage of the culture they superseded. The interactions between the two cultures yielded many important new

developments, whose geneses could not be understood without an understanding of the two parent cultures. The supreme symbol of these developments became the city of Constantinople, the capital of the new empire. Substantially transformed, it continued to function in a similar manner as it had during the preceding 1,200 years. In it great new ideas were born and materialized, based on the accumulated wealth and the combined experiences of the many who came there from different parts. From it, ultimately, the newly conceived ideas flowed in the opposite direction, their impact often felt even in the most distant provinces.

THE WESTERN SPHERE

The Ottoman conquest of most of the Balkan territories was strongly felt even in areas that did not fall directly under Ottoman control. Mostly this was true of the narrow coastal area along the Adriatic littoral, where old urban centers, by various means, clung to semblances of freedom that they were still able to maintain. With the exception of Dubrovnik, which experienced a real period of growth and a genuine level of prosperity, the rest of the Dalmatian towns with small territorial possessions survived as Venetian colonies, often under less than optimum circumstance. The situation was similar in the Ionian Sea, where Venice was caught up in a tug of war with the Ottomans over various strategic points, though its ability to cling to any of the major fortresses for any length of time during the period was limited. On the Dalmatian littoral, the Ottoman threat was twofold. The Ottomans staged periodic raids from the hinterlands fully under their control, conquering at times certain strategic defense outposts, thus further weakening the resistance to their further expansion. At the same time, their rapidly growing naval fleet of ships was used for staging small-scale pirate-like raids on coastal settlements, as far as the northern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, in 1499 the Ottomans took control of the coastal town of Makarska, south of Split. Far more significant was their conquest of Klis in central Dalmatia in 1537. Strategically perched on a high hill, the fortress of Klis had controlled the road approaching Split from the north since early medieval times. Its fall to the Ottomans after a prolonged siege opened the door to their claims to the Dalmatian coast, from the River Cetina to the River Neretva. Venice, whose territorial possessions lay scattered across the eastern Mediterranean, was caught up in making critical decisions within its strategy of fighting numerous petty wars with the veritable "superpower" that the Ottoman Empire had become during this very period. As a result, its ability to tend to the local needs of towns nominally under its control became substantially curtailed.

DUBROVNIK

The fate of Dubrovnik during the critical fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was very different from that of the other Dalmatian towns.[*] Having been granted a nominal form of autonomy in 1358, Dubrovnik was under perpetual obligation to pay an annual tribute to the Hungarian king. Taking the greatest advantage of its privileged status, it entered the fifteenth century economically strengthened, but politically in an extremely delicate situation. By 1420 Dubrovnik with its small territorial possessions found itself encircled by massive Venetian expansion in the vicinity. Venice had been the major adversary of Dubrovnik and its formidable competitor in matters of trade. Venetian expansion and its potential threat to Dubrovnik were soon followed by the appearance of the Ottomans on the scene, whose presence in the area, paradoxically, became a new opportunity for Dubrovnik's unique survival game. By 1442 Dubrovnik was paying an annual tribute of 1,000 ducats to the Turkish sultan, alongside its continuing obligations to the Hungarian king. The amount of the tribute paid to the Ottomans rose steadily through the fifteenth century, reaching the sum of 15,000 ducats by 1480. Significant annual increases in the amount of tribute demanded by the Ottomans from Dubrovnik, it should be noted, occurred at the very same time – and perhaps on account of – Dubrovnik's extensive modernization of its defenses. Playing the delicate balancing act between far stronger adversaries with great diplomatic skill, Dubrovnik not only managed to survive, but also actually achieved a level of unprecedented prosperity in the course of the sixteenth century. By 1483 the Venetian government was protesting at the rate of growth of the Dubrovnik merchant fleet, which was "increasing daily" and threatening Venetian interests.[*] Around 1540 Dubrovnik's merchant fleet consisted of 130 ships. Self-confident already by the middle of the fifteenth century, the Dubrovnik government started referring to itself as the "Dubrovnik Republic." This title genuinely reflected its status, and had become universally acknowledged by the first decades of the sixteenth century. The prosperity of Dubrovnik was made manifest in various aspects of its flourishing culture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a period that became known as its "Golden Age." Most clearly it is manifested in its architecture – from city fortifications, major public buildings, and churches, to large private residences and various public amenities. Despite the extensive destruction inflicted by the earthquake of 1667, much of the architectural heritage of Dubrovnik's "Golden Age" still survives (figs. 914 and 915).

As we saw in the preceding chapter, Dubrovnik had invested in a major way in building its system of defenses in the course of the second half of the fourteenth century. During this period, Dubrovnik became one of the principal producers of cannon, a new weapon that it exported to other Balkan countries. The

914 Dubrovnik: aerial view

appearance of cannon ultimately led to changes in military architecture. The Italians had become the leaders in these new developments by the middle of the fifteenth century. Dubrovnik responded relatively quickly to the changing realities by inviting one of the greatest Italian architects of the time, the Florentine Michelozzo Michelozzi, and putting him in charge of modernizing the city fortifications.[64] This unprecedented invitation appears to have been occasioned by the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, in which the use of cannon proved a critical factor. Michelozzo arrived in Dubrovnik in 1461 and spent little more than two years in the city. During that time his interventions on the city walls were extensive. He was responsible for the addition of a lower outer wall – a type of a *proteichisma* – in front of the northern line of city walls, as well as in front of the northern section of the western line of old defenses. Considerably lower than the old line of walls, Michelozzo's walls were much thicker and were characterized by the outer escarp, especially designed for the deflection of cannon fire. In front of the tall rectangular towers belonging to the old fortifications, he planned low semi-cylindrical bastions, also featuring escarps, whose function was to protect, but also to reinforce, the relatively thin medieval towers. The most impressive aspect of his intervention was reserved for the northwestern corner of the fortification system. Here he planned and executed a massive cylindrical new tower – known as Minčeta – with the intention of providing an unassailable feature of the new defenses at their most critical point (fig. 916).[65] The new tower, 37 meters in diameter and several times larger than its medieval predecessor in the same position, became a permanent crowning point of the city fortifications, and the city's most cherished symbol. Minčeta has walls 7 meters thick that contain chambers for cannon positions, other rooms, communication corridors, and stairways. Following Michelozzo's departure from Dubrovnik, the unfinished central part of the tower was built by another brilliant architect, a native of Dalmatia, Juraj Dalmatinac. Ultimately, for

915 Dubrovnik. Minčeta Tower: general view from SW

reasons that are not entirely clear, this part was made higher by yet another builder of distinction, Paskoje Milićević. Michelozzo was responsible also for the building of a new massive tower at the southwestern corner of the fortification system. Known as Bokar, this essentially cylindrical tower was designed so as to project fully in front of the medieval rectilinear corner tower left embedded within the new fortification.[24] Measuring 17 meters in diameter, with walls 5 meters thick, Bokar was designed as a counterpoint to Minčeta and as a more effective defensive point and protection for a small harbor between it and a separate medieval fort, known as Lovrijenac, atop a 46-meter-high rock formation. The design concept of Bokar, as was the case with Minčeta, reflects the most advanced ideas of new fortification architecture current in Italy around that time.

One of the most important figures in the extensive modernization of the Dubrovnik fortifications was a native engineer, Paskoje Milićević (also known as Pasqualis Michaelis), whose distinguished career spanned half a century, from 1466 to 1536. His work, characterized by pragmatic interventions, was not marked by the brilliance of Michelozzo's, but was much appreciated by the conservative senate of the republic, which saw in him a reliable executor of its wishes. Milićević's main contribution to the fortification system was in the area of the city's main harbor, which he protected by the construction of a massive breakwater, known as Kaše. He was also involved in the upgrading of the principal forts guarding the entrance into the harbor - Sv. Ivan (St. John) and Sv. Luka (St. Luke). As the main communal engineer, Milićević was also called upon to upgrade the fortifications of the other major fortification system in the Dubrovnik Republic, that of Veliki and Mali Ston.

Intensive activities on the modernization of the city fortification system did not preempt extensive construction work on other public enterprises within the city walls. During the last decades of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth, in fact, Dubrovnik must have resembled a giant construction site.

Dubrovnik's medieval seat of power, a building known as the Kaštel, situated so as to face its harbor, was blown up in 1435 by an explosion of gunpowder kept within it walls. The Kaštel must have resembled similar citadels built in several other Dalmatian cities, and still preserved in Trogir and Ston (see pp. 684–85). Described by one Filip de Diversis in 1440, in old times it was an actual fort with several towers. By the time of his writing, a major rebuilding of the complex was under way under the supervision of the Italian engineer Onofrio da Cava, who was in Dubrovnik under commission to build a water-supply system for the city (see p. 687). It appears that at the time of his departure from Dubrovnik in 1443, the rebuilding of the residence of the *knez* (duke) was substantially finished. Twenty years later, in 1463, another gunpowder explosion extensively damaged the building, requiring yet another reconstruction. Despite further subsequent damage and reconstructions, the present Knezev dvor (ducal palace) is substantially the structure as rebuilt after the explosion of 1463, notwithstanding a number of later modifications.[25] Based on a highly irregular plan, the palace features a central courtyard surrounded by arcades on three sides on the ground floor and on four sides on the second level. The courtyard is surrounded by an array of rooms of various sizes, character, and function, largely because of efforts to include as many reusable parts of the older buildings as possible. The courtyard is entered through the main gate with a vaulted passageway behind it. Asymmetrically related to the court, this gate is also situated asymmetrically within an arcaded portico on the build-

916 Dubrovnik; city plan

ing's main façade. The façade, itself a product of several major design modifications, during the rebuilding in the 1440s was envisioned as a symmetrical entity consisting of an arcaded portico flanked by two tower-like elements at the extreme ends, and with the upper story set back from the main front. As such, it would appear, the building would have been visually related in some degree to the original fortified Kastel. The final outcome, following the extensive rebuilding in the aftermath of the second explosion in 1463, was substantially altered, though traces of the original intention are still detectable. Michelozzo, who was working on the fortifications of Dubrovnik at the time, proposed a design for the new building, but his scheme was rejected by the government, causing his abrupt departure from Dubrovnik in 1464. The adopted façade solution is a curious composition in which the first floor of each of the original corner pavilions is recognizable by the shallow pilaster strips outlining the edges of their prismatic forms (fig. 917). The rebuilding of the arcaded main portico appears to have been carried out under the supervision of the Florentine sculptor Salvi di Michiele. The distinctive features of this arcade are the capitals, each featuring a different figurative design (fig. 918A and B). The general conception of these capitals involving figurative sculpture is strongly reminiscent of some late antique capital types, where similar ideas were also employed (see fig. 71). The eight two-light Gothic windows on the second floor, on the other hand, were made by a team of local sculptors – Radivoje Bogosalic and Nikola Marković. The almost jarring stylistic contrast between the arcade of the Renaissance portico and the

917 Dubrovnik, Knežev Dvor: general view from SW

Gothic second-story row of windows may instinctively be perceived as a by-product of different groups of artists working on different parts of the building at the same time. Judging by similar phenomena that occurred on other public and private buildings in Dubrovnik around that time, the problem must be viewed differently.

During the second decade of the sixteenth century, the senate of Dubrovnik was entertaining the idea of regularizing the pivotal space in the city, focused on the so-called Orlandov stup ("Orlando's Pillar"), the base for the display of the standard of the republic. In 1516 the senate approved the design for the Divona (customs house) submitted in the form of a wooden model by Paskoje Milićević. The distinguished engineer died a few months later, while the completion of the building was carried out by others over the next decade. Divona is a curious building whose main purpose was the consolidation of multiple public functions situated in several small buildings clustered around a street that led toward the square where Orlando's Pillar stood. These functions included the state customs, communal storehouses, and several goldsmiths' shops. The new building was to provide space for all of those functions, as well as for the armory and the state mint, under a single roof. Organized around a two-storied courtyard in the middle, Divona's plan displays similar irregularities and an absence of symmetrical organization that had characterized the plan of the Knežev dvor, completed several decades earlier. Symmetry, one might say, was employed selectively. It is emphatically present in the central courtyard, whose arcaded porticos with different functions behind them create a strongly unified effect (fig. 919). Massive octagonal piers carry large arches on the ground level, while columns alternate with rectangular piers on the upper story, each pier vertically aligned with the octagonal piers below them. Thus two smaller arches make for a lighter-looking arcade, featuring slightly pointed arches on the upper floor above massive round-headed arches below. Directly opposite the main entrance, the blank wall above the second-story arcade is marked by a relief depicting two flying angels upholding a wreath with a monogram of Christ in the middle. This was the work of a French sculptor, Beltrand Gallicus (also known as Boltranius Francigena), commissioned in 1521 to execute this work. Thus, a touch

918a Dubrovnik, Knežev Dvor: main portico capital

918b Dubrovnik, Knežev Dvor: main portico capital

of French Early Renaissance was added to the highly eclectic assortment of different styles evident in Dubrovnik during this period. The most imposing aspect of the Divona, however, is its south façade facing the public square (fig. 920). Designed with the intent of creating a unified, symmetrical effect, this façade conceals more than it reveals. Organized in three stories, visually separated by string-courses, the façade is much narrower than the building itself, while also concealing the fact that the building actually has four stories. The façade has an air of a Venetian building because of its large Venetian Gothic windows on the second story, whose flamboyant characteristics contrast sharply with the austere simplicity of the smooth stone walls. The ground floor of the Divona features a Tuscan Early Renaissance portico consisting of wide arches resting on classical columns with Composite capitals. A closer inspection of the five arches making up this arcade reveals that the penultimate one from the left is substantially wider, while the last one is actually narrower. The reason for such a peculiar disruption within an otherwise orderly arcade has to do with the actual placement of the entrance door on the façade behind the portico. Above the Gothic second story, the relatively low third story displays yet another Renaissance option. Its four windows with rectangular frames flank a classical aedicule in the center. Within a semicircular niche of this aedicule stands a statue of Dubrovnik's patron saint, St. Blaise, a ubiquitous marker of the city's public buildings. Juxtaposition of Gothic and Renaissance styles on this façade cannot be explained by arguments that were conceivable in the case of the Knežev dvor. Although the model supplied by Paskoje Miličevic supposedly provided the basis for the design of the building, it does not survive and, therefore, we cannot judge whether he had such ideas in mind. The Divona, whether built according to the ideas of Miličević or not, was built in one campaign. There are also a number of private residential buildings in the city and villas

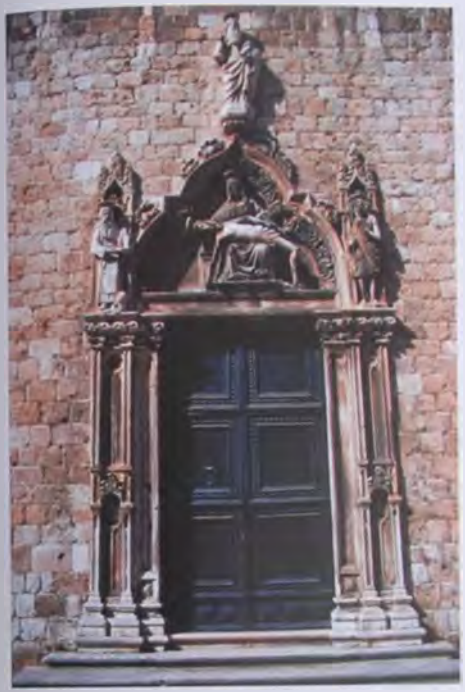
919 Dubrovnik, Divona, interior courtyard

920 Dubrovnik, Divona: exterior façade

outside Dubrovnik from the same period that suggest that the juxtaposition of seemingly contradictory styles was a matter of aesthetic choice. This topic deserves considerably greater attention, but this can be afforded it only in another context.

The prosperity of Dubrovnik in the course of the sixteenth century is reflected also in the construction of a number of utilitarian buildings, such as the monumental granary, known as Rupe, begun in the fifteenth century but completed in its present form in the sixteenth (1542–90). Its name *rupe* (caverns), refers to the fifteen enormous (3 × 3 × 9 m) well-like repositories for the storage of wheat, dug into the living bedrock. This explains the choice of the site, considerably removed from the city harbor, but obviously providing the ideal conditions for grain storage. With a storage capacity of 80 cubic meters for each of the "wells," the total capacity of the granary was 1,200 cubic meters of grain. Above the repositories, organized in three rows of five "wells," rose a three-story building, intended for the management of grain and, presumably, its distribution. The well openings were contained within the lowest vaulted hall, whose fifteen groin-vaulted bays were supported on eight massive (1 × 1.2 m) stone piers and the enclosing walls of the building. Each of the groin vaults had an opening in its apex, directly above the openings of the grain repositories of the main floor. The vaulting openings were obviously related to the lifting devices used for the retrieval of grain from the wells below. The upper two stories of the building had wooden floors. The building's exterior was marked by small window openings set in plain walls, its overall austerity reflecting its utilitarian function.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Dubrovnik were not distinguished by the construction of major churches. The very end of the fifteenth century witnessed the completion of the Franciscan church by the making of its impressive Late Gothic portal (fig. 921). Originally installed in the west façade, following extensive damage suffered by the building, possibly in the great earthquake of 1667, the portal was moved to the south façade. As such, it now fronts the Placa, the city's main east–west

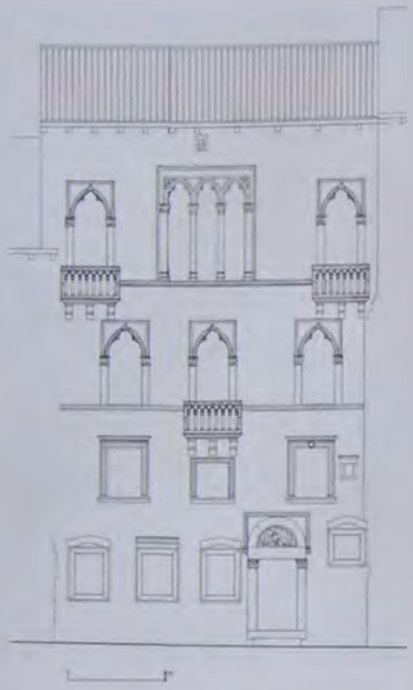


921 Dubrovnik, Franciscan Monastery; church, portal

922 Dubrovnik, Sv. Spas; general view from SW

street. Preserved archival documentation indicates that the portal was commissioned in 1498 from a well-known local sculptural workshop of the brothers Leonard and Petar Petrović. The Late Gothic portal, the most monumental portal of this type to survive in Dubrovnik, consists of a pair of elaborate door jambs, a complex tympanum, and three figurative finials. The door jambs feature pairs of small superposed niches internally decorated by blind tracery, slender colonnettes, and elaborate floral capitals. The tympanum with its complex geometric frame encloses a representation of the *Pieta*, a dramatized realistic rendition of the subject, depicting an enthroned Virgin with a transversally laid-out body of Christ, the two forming an almost cruciform composition. The finial figures, representing *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Jerome*, with *God the Father* at the top, are thought to reflect a subtle programmatic choice of the Dominicans that offered a powerful religious visual alternative to the secularizing themes advocated by contemporary humanist proponents.

The only church of consequence that was built in the city during the first half of the sixteenth century is a relatively small one dedicated to Sv. Spas (Savior), sandwiched between the city wall near the western inner city gate and the west façade of the Dominican church (fig. 922).[10] Commissioned by the city government after the earthquake of 1520, the church was finished by 1528. The work of one Petar Andrijić, a member of a well-known family of stonemasons and sculptors, it displays, yet again, the curious local predisposition to stylistic eclecticism, echoing the characteristics of the Divona, being built simultaneously at the opposite end of the same street. A single-aisle building with a semicircular apse, it reveals a conservative preference for earlier medieval church plans. Measuring 8 × 15 meters, the church is internally subdivided into three oblong bays covered by quadripartite rib vaults, another conservative choice at the time of its construction. The sides of the church are lit by four elongated double-light windows with pointed arches and Gothic tracery, a major stylistic anachronism at the



923 Dubrovnik, Ranjina Palace, main façade elevation

time. The façade, by contrast, displays every effort to present the building in the best Renaissance tradition. Using the fifteenth-century formula made popular by Italian Renaissance architects, the church features a trefoil articulation of its roof line, in reality a sham front, concealing not only the lack of aisles in the interior space, but also quadripartite vaulting on rectangular bays of the High Gothic variety. The portal, less than a quarter of a century later than the neighboring portal of the Dominican church, illustrates these stylistic paradoxes, which appear not only to have been "at home" in Dubrovnik, but also to have had a certain general aesthetic appeal. The portal of Sv. Spas, shaped as a genuine classical aedicule, is in the best Italian High Renaissance tradition.

The basic urban matrix of Dubrovnik, as we saw in the previous chapter, was substantially formed long before the beginning of the fifteenth century. Residential architecture, however, continued to be built, despite a chronic shortage of available plots. The size of individual plots continued to be constrained, each plot seldom having a street exposure in excess of 10 meters, in accordance with the thirteenth-century regulations spelled out in the Communal Statutes. The only possibility for exceeding these regulations stemmed from purchasing a neighboring piece of property, or combining two adjacent properties that at one time may have belonged to two different members of the same family. Stone construction and stone decoration of residential façades reached an apogee during the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half the sixteenth, during the height of Dubrovnik's general economic prosperity. It was during this time that the competition between individual wealthy families manifested itself in the ostentatious public display of their wealth on the façades of their city residences.

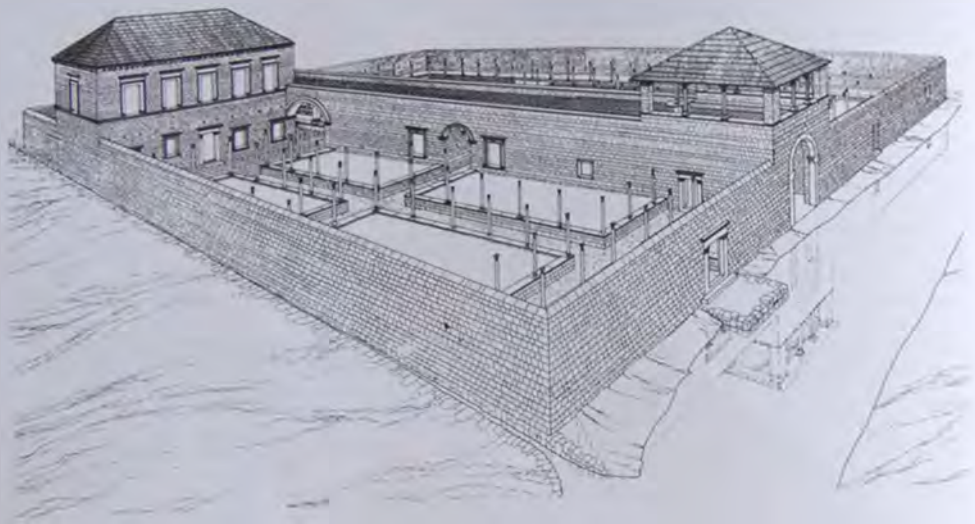
One of the best known and best preserved of the residences of the second half of the fifteenth century is the Ranjina Palace in Andrijić Brothers Street, no. 10 (fig. 923).[1] Full archival documentation has not yet been explored, but a contract signed in 1474 between the owner, one Ivan Ranjina, and a stone carver from Korčula, one Marko Andrijić, regarding the making of a stone washing basin and a cupboard, indicates that the construction of the building must have begun before that date. In keeping with long-established tradition, the palace was built on a plot of land measuring 9 × 7.5 meters. The palace is entered through a monumental Late Gothic portal, fashionable in Dubrovnik and other towns along the Adriatic littoral during this period. One of the hallmarks of such portals was the elaborate display of the family coat of arms in the semicircular tympanum above the door. Also very characteristically, the arch framing the tympanum was itself enclosed by a rectilinear, elaborately molded frame. The decided asymmetry of the ground floor gives way to an obvious attempt to introduce visual order in the upper three stories of the façade. Here, windows and balconies executed in the Venetian Gothic manner are juxtaposed with rectangular Renaissance windows, also used on the ground floor. The relatively early appearance of such a juxtaposition of styles in this private residence has been interpreted as evidence of the "transition" between Gothic and Renaissance. The issue, as we have seen, may have been different in nature, and certainly was of considerable duration, lasting at least half a century and possibly even longer.

A very different impression is made by the Skočibuha Palace in Rastic Street, no. 1 (fig. 924).[2] Commissioned by a wealthy ship-owner, Tomo Skočibuha, the palace was constructed in four years, between 1549 and 1553. The design of the palace was entrusted to a foreign architect, Magister Antonius Patavinus (Anthony from Padua), hired by the government as a supervising engineer of several projects in the city and as an expert in the casting of bronze cannon. The hiring of foreign architects for the design of a private residence was a most unusual practice

in Dubrovnik. The result was a unique building, without precedents, but also without any direct following in Dubrovnik. The palace is one of the largest and most ostentatious residences in the city. Situated in the quarter of Pustijerna, the most prestigious residential district, it has a physical mass that towers over the surrounding structures. Its large size (15 × 8 m in plan; 19 m high, without the roof) has an air of uncommon monumentality in the context of old Dubrovnik. The unusually large dimensions derive from combining several plots into one. It is known from preserved archival documents that the building incorporated the remains of an older private residence that stood on the same site. The façade of the building reveals an adherence to the Dubrovnik tradition as far as the internal organization is concerned, but it embraces a totally foreign model in its exterior articulation. In contrast to local convention, the building is raised on an artificial platform that negates the sloping street in front of it. The façade is conceived in the High Renaissance tradition, which has prompted much speculation among scholars as to what prototypes may have been known to Magister Antonius around 1550. Although the architect made every effort to apply current Renaissance principles, the influence of the local tradition could not be entirely suppressed. Thus, the ground floor of the palace, as was common in Dubrovnik, is unusually low, and the corresponding features, such as the main portal, appear unusually squashed in their proportions. At the same time, and for the same reasons, the top floor of the building, reflecting local custom, contains the main reception hall and is therefore the tallest floor. The elaborate "aedicular" windows reflect this particular characteristic very clearly. The idiosyncratic character of the Skočibuha Palace reveals at once the cosmopolitan spirit prevailing among the Dubrovnik elite, but also persistent conservatism of certain local traditions that could not be suppressed lightly.

924 Dubrovnik, Skočibuha Palace; main façade elevation

The emerging Renaissance culture in Italian cities of the second half of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth had a very limited and very specific effect on the eastern Adriatic littoral. Dubrovnik was the most important recipient of this development, largely on account of the rise of a wealthy, well-educated class of native aristocrats, whose contacts with Italian cities, predominantly with Venice, but also with Florence and other centers, left a distinctive mark on the architectural heritage of their republic. Even so, the manner and the extent of foreign influence in Dubrovnik were pronounced only in certain contexts and not at all in others. Perhaps the most remarkable of the phenomena that reflect the receptivity to Italian cultural models was the appearance of suburban and, especially, of country villas.[7] Although related to the tradition of land ownership and management that had much older, regional medieval roots, the construction of certain types of villas in the course of the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth was distinctive and without parallels anywhere else along the Adriatic littoral. During this period scores of private estates were embellished with villas. As many as one hundred reasonably well-preserved complexes of this kind are estimated still to survive on the territories that once constituted the Dubrovnik Republic.[8] Inasmuch as dependence on Italian models and the Italian cultural framework is undeniable, it is important to recognize that the villas developed in a manner that also reflects strong regional characteristics. These have to do with their actual design, as well as with their execution. The specific desires and expectations of the Dubrovnik elite was at least as important a factor in the shaping of this phenomenon, as was the theoretical framework of Italian humanism upon whose foundations it ultimately rested. Equally important was the almost exclusive involvement of local master builders and artisans in the making of these villas. A particularly telling characteristic of their input



925 Rožat, Villa Rastić: perspective reconstruction

was a basic conservatism in style. Thus Gothic details are often found in the context of sophisticated planning ideas that have their parallels in the more advanced phases of Renaissance thought. Unthinkable in a sixteenth-century Italian context, such juxtapositions are reflections of local dynamics within the creative process.

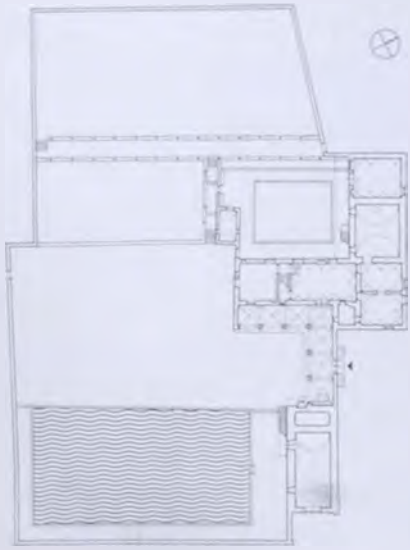
Scholarship has singled out various idiosyncratic characteristics of these villas. Of particular interest are components such as towers, small freestanding private chapels, etc., that appear sporadically and point to the survival of older regional customs and needs. Variations between villa types and their objectives have been analyzed and several interesting conclusions have been drawn. Thus, for example, the degree of emphasis on ostentation and the manner in which a villa would be perceived by visitors grew in proportion to the proximity of a given villa to Dubrovnik itself. Clearly, by the sixteenth century, a concern for public visibility as a demonstration of wealth and power had reached a high point. At the same time, aspects of security, which were priority issues in other parts of the Adriatic littoral, were virtually absent on private estates on the territory of Dubrovnik. This suggests that the ability to renegotiate and perpetuate its independent status vis-à-vis its much stronger neighbors was constant, and that the Dubrovnik elite spared no effort or economic resources in maintaining the cherished status quo.

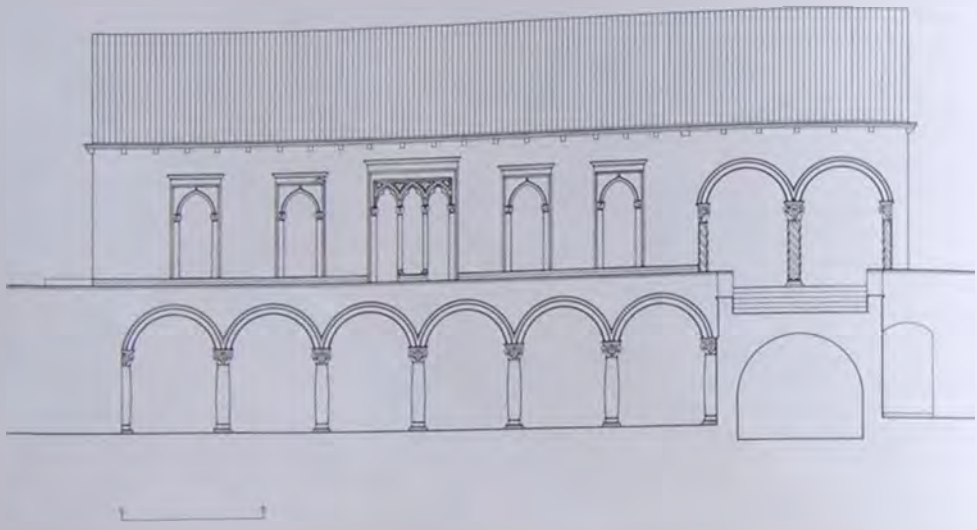
Among the many villas that still survive, we will focus on three that illustrate the main features of this category of architecture and culture typical of the Dubrovnik Republic from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth. As a convenient paradigmatic case, we will first refer to the Villa Rastić in Rožat, at the source of a short river, known as Rijeka Dubrovačka. The river flows into a bay northeast of the city, which accordingly has a high proportion of fresh water.[1] The coastline here was one of the favorite resort areas of the Dubrovnik aristocracy, many of whom had their villas in this bucolic setting. Although precise documentation is lacking, it appears that the Villa Rastić complex came into being around the middle of the sixteenth century. Notable for a remarkable degree of regularity in planning, its rectangular walled enclosure was entered through a gate on the left side of the front wall that was built on the waterfront, enabling smaller vessels to be moored directly in front of it (fig. 925). In the middle of the front wall was another, arched gate that opened into a boat-storage facility (*orsan*). The main entrance gate served as the starting point of an axial layout that led through a garden, with the main walkway covered with a pergola, leading toward the main building block. The axis con-

tinued through the vestibule hall on the ground level into a small garden at the back of the block. A stair led from the vestibule hall to the main reception room on the upper floor. Here we find one of the most commonly employed planning schemes – the main reception room with three windows at front and back flanked by four small rooms, each accessible by a separate door. This characteristic constellation of a main central room with four subsidiary ones recalls such planning arrangements in the villas of late antiquity (see Chapter 3). It is highly unlikely that there is any direct connection between these two traditions separated by a millennium, but the striking resemblance should not be totally ignored. Scholars have expressed an opinion that many aspects of villas of this type owe more to the local tradition – including the Roman – than they do to current Renaissance ideals. Be that as it may, the Villa Rastic shows in no uncertain terms its owner's awareness of the spirit of humanism. Above each of the four doors leading from the reception room into the smaller chambers is a niche with a bust of a historical notable. The main block of the Villa Rastić is linked to a long and narrow single-story wing that stretches the full length of the enclosed compound, separating two sections of the formal garden from each other. The low wing contains, in addition to the *orsan* at the front, also a large vaulted room, an arcuated portico, a cistern, two smaller rooms, and an arched passage connecting the two formal gardens by means of a cross axis defined by pathways laid out in a rigidly symmetrical manner. Two wall fountains mark the terminal points of this axis. The roof of the wing is flat and constitutes an open terrace, common in villas of this kind. Used for social occasions, including receptions and small musical or theatrical performances, such terraces, surrounded by the greenery of the gardens, were at the heart of the life of leisure enjoyed by the Dubrovnik aristocracy during its "Golden Age." At the far end of the roof terrace, and directly above the *orsan*, was situated an open pavilion, consisting of a square hip roof supported on four piers and six columns. This was a place where the owners of the house could enjoy a quiet contemplative moment overlooking the bay, and be seen from the distance by their neighbors, to whose social class they belonged.

One of the most representative villa complexes is undoubtedly the Villa Sorkočević on the peninsula of Lapad, just west of Dubrovnik (fig. 926).[11] Built for Petar Sorkočević, a distinguished public figure and a member of the Dubrovnik aristocracy, this is one of the finest and also best-preserved complexes of this type. Begun in 1518, it was substantially finished by 1521. Measuring roughly 50 meters (60 m where the main building is situated) by 85 meters, the complex consists of three main components – the residential building, the garden, and a large (18 × 33 m) fishpond. The complex is enclosed, as is typical of all such villas, by a wall, whose primary function appears to have been privacy, rather than security. Although the wall in this case has crenelations on top, these must have had a strictly decorative function, since the wall was too thin for a walkway on top that would have been essential for any military use. The main part of the villa has an inverted L-shaped plan organized in two stories. The lower floor contains the main vestibule hall accessible through a portico linking it to the main gate in the outer wall. From the vestibule hall via a stair one reaches the main reception hall on the upper floor, with large Gothic windows. This was the largest and most representative room of the house. A three-light opening on its east side gives access to a roof terrace atop utilitarian rooms, including an *orsan* and a cistern. The roof terrace, as was common, was the focus of the social life of the villa. The opposite side of the main wing of the villa faced a courtyard, framed by another wing of the main building on the north and the chapel on its south side. Owing to the sloping terrain, the courtyard overlooks two lower levels of a formal garden with a pergola-covered walkway separating the two. Unlike Villa Rastic with its rigidly symmetrical layout, Villa Sorkocevic seems to follow exactly the opposite principles. This apparent lack of appreciation for orderly planning was evidently the deliberate choice of the owner, whose

926 Lapad, Villa Sorkočević: plan





927 Batahovina, Villa Bunić-Kabužić: elevation of main wing

taste seems to have been inclined toward juxtaposing Gothic with Renaissance styles. As the public supervisor of the construction of the Knežev dvor, Petar Sorkočević was clearly involved in the implementation of such stylistic choices also in another, public context.

That the seemingly curious juxtaposition of what, by some standards, are two irreconcilable styles was not an isolated incident, or a choice of one eccentric man, we learn from yet another roughly contemporary villa – the Villa Bunić-Kabužić at Batahovina, overlooking the bay of Rijeka Dubrovačka. Built by one Miho Bunić, evidently at the same time as the Villa Sorkočević on Lapad, this villa shares in the pleasure of juxtaposing Gothic with Renaissance styles in a comparable manner (fig. 927). The upper story of the main wing of this villa sits on a terrace, formed by the lower story that incorporates a large, six-arched portico opening toward the garden. This arcade uses a system of Renaissance round arches, while the upper-story façade, 29 meters long and set back with respect to the lower-floor arcade, is marked by a system of two pairs of single-light windows framing a central three-light opening. To the right, two round-headed arches supported on Gothic-style twisted columns relate to an open loggia. The symmetry of the left, main portion of the upper-story arrangement is related to the interior symmetrical planning scheme, involving a central reception hall with two pairs of smaller corner chambers, as noted also at the Villa Rastić. The lower story displays a totally different layout of rooms, the asymmetry of whose openings is concealed behind the arcaded portico facing the garden. Villa Bunić-Kabužić is also noted for its small chapel that sits on an upper terrace to the right of the loggia. The chapel has a single rectangular room, but is marked externally by an octagonal lantern that recalls older church architecture in Dalmatia with its distinctive Byzantine associations. Such conservative flashbacks are a hallmark of the villa architecture of the Dubrovnik Republic, whose making was very much a product of the wishes of the aristocracy and their builders. It should be stressed that, despite the general dependence of the concept of "villa" on the Italian Renaissance, the freedom from foreign influence in the matter of stylistic choices appears to have been much greater in the context of these suburban and country villas than in residential architecture in the city itself, where, on occasion, imported ideas and design concepts stood out clearly.

Šibenik (Sebenico)

First mentioned in the sources in 1066, Šibenik shares the tumultuous history of other Dalmatian towns, caught as it was among the interests of Byzantium, Venice, and Hungary in their struggles for the control of the Dalmatian coast. Following a very

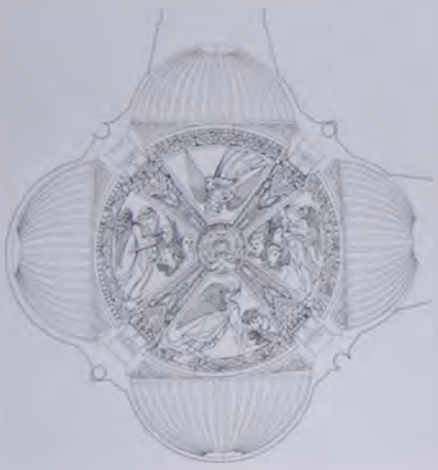
unsettled period during the second half of the fourteenth century. Šibenik came under the control of Venice in 1409 and remained in that relationship until Venice's demise in 1797. The relative economic prosperity of the town, achieved under the Venetians during the fifteenth century, is reflected in its urban growth. It was the main town square that took on its final form during the second half of the fifteenth century with the construction of the town hall on its north side and the cathedral along its south flank. The town hall, whose construction is recorded in 1452, is an impressive Renaissance two-storied building.[1] Its main, long façade fronts the main square, featuring a nine-bay arcade on the ground level and a corresponding colonnade on the upper story, accessed by a monumental open exterior stair on the left side of the building (fig. 928). Very much in the spirit of Renaissance architecture, the building conceptually harks back to antiquity with its sense of stoa-like openness in relationship to the public space in front of it. Comparable in some sense with Dubrovnik's Knežev dvor (see fig. 919), the Šibenik town hall is much more open, shedding any traces of a fortified structure retained in the Knežev dvor as rebuilt after the explosion of 1463. Featuring a series of shops and offices behind the open ground arcade, a great meeting hall is situated on the second floor, whose large windows overlook the central square, while a ceremonial balcony, for the occasional appearance of dignitaries, occupies the central position on the long façade, in a manner reminiscent of the loggia in the Doge's Palace facing the Piazzetta in Venice. The building was completely destroyed during the Second World War, but was reconstructed in the years 1949–52.

By far the most impressive building undertaken, not only in Šibenik, but in all of Dalmatia, during the second half of the fifteenth century was the cathedral of Sv. Jakov (St. James).[2] Begun in 1431, the idea for the cathedral on this site had been adopted by the town council already in 1402. The consecration of the building took place more than a century and a half later, in 1555. During the long interval of time a number of builders –

928 Šibenik, Town Hall; general view after reconstruction

929 Šibenik, Cathedral, aerial view from N

930 Šibenik, Cathderal baptistery, reflected plan of vaulting



some of them of considerable distinction – were involved in its execution. Despite the many changes in design, the final product is an impressive, monumental building, one of the largest cathedral structures on the Dalmatian coast (fig. 929). Built on the site of a much smaller church destroyed before the construction of the new building began in 1431, the cathedral was initially entrusted to three Italian master builders and two native stone carvers. In 1444 the project passed into the hands of Juraj Dalmatinac, one of the most important master builders and sculptors of the mid-fifteenth-century, who remained in charge of the building until his death in 1473. He was succeeded by Nikola Firentinac (Niccolò da Firenze), after whose death, in 1505, the church was completed by Bartolommeo and Giacomo da Mestre. The cathedral was begun as a conventional three-aisled, three-apsed basilica, presumably reminiscent of Zadar Cathedral. The scheme was substantially modified by Master Juraj, who introduced a transept and created a crossing, with the intention of positioning a dome above it. He was responsible for the raising of the floor of the presbytery and for creating the baptistery, directly below the east end of the south aisle. The idea

931 Šibenik, Cathedral: east end, detail of base with frieze

of a baptistery within a crypt-like space, though unusual, was not without precedents, the most significant one being that of the cathedral of Siena, where similarly sloping terrain facilitated direct access into the baptistery from the east end of the church. The design of the baptistery is one of Master Juraj's masterpieces (fig. 930). Based on a centralized plan, the space is a tetraconch, with a central square opening into four very shallow conches. Four diagonally placed pilaster-like elements rise to support four ribs that reach the apex of a shallow saucer dome. The central disc within the dome shell is dominated by a three-dimensional frontal bust of *God the Father*, who looks down in a manner reminiscent of two-dimensional representations of Christ the Pantokrator in the apexes of domes in Byzantine churches, a concept that would have been familiar to Master Juraj, whose travels throughout his long career had given him an opportunity to visit many different sites. The disc with *God the Father* is positioned directly above a low marble-carved baptismal font of chalice shape. Carved in the style of Late Gothic sculpture, architecturally and programmatically, the baptistery of Šibenik Cathedral moves beyond its time, anticipating certain qualities that may be associated with the early work of Bramante toward the end of the fifteenth century. Master Juraj was also responsible for refashioning the eastern end of the cathedral. Though retaining certain qualities of Late Gothic architecture in some of its details, the overall character of this part of the building is marked by its simple, austere classicizing form, imbued with a monumentality that derives not merely from the size, but from the simplicity of its geometric components and their effective three-dimensional composition. Separating the tall dado zone from the upper walls is an extraordinary frieze, consisting of two parallel torus mouldings, the band between them filled with seventy-four three-dimensional male heads, each depicting a different individual (fig. 931). Much has been written about the identity of some or all of the individuals depicted here, but without any consensus about either whom they may represent, or the meaning of the entire arrangement. The ingenuity of Master Juraj is reflected also in some of the structural issues related to the cathedral. It was apparently he who introduced the idea of vaulting the cathedral in a distinctive manner. The individual bays of the central vessel and aisles are covered by a series of large

stone slabs, cut so that they span the distance between two successive transversal arches resting on piers. The slabs are, furthermore, dovetailed in such a manner as to provide a rain-tight fit. Thus, the slabs are both the building's vault and its roofing. This ancient building concept was generally not employed in medieval architecture. How and why Master Juraj may have arrived at this choice is not clear, but it certainly bespeaks his extraordinary imagination and readiness for experimentation. Although the construction of the dome was the work of Niccolò da Firenze, its design appears to relate closely to Master Juraj's ideas. The dome, elevated on a tall, octagonal drum, perforated by sixteen large round-headed windows, has a pointed profile, reminiscent of Florence Cathedral, albeit more attenuated and on a considerably smaller scale. Using a system of ribbing also reminiscent of the dome of Florence Cathedral, the actual shell of the dome was constructed of stone slabs, using the method of assembly invented by Master Juraj for the vaulting of the nave and the side aisles. Rising to an interior height of 32 meters, the dome was an appropriate crowning feature for the largest medieval cathedral built along the Dalmatian coast. A stylistic collage as far as its aesthetic principles are concerned, the cathedral of Sibenik is a true eclectic masterpiece in which some of the finest aspects of late Venetian Gothic overlap smoothly with those of the early Florentine Renaissance.

POREČ (PARENZO)

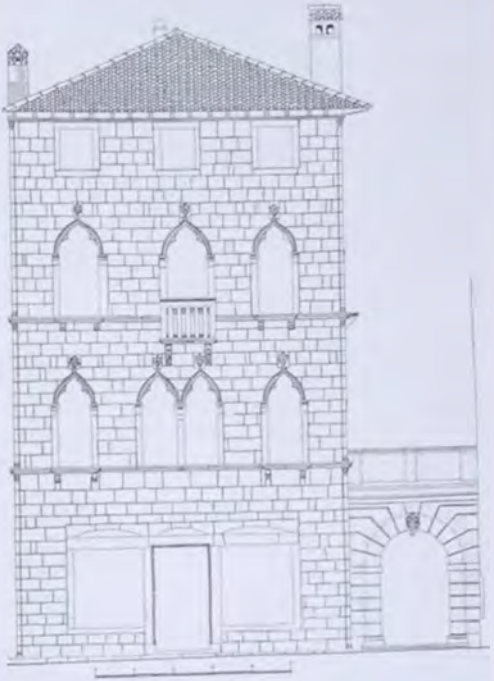
Under Venetian control from 1267, Poreč experienced an initial period of relative economic prosperity followed by a prolonged period of decline. Having suffered in wars between Venice and the Habsburgs over the control of the Istrian peninsula, Poreč was also visited by the plague on three separate occasions during the second half of the fifteenth century. Despite these adverse circumstances, architectural activity in the city continued, manifesting itself especially in the strengthening of the town's fortifications and the construction or reconstruction of private houses. After *circa* 1500, when the population of Poreč still numbered some 3,000 inhabitants, its precipitous decline began, which saw its population reduced to one-tenth of that number a century later.[17]

The town's older fortifications were able to withstand a siege laid by the Hungarian king Sigismund in 1413. Yet, as a result of the rapid expansion of the Ottoman state following the fall of Constantinople, a decision was made to strengthen the short stretch of town walls, with the aim of protecting the land approaches from the east side. The project involved the remodeling of a pentagonal tower belonging to an older fortification system and the construction of two massive cylindrical towers at the corner points of the circuit enclosure.[18] The two towers, built in 1473 and 1474, respectively, reflect the influence of contemporary Venetian military architecture in their placement, design, and execution. Measuring 18 meters at its base, the southeastern tower, despite its highly regular exterior appearance, contains an irregular system of interior passages, chambers, and stairs that lead to a circular, domed central room on the second level, from which six irregularly spaced cannon positions radiate in all directions. The exterior of the tower has all of the characteristics of Venetian fortification architecture. Carefully built of regular ashlar blocks, the tower has a base with slightly battered walls that rise 5 meters from ground level. Crowned by a simple torus molding that runs around the entire tower, the base supports the cylindrical upper story, in the lowest part of which are the six cannon positions visible externally as small round loopholes. The tower, as is the case with its northeastern counterpart, has no other apertures and presents a foreboding exterior impression. This intervention, it must be admitted, was of more limited practical use than its appearance would suggest. The phenomenon of partially improving existing fortification systems and building smaller forts was part of a larger approach characteristic of the entire eastern Adriatic littoral during the period, about which more will be said below.

The other indicators of the relative degree of prosperity in Poreč during the second half of the fifteenth century are the private residences rebuilt, or built anew, by the aristocratic class grown in importance in Poreč following the Venetian takeover in 1267, considerably earlier than in many other settlements along the east coast of the Adriatic. The phenomenon of the urban growth of Poreč, following the layout of the ancient system of streets, was noted in the previous chapter. In fact, it must be stressed that the genuine urban growth of the town had

932 Poreč, House at Decumanus, No. 5; main façade elevation

933 Poreč, House at Decumanus, No. 5: main façade, general view



934 Poreč, House at Decumanus, No. 8/9: main façade elevation

taken place largely by *circa* 1300. The spurt of urban architectural activity during the second half of the fifteenth century that we will address here has a very different character. During this period it became fashionable for the well-to-do citizens of Poreč to indulge in upgrading their existing residences by giving them Venetian Gothic façades. By far the largest number of architectural undertakings fell into this category, while the number of residential buildings constructed *in toto* at the time was relatively small. A number of buildings in Poreč belonging to this period still survive; their number was considerably greater before the Second World War, during which whole quarters of the town were destroyed in bombing campaigns.

The house at Decumanus, no. 5, is one of the best-preserved examples of residential architecture dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.[*] Built in 1473, this was an entirely new construction. Its somewhat irregular rectangular plan is internally divided into three spaces on all of its three levels, while the highly symmetrical façade bespeaks a design approach in the Venetian spirit of the second half of the fifteenth century (figs. 932 and 933). Constructed of carefully cut stone ashlars, the façade rises through three stories, the top two separated from the ground story by a string-course. The ground floor features two symmetrically disposed stores with their storefronts consisting of doors and large display windows. Between the two shops is a monumental rectangular portal leading into an entrance hall through which one reaches a stair at the opposite end of the hall. The windows on both upper levels are symmetrically disposed. Two large triple window arrangements in the center of each of the two upper stories consist of ogee arches resting on columns. Comparable single windows occur in symmetrical positions also

on both levels. The shape of the windows and their architectural and sculptural details are all in the spirit of Venetian Late Gothic. Another comparable example, the house at Decumanus, no. 80, is a four-story residential building. Its interior spatial organization has been repeatedly altered since its construction, but its façade displays all of the characteristics of the sophisticated residential architecture of this period (fig. 934). Unlike the house at Decumanus, no. 5, this façade does not reveal a strict dependence on the rules of symmetry. Vertically, the façade is divided into three tiers by two string-courses, while its corners are marked by slender engaged colonnettes whose heights match those of the three tiers. The tiers match the heights of the ground and second stories, while the height of the third tier combines the height of the third story with that of a low attic story below the eaves of a hipped roof. Built of carefully cut ashlar blocks, this façade displays virtuosity of workmanship characteristic of the period. Only single windows, and a two-light one, were employed with identical stylistic characteristics to those on the house at Decumanus, no. 5. The main distinguishing feature of this house is its window with a balcony on the third floor, constituting the single such surviving feature among the fifteenth-century residential buildings still standing in Poreč.

* * *

The situation along the eastern Adriatic Littoral under Venetian control during the period in question – with the exception of Dubrovnik – as we have seen, reveals signs of general decline. Only in rare cases, as at Šibenik, the local community, despite the odds, managed to complete projects of major importance. Indeed, these achievements were exceptions against the background of economic stagnation and mounting fears of an Ottoman invasion. Venice, having taken control of most of the towns, invested in their improvements only in a minimal way. These were mostly apparent in the realm of fortifications, though even those remained limited in scope, aimed at resolving the most urgent needs. Large-scale Venetian fortification projects lay elsewhere and mostly in the future. Depending on some of the perceived strategic needs, the Venetians did, on rare occasions, make impressive investments and even involved their main architects in the execution of such projects. Thus, for example, the strengthening of the land walls of Zadar (Zara), Croatia, was entrusted to the distinguished architect Michele Sanmichelli and his nephew Giangirolamo. The fortifications of Zadar were substantially dismantled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but Sanmichelli's masterpiece, the Land City Gate (Porta Terraferma) is fully preserved (fig. 935). Built in 1543, under the supervision of his nephew Giangirolamo, the city gate combines the function of a triumphal arch with that of a city gate. A work in the spirit of Mannerism, the gate displays all the characteristics of this stylistic trend, employing the robust forms of the Tuscan Doric order. Prominently displaying the Lion of St. Mark above its main arched entrance, this was clearly envisioned as the centerpiece of the Venetian propaganda.

935 Zadar, Land City Gate; general view

Other, general characteristics of fortification architecture between *circa* 1450 and *circa* 1550, also emerge. Beyond those already discussed above within the framework of individual towns, these are also deserving of notice. Driven by the growing sense of threat emanating from the Ottoman hinterland, smaller settlements, especially large private estates, found it expedient to take matters of security into their own hands. Thus, features pertaining to "military architecture" became suffused with other architectural enterprises, whose functions had little or nothing to do with military concerns. An especially instructive illustration of this phenomenon is provided by a series of small citadels/settlements (*castella*) built by wealthy aristocratic families along the stretch of the coastline between Split and Trogir. Collectively known as Kaštela, seven of such fortified establishments were built predominantly as fortified residences of the aristocratic families from Split and Trogir. Built primarily during the last decades of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, these citadels reflect the growing concern from Turkish raids that had become a regular threat at the time. Though the Ottomans never gained firm control of the coastline, their presence in the immediate hinterlands was a source of major anxieties for the landholders in the area. Most of the Kaštela were built on small islands close to the shoreline, further increasing their defensive effectiveness.

Elsewhere, as in the vicinity of the town of Senj, Croatia, in 1558 a local strongman, one Ivan Lenković, built a fortified outpost, known as Nehaj, on a hill overlooking the town. The

936 Senj, Nehaj; aerial view

well-built freestanding fort, outfitted with twelve loopholes for canon, could also serve as a fortified residence in times of need (fig. 936). Square in plan, measuring *circa* 16 x 16m, the fort rises as a solid cubical mass through three stories. The twelve loopholes, three on each of the four faces, are on the topmost floor that constitutes an enclosed gallery covered by a roof that slopes inward toward a central opening that brings air and light into a small central court. The four corners are accentuated by four small square turrets, supported on corbels at the mid-point of the building height. Rising slightly higher than the main building mass these turrets give it a characteristic silhouette that recalls the late antique *tetrapyrgia*. As in the age that had produced *tetrapyrgia* in the Balkans over a thousand years earlier, the chief impetus for building Nehaj was the fear of a potential invasion, protection against which rested in the hands of enterprising communities, organized groups, and even individual families. It should be noted that the sixteenth century witnessed also the reappearance of fortified individual churches and small monasteries, as a result of the very same conditions. The westernmost part of the Balkans that did not succumb to the Ottoman conquest, found itself itself in a particularly difficult position during the first half of the sixteenth century. This played a decisive role in

937 Mt. Athos, "Kathisma of Myloposamos"; general view from sea

938 Staro Slano, tower; general view

the character of architectural output in this particular region. Limited economic resources were predominantly being invested in fortifications. Venice, nominally in control of most of the area in question, her own resources stretched to a maximum, found it expedient to invest as little as possible in local building enterprises. The middle of the sixteenth century, then, saw a low point in architectural production in Dalmatia and its immediate hinterland.

The situation was not significantly different on the "other side of the fence" either. The Ottoman Turks – by then at the peak of their power – having firmed up their control over most of the Balkans, were investing surprisingly little in the construction of new buildings on the territories they controlled. The enormous resources amassed as a result of the wars of conquest were largely being poured into the city of Constantinople, and increasingly, into the major ancient centers of the Islamic world that had also came under the sway of Süleyman the Magnificent around this time. Thus, despite the growing tensions and overt confrontations among the western powers and the Ottoman Empire, or perhaps because of these, the Balkans around *circa* 1500 reached a level of relatively low building productivity. Despite sporadically impressive achievements, there were no visible trends that would suggest a significant building boom. At the same time, it must be emphasized that building continued at a lower pace and at a more modest scale. Principal investors in the building industry predominantly became well-to-do individuals and social groups – local Ottoman officials, Christian merchants, select monasteries that regained their footing under the new circumstances, etc.

Though, relative peace eventually prevailed, its effects yielded little in the form of economic stability and security needed for full-scale rejuvenation. Brigandage, piracy, social and religious tensions and suspicions among different ethnic groups, all led to a growing sense of insecurity and fear that became normative in the following centuries. These, in turn, yielded a need for fortification architecture. Monasteries on Mount Athos, exposed to pirate raids, but also enjoying privileged status with the

939 Stato Slano, Fortified complex: general view

Ottoman authorities, became leaders in construction of fortification towers during the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Two of several of such towers that survive on Mount Athos are associated with Karakallou Monastery. The first belongs to the main monastery complex. Approximately 28m high, this massive tower was built in *circa* 1535, under the auspices of the Walachian ruler, Petru V. Raresh, who obtained three written permissions from Süleyman the Magnificent himself authorizing the said construction work.[81] Within the eyesight from the main monastery, and quite close to the seashore arose, virtually conte "Kathisma of Myloporamos" (fig. 937). Rising to a height of 21.60m, its tower measures *circa* 7.5 x 7.5m in plan.[82] Entered through a door *circa* 4.5m above the ground level, the tower was heavily fortified. In 1534, apparently not too long after the tower's construction, a massively fortified, lower enclosure was added. Equipped with positions for several cannon, this clearly became a major defensive outpost for the monastery and its monks in their continuous dealings with pirate raiders.

Towers also appear in other late medieval Balkan contexts. We find a group, possibly of residential function, in a late-medieval village of Siderokausia (present-day Stegeira) in northeastern Chalkidiki, Greece. This late medieval village was related to the nearby iron-ore mines. The present remains of this settlement are associated with the revitalization of the mines by Süleyman the Magnificent in *circa* 1530.[83] The towers are deemed too-lightly constructed to be of genuine military use. At the same time, they are relatable to residential towers known elsewhere in the Balkans. Their appearance here bespeaks the fact that the attitude of the Ottoman patrons was evidently no different than that of the Christian patrons throughout the Balkans as far as taking the matters of security into their own hands.

A particularly impressive example of a fortified settlement on the western fringe of the Ottoman Empire is the so-called Stato Slano, in the vicinity of Trebinje, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Long since abandoned, the impressive ruins of this outpost still dominate the countryside in the area (fig. 939).[84] According to the

celebrated Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, who visited the area *circa* 1664, "the fortification and the tower were built by Gazi Husrefpaşa, possibly Gazi Husref Beg, the great builder of Sarajevo (1521–41)."[35] No other documentation survives, but the physical remains of the complex unmistakably indicate that it was repaired on several occasions. After 1687, it was evidently enlarged to accommodate a migration of Turkish families from Herceg Novi, following its conquest by Venice.[36] The most impressive feature of Stara Slano is unquestionably its six-story tower that appears to belong to the oldest phase of construction (fig. 938). The same phase seems to include several large residential buildings, all featuring uniformly fine stone construction. According to Çelebi, thirty military men whose main task was guarding the road that linked Sarajevo with Dubrovnik manned the outpost. In addition, they also collected taxes from the merchants traveling through with their caravans.

Private patronage of fortification architecture continued in the Balkans well beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. As the central authority of the Ottoman state declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the phenomenon of building fortified residence became widespread. Although, chronologically speaking, this subject matter is entirely outside the scope of this book, we refer to it as an important phenomenon of continuity that would characterize architecture in the Balkans until well into the nineteenth century. A building category that experienced the widest degree of dissemination involved fortified residences, frequently in the form of multi-storied towers. These have been noted and studied in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece (notably on the island of Euboia and on the Mane Peninsula).[37] On the Mane Peninsula alone, as many as 204 residential towers are now known to have existed in 1821. Equally significantly, these fortified residences could be found in clusters within towns or villages, but also in isolation in the countryside. Fortified residences, one of the significant architectural categories in several different historical periods, thus also became one of the most enduring symbols, marking an era of protracted economic and social stagnation of pre-modern Balkans.

Finally, we must mention that, in addition to the fortified residences and monastic complexes, much as in the course of the fifth century, fortifying individual church buildings also became normative. This was especially true in the western part of the Balkans, in areas not under direct Ottoman control, but exposed to frequent, surprise raids by small Ottoman units.[38]

* * *

Our discussion of various idiosyncrasies of late medieval fortification architecture in the Balkans brings us to the end of the chapter whose aim was to explore the establishment of the new order in the area. With the Ottoman control of most of the Balkans fully in place by the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the Balkan Peninsula once again became an important unified component of a vast, trans-continental empire. As had been the case in the earlier periods of Byzantine history, the checkered ethnic and cultural map of the Balkans was brought under the umbrella of a single powerful state. Despite its undisputed regional superiority, as had been the case with the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire seldom if ever, could claim absolute control over the territories in its possession. Consequently, "micro security," the safeguarding of privately owned estates, residences, and the like, depended not on the effectiveness of a "macro security" system managed by the state. Instead, it passed fully into the hands of the private sector, continuing, in some sense, a pattern already established in the Balkan states during the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries, albeit for different reasons. The Ottoman attitude toward fortification architecture, as seen in this chapter, could also be compared with that of the Byzantines in the fifth century, when the new imperial policies pertaining to matters of security vis-a-vis various adversaries, were being broadly tested.

Ottoman appropriation of the Byzantine models took on a number of different forms and modes beyond the invoked similarities related to fortification architecture. The form of direct borrowing from the Byzantines in matters of buildings and technical know-how dominated the scene during the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth centuries, either through the employment of Byzantine builders, or through the skills acquired from the Byzantine builders being applied by the new generations of Ottoman builders. A major shift in this regard began toward the middle of the sixteenth century, as the vastly expanded Ottoman empire, now brought under its sway new territories, some of which – as Egypt and Syria – were distinguished by highly developed building traditions of their own. Despite the changes brought about by the influx of skilled master builders, artisans and workers from these lands, the focus on certain aspects of the Byzantine past continued in building design throughout this period of new directions in Ottoman building industry. There is no better example of this conscious, albeit selective link with Byzantium than that seen in the career of the greatest of all Ottoman architects – Sinan. It was Sinan, whose scrutiny and critical emulation of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, resulted in a flurry of virtual "copies" of the Great Church. Thus, a paradox of sorts occurred. While the Byzantines, probably deliberately, never emulated the Cathedral Church of Constantinople, the Ottomans made a virtual rule of it, especially in the context of their most important imperial mosques. Beyond that, the Ottomans introduced a new paradigm of mosque design that displays a strong preference for the

unified, domed interior. Once introduced, the new mosque concept spread quickly throughout the empire. Hundreds of mosques of greatly varying dimensions, built by a variety of patrons throughout the Balkans – but also elsewhere – reveals the extent of the Byzantine impact on emerging Ottoman architecture. Although Ottoman mosques can hardly be mistaken for Byzantine churches, the pre-eminence of certain features – notably their distinctive domes – betrays a sense of continuity that marked another watershed transition, that between the architecture of late antiquity and that of the Byzantine Empire, a millennium earlier. By *circa* 1550, some of the greatest architectural creations once more began to rise on the Balkan soil, signalling not only the expansive spirit of the newly established empire, but also the adoption of a distinctive aesthetic, reverberating with distant but unmistakable echoes of the age of Justinian I.

EPILOGUE

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE FATE OF MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE BALKANS AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY

If they destroy here, then somewhere else someone else is building. Surely there are still peaceful countries and men of good sense who know God's love? If God had abandoned this unlucky town on the Drina, he had surely not abandoned the whole world that was beneath the skies. They would not do this forever. But who knows? Who knows? Anything might happen. But one thing could not happen. It could not be that great and wise men of exalted soul who would raise lasting buildings for the love of God, so that the world should be more beautiful and man live in it better and more easily, should everywhere and for all time vanish from this earth. Should they too vanish, it would mean that the love of God was extinguished and had disappeared from the world. That could not be.

I. Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina* (New York, 1959), pp. 313–14.

Architectural production in the Balkans during a period of time spanning nearly thirteen centuries, between *circa* 300 and *circa* 1550, displayed major fluctuations in concert with the political, social, and religious developments as well as their economic corollaries, ranging from peaks of prosperity to depths of deprivation. Invasions and internal upheavals caused by social or religious confrontations fueled shifts in economic conditions that directly affected building production. While "what" was built and "why" at any given historical moment reflected a variety of political, social, or religious trends, the volume and quality of construction were invariably unmistakable gauges of the current economic conditions. Much of the surviving architectural heritage considered within this book is scattered across the Balkan peninsula. The buildings in question, in addition to their intrinsic qualities, constitute a rich body of material evidence documenting this long span of time. Today, the buildings that make up that heritage often languish in isolation, abandoned, or fulfilling missions very different from those that initially prompted their construction.[1] While the Balkan peninsula at various moments of its history was totally dominated by vast imperial

940 (*facing page*) Edirne, Ottoman Palace, Cihannuma Kasr, photo before 1876–77 destruction (see p. 580)

establishments (Byzantine, Ottoman), at present it is divided among nine independent states, the process of fragmentation still continuing at the time of writing. Each of the modern states claims the architectural heritage on its territory as an important testimony to its own "national" past. Some of the surviving monuments, needless to say, genuinely represent documents of certain epochs associated with given "national" histories, but many others do not. Herein lie problems related to "claiming the past" as "one's own," an attitude at the root of all "national historiographies," whose production continues unabated. While the phenomenon has been recognized in serious scholarship and has been subjected to critical review, the periodic political upheavals in the Balkans over the past century have failed to produce a stable intellectual climate in which these and related issues could be perceived, analyzed, and debated in an environment of mutual trust and understanding. The last decade-and-a-half has hardly contributed positively to this painfully slow process. On the contrary, it has signaled a major setback, whose adverse effects are yet to be comprehended in the nature of "historical" writing across the Balkans.

This is not the place to present an overview of the historical literature produced in the different Balkan countries during the past two decades. That would be a subject worthy of a book in its own right. The period has witnessed not only a series of brutal conflicts with immeasurable demographic and social consequences, but also the birth of new "national" states, new national ideologies, and "new" languages, along with the creation of new "national historiographies" whose aim is the construction of new "national histories" upon which present political goals and objectives can rest soundly. Hitherto, the history of architecture has not been in the forefront of these objectives, but it has by no means remained immune from these trends. While at present initiatives of historical revisionism as it pertains to the history of architecture remain relatively limited in scope, the phenomenon is generally viewed by serious scholars as not worthy of attention, and as presenting no serious threat to the future of critical thought in the region. This could be a serious error of judgment. A comprehensive critical review of this new brand of "scholarship" remains outside the framework of our objectives, but highlighting of the phenomenon must be an integral part of a book whose aim is to present for the first time a view of the regional architectural heritage against the background of broader historical developments. In general, past historians of architecture in the Balkans have failed to produce adequately broad and broad-minded studies that might illuminate certain important phenomena outside the narrow frameworks of "national historiographies," to which, to a large extent, they have been individually committed. The problem has hardly been helped by the input of Western scholarship, which since *circa* 1990 has contributed significantly to the sudden burgeoning of scholarly and "pseudo-scholarly" works on the history of the Balkans. It will be the task of future historians to assess fully and objectively the ultimate motives and ramifications of this phenomenon. A number of different writers who belong to this trend have identified a process they generally refer to as "Balkanization," allegedly reflecting a chronic malady characteristic of the region. A most unfortunate cliché, the term "Balkanization" has introduced a false sense of an accurate diagnostic tool for most current problems, while their real roots are generally much deeper and far more complex than any of the authors who employ the term are able or willing to admit.

As a new era in the history of the Balkans is beginning to dawn, and as some of the Balkan states are beginning the process of integration into the European Union, the question of architectural heritage, among many other aspects of the past, will become a subject of broader interest and concern. It is against the background of this prospect that the appearance of certain "pioneering works" on aspects of "history" in the different Balkan countries needs to be evaluated. Their approach to the architectural heritage in the Balkans could easily erode into dangerous forms of dilettantism that could open the doors to the worst kind of opportunism, with incalculable cultural and other consequences. Scholars – and not only historians of architecture – must take serious notice of these phenomena in the making. The potential for their mushrooming may be exceeded only by the potential for the damage they may ultimately cause. In this context a brief note will be made of some recently published works that take incredible liberties with historical facts, by offering free interpretations of architectural heritage that at best may be seen as a product of ignorance, but at worst as calculated opportunistic efforts aimed at revising certain understandings of the past by reapportioning architectural heritage in accordance with current political wishes and whims. Using the volatile and largely unsettled political climate in the present-day Balkans, such authors find ample room to launch their visions of the past with hopes of making them tomorrow's "historical facts." A thus far relatively little-noticed publication exemplifies this category of pseudo-scholarship at its worst. Written with the goal of rectifying perceived historical wrongs, this book is a reminder of the "dark ages" of nineteenth-century nationalism whose resurgence at the beginning of the twenty-first century must be viewed as disconcerting at best.

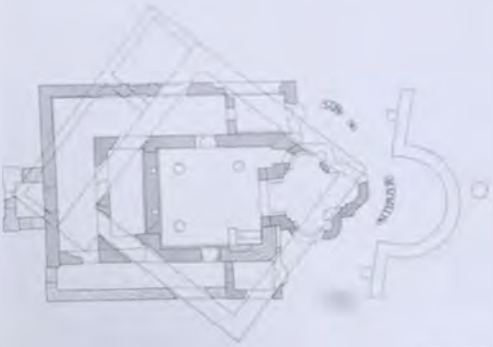
To be sure, the survival and preservation of the historical heritage in the Balkans generally has not been a happy story. For a period of approximately forty years after the Second World War, certain international preservation standards appeared to be taking root and holding out a real promise for the future of the regional architectural heritage. These promising beginnings,

however, began to unravel rapidly during the 1990s. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia was certainly a factor in this process, but it was not the only one. The fact that the architectural heritage has become seriously endangered in countries such as Albania, Bulgaria, and Turkey cannot be explained by what took place in the former Yugoslavia. The task of preserving the architectural heritage during the second half of the twentieth century in most Balkan countries, to a large extent, was in the hands of state institutions, headed by architects, most often trained in matters of historic preservation, who, broadly speaking, demonstrated a strong commitment to the historical heritage, with the preservation of which they were institutionally entrusted. Political and social changes that have taken place in the region during the past two decades have also signaled significant changes in the profession of historic preservation.[1] Among the processes that have increasingly played a role with less than a favorable effect on historic preservation has been privatization. As important as this process may have been in many ways, it has also revealed itself responsible for nurturing some of the worst forms of opportunism in the realm of "historic preservation," whose ultimate "products" have already numbered several catastrophes. Privatization, however, is only one of the contributing factors in this unfortunate development. Others include the dissolution of state-related institutions once in charge of historic preservation and the transfer of this task into various other hands whose goals and ambitions are neither clearly articulated nor subjected to any form of sound critical review. A particularly drastic result of such newly emerged conditions will be illustrated with the intention of highlighting the larger problem in the context of the present discussion.

The town of Ohrid in the FYROM is one of the most attractive towns in the Balkans, with a rich architectural heritage that numbers many monuments of exceptional importance associated with different cultures that span more than two millennia. Among the monuments of Ohrid until recently stood also the impressive remains of the so-called Imaret-Camii, a work of fifteenth-century Ottoman architecture (fig. 941). The work on the conservation of the mosque shortly after the end of the Second World War brought to light below its foundations the remains of two early Christian basilicas, as well as of a much smaller triconch church built during the ninth century and enlarged in later medieval times (fig. 942).[2] The ninth-century church, dedicated to St. Panteleimon, was part of a monastery directly associated with St. Clement (Sv. Kliment), one of the two celebrated pupils (the other one was St. Naum) of SS. Cyril and Methodios, the Apostles of the Slavs. St. Clement is renowned for having established a scriptorium within his monastery in which the first books written in Old Church Slavonic were produced. After his death, he was buried in the church of St. Panteleimon, which subsequently became a pilgrimage site of some significance. Following the Ottoman conquest of Ohrid in 1394, the church was apparently expropriated and eventually razed by the new authorities. The body of the saint was transferred to the church of Theotokos Perivleptos, which was consequently rededicated as Sv. Kliment. In the course of the fifteenth century the site of the destroyed church of St. Panteleimon was used for the construction of the Imaret-Camii. Following the collapse of the Ottoman state, the mosque itself was burned and abandoned, its four exterior walls remaining in place in the late 1940s, when the first archaeological excavations on the site began. The excavated remains of the two early Christian basilicas and the medieval church discovered at the

941. Ohrid, Imaret Mosque, general view from W. before demolition

942. Ohrid, Imaret mosque, church of St. Panteleimon, and Early Christian basilica remains, plan showing remains as exposed in the late 1940s



943 Ohrid, Church of St. Panteleimon, as built in 2003 (?): general view from NE

time, along with the remains of St. Clement's original tomb, were effectively presented in a small museum contained within the four remaining walls of the Imaret-Camii. In 2004 official permission was granted to the Macedonian Church authorities to destroy the remains of the Imaret-Camii and to rebuild the church of St. Panteleimon on the preserved foundations of the ninth-century building. The result is a new building that again became the repository of St. Clement's relics and consequently a popular pilgrimage site (fig. 943). The shocking aspect of this story is that, except for the plan, there was no preserved documentation of any sort as to what the ninth-century church with its later additions may have actually looked like. The present building, therefore, was strictly a figment of the imagination of a modern architect who assumed the role of a medieval builder.[1] The new building is just that, and, of course, without any historical significance. In the process of its "creation," however, the remains of two other genuine historical monuments were completely destroyed – the real remains of the ninth-century church along with its fourteenth-century expansion, and the remains of the fifteenth-century Imaret-Camii. The entire matter provokes reflection. In the quest to "regain the past," the Church and the government authorities in this case joined hands in committing an act of destruction of real historical documents in the name of a "reconstruction," but actually an act of falsification of the past. Participating in this activity were also professional experts – architects, historians, and archaeologists – who remain unnamed, but whose direct or implicit involvement in this project condoned not only a single dubious act, but the entire *idea*, now poised to become a major precedent for perpetrating such deeds. The impact of such activities cannot be easily defined, but their potentially disastrous effects could rest in the hands of ignorant, vain, and possibly corrupt individuals, who could be in a position to exercise their power in the name of "recreating the relevant past" while supporting the destruction of the authentic historical heritage. All of this, needless to say, could also become economically attractive, for each "new historical monument," in addition to the investments related to its construction, will also hold out the promise of generating tourism and thus helping the local economy. The case of the church of St. Panteleimon in Ohrid may be a drastic one, but unfortunately it is not unique. Its highly visible precedent could easily erode into a pattern of similar future "historic preservation" enterprises.

One should also note here that the destruction of the Imaret-Camii in Ohrid took place during a period that witnessed a wave of violence that claimed a large number of historical monuments in the Balkans. The widespread "destructive climate" that became prevalent during the 1990s, predominantly, but not exclusively, on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, claimed dozens of historical buildings, almost lending a perception of normality to the idea of dispensing with the historical heritage, particularly when it did not fit into the frame of a "desired national past." While many monuments on the territory of the former Yugoslavia fell victims as a result of war-related activities, a shocking number of them were deliberately targeted and destroyed with clear ideological aims in mind. This general phenomenon of *deliberate* destruction can be viewed from a number of perspectives, each of which can contribute meaningfully to its interpretation, but none of which taken alone can explain the phenomenon as a whole. Referring to the individual events merely as "acts of barbarism," or as something that the "peoples in the Balkans seem prone to doing," does not go far enough in offering a satisfactory explanation. In the latest spree of violence directed against historical monuments in the Balkans, ethnic and religious differences between various groups *did* play a major role. Specific motifs may have been invoked, but behind all of the displayed destructive energy, the principal goal has invariably been the notion of ethnic "purification" of the territories in question. Along with the infamous concept of "ethnic cleansing," the less recognized instrument of "cultural cleansing" has played a significant role in achieving the same objectives. Unlike organized population expulsions conducted on ethnic grounds, which at least theoretically are potentially reversible, "cultural cleansing" has the much more enduring effect of erasing the collective memory of a group within a given geographic area. Thus, the practice of deliberate destruction must be seen as an ideologically charged act, directly linked to the ideological phenomenon of the "construction of a desired past," already discussed. Among the scores of monuments that have been deliberately destroyed under such circumstances, we will single out a small

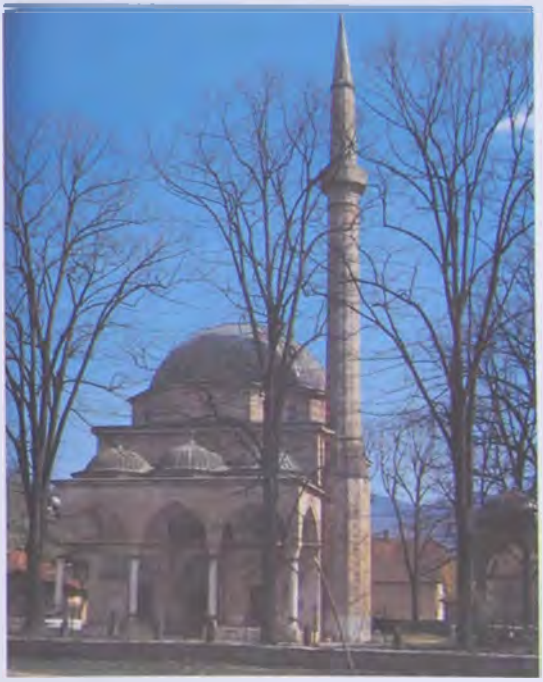
group that will serve the purpose of highlighting some of the points that have been alluded to.

Undoubtedly the most publicized case was the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 9 November 1993. Seriously damaged during the period of protracted fighting between the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim forces, the bridge was deliberately targeted, presumably by Croatian troops on that fatal day, causing its ultimate structural failure and total collapse (fig. 944). The historical and architectural importance of the Mostar bridge, as discussed in Chapter 9, was considerable, yet major Western books on Ottoman architecture published before 1993 barely mention it.[6] For reasons that obviously had to do with other factors, the monument practically became a household name only *after* its destruction. A major international campaign was launched which successfully raised the necessary funds, and the reconstruction of the monument was completed in 2004. The reconstruction was widely publicized as an event of major symbolic significance, completely brushing aside some of the issues related to the subject of historic preservation. It seems almost superfluous to stress that the Old Mostar Bridge is now the "*New* Old Mostar Bridge." Notwithstanding the fact that its reconstruction was accomplished competently, based as it was on thorough surveys of the monument made when it was still standing, and notwithstanding the fact that some of its original stonework was reused, having been retrieved from the River Neretva following its destruction, this *is* a new building and no longer the *historical* monument that it was until its unfortunate demise in 1993.[7] The rebuilding can satisfy us only insofar that, thanks to modern surveying methods and engineering and technological advances, a replica of the erstwhile historical monument could be erected on exactly the same site and take exactly the same form as the destroyed original.

A similar achievement took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina practically simultaneously, without any international fanfare or publicity, with the rebuilding of the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Žitomislići, less than 20 kilometers from Mostar. The monastery of Žitomislići, a victim of an earlier episode of deliberate destruction during the Second World War, had also been carefully surveyed and documented prior to its destruction.[8] It was blown up by the Croatian nationalists in 1992, and subsequently rebuilt. As in the case of the Mostar bridge, the accomplishment is of symbolic significance, affirming above all that the destruction of historical monuments in the service of sinister nationalist ideologies will not be tolerated. Beyond that, as far as *historic preservation* is concerned, Žitomislići, too, is simply a new creation. In this case we can say that it is actually a replica of an earlier replica, built after its destruction in the Second World War. As such, above all Žitomislići is a witness to human perseverance and will to survive against daunting odds.

944 Mostar, Old Bridge, general view after destruction in 1993

945 Fethi Ahmet Mosque, before destruction in 1992, general view



946 Musutiste, Church of the Mother of God, before destruction: general view from E

947 Musutiste, Church of the Mother of God, after destruction in 1999: apse remains

It should also be emphasized that the cases of the Mostar bridge and the monastery of Žitomislići are rare exceptions. These two successful cases of modern reconstruction must be viewed against the background of scores of historical monuments that have been laid waste to be lost forever.

The Aladža Mosque at Foča, also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was the victim of deliberate destruction in 1992 at the hands of Serbian nationalists (fig. 945). This significant monument of Ottoman architecture, discussed in Chapter 9, was dynamited and razed to the ground. The monument has not been reconstructed thus far, but even if such efforts were to be made the extraordinary sculptural decoration in marble and wood, as well as the painted stucco decoration that the building once contained, could never be replaced. The monument that symbolized the apogee of Ottoman power in the Balkans around 1550 is now but a lost historical document.

The physical fate of the early fourteenth-century church of the Mother of God in the village of Musutiste in the region of Kosovo is comparable to that of the Aladža Mosque in Foča (figs. 946 and 947). Blown up by Albanian nationalists in July 1999, in a major coordinated campaign that saw the destruction of more than twenty Serbian Orthodox medieval churches and monasteries, along with over a hundred others of more recent date, the Musutiste church is a reminder of an ideological campaign to cleanse the region of Kosovo of all traces of a non-Albanian past. In particular, this church spoke eloquently of a very different past, as far as the history of the region is concerned. Part of the Serbian medieval state since its full establishment in the late twelfth century, the region of Kosovo became its very center at the peak of its power, during the first half of the fourteenth century. The building of churches, monasteries, and also palatial residences in the region by various members of

the Serbian royal dynasty was paralleled by active patronage by a wealthy landed aristocracy. The church in the village of Mušutište, built in 1314–15 by a local nobleman, Jovan Dragoslav, and his family, was one of the oldest and most impressive monuments of aristocratic patronage in the region. Its plan, measuring 8 × 11.5 meters, was modeled on that of the church of St. Nikitas at Čučer/Banjani, near Skopje, built by the Serbian king Milutin (see fig. 744a). The church had all the Byzantine and, more specifically, Thessalonikan architectural characteristics (see p. 636).[11] The historical importance of this small church was encapsulated in a lengthy inscription carved on a stone lintel above its main entrance, a precious historical record in its own right. This architectural and historical gem is now only part of faint historical memory. To make matters worse, the church had never been adequately surveyed and documented.

One of the shocking aspects of destruction of the church at Mušutište, along with many other important monuments in the region, is that it failed to attract any international attention.[12] The apparent indifference with regard to the wave of destruction of cultural monuments in Kosovo in 1999 may in fact have emboldened the perpetrators of such crimes, who, in the second organized wave of destruction, in March 2004, attacked monuments of considerably greater significance, including the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (Mother of God) in Prizren (see pp. 645–48).[13] The church was vandalized and set ablaze. The fire caused extensive damage to the interior frescoes, among them the most important historical portraits dating from *circa* 1308–09. The blaze also seriously damaged the architecture, especially the church's unique bell-tower (fig. 948). The church of Bogorodica Ljeviška, in addition to its intrinsic significance on account of the extraordinary quality of its architecture and paintings, is of special importance also because it is the only Serbian urban cathedral church that has survived since medieval times. Of additional special significance is the survival of its bell-tower, which was spared throughout the Ottoman period and was not dismantled even at the time when the church was converted into a mosque in the eighteenth century.

Bogorodica Ljeviška belongs to a small group of Serbian medieval churches with surviving bell-towers. In fact, it belongs to a very limited group of medieval Orthodox churches in the Balkans more generally in which bell-towers have survived intact. The issue is of considerable relevance in the context of this book, and will be given some, albeit limited attention. The rare survival of medieval bell-towers has been linked to a specific program of destruction under the Ottomans. The practice was related to the general Muslim attitude toward bells, which they expressly abhorred. In the Islamic world bells were feared on superstitious grounds and were believed to attract evil spirits that disturbed the peace of departed souls.[14] The result of these popular beliefs was

948 Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, bell tower, after 2004 vandalism

the implementation of various laws and regulations whose express aim was the prohibition of the use of bells and, generally speaking, their destruction. It must be remembered that the number of actual bells that have survived from before the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottomans is exceptionally small – much smaller in fact than the number of surviving bell-towers. An oft-quoted passage from a travel account of one Arnold von Harff, a knight from Cologne who traveled through the Balkans in the years 1496–99, is the most vivid and informative description of the systematic practice of the destruction of bells under the Ottomans. Writing about his visit to Adrianople (modern Edirne), he has this to say: "We went further into a house close by, which was full of whole and broken Christian bells which had been captured in Christian countries and carried there, from which cannon are cast. It was told me [*sic*] that each Turk, when he crosses a mountain or a sea to conquer a country, must bring back a piece of a bell."[15]

949 1539 Oktoechos, printed in Gračanica, woodcut showing Gračanica with bell-tower

As a result, the only bells that have actually survived are the ones that were hidden before the Ottoman invasion. Their chance survival has led to a limited number of discoveries of such bells in modern times. Usually securely buried in unsuspected locations, these bells escaped the fate of those that ended on heaps earmarked for melting down into raw material from which cannon could be cast. The physical destruction of bells must have been combined with their speedy and violent removal. It stands to reason that the actual removal of bells must have often resulted in damage to the bell-towers themselves if not their outright destruction. Such instances were especially notable and carried out with vengeance in urban centers with large Muslim populations, especially in large cities such as Istanbul and Thessaloniki, where no Christian medieval bells or bell-towers have survived.

Even monasteries in areas far removed from major urban centers on occasion suffered from the Ottoman wrath directed at bells and bell-towers.[46] Two examples from the context of medieval Serbia deserve notice, for the preserved pictorial evidence in these cases supplies us with invaluable documentation regarding bell-towers that have since completely disappeared. The first of these is the church of Gračanica Monastery. One of the finest examples of Late Byzantine architecture, Gračanica was built under the auspices of the Serbian king Milutin, between *circa* 1311 and 1321. A relatively short time after its completion, sometime during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, a large exonarthex was built in front of the church. In all likelihood, this narthex had a bell-tower associated with it. According to a written source, during one of the early Ottoman raids in the area, sometime between 1379 and 1383, the narthex was evidently severely damaged, or possibly even destroyed, along with the original bell-tower, in which the monastic books were also kept.[47] A reconstruction must have taken place immediately after 1383, considering that after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 the chances for such an extensive project would have been nil. A woodcut page from an Oktoechos printed at Gračanica in 1539 illustrates the church with a bell-tower, as it must have appeared at the time (fig. 949). This, second, bell-tower must have been destroyed in turn shortly after 1539, for it was not rebuilt during yet another restoration of the church carried out in 1570.

The case of the patriarchal complex of the Serbian Orthodox church at Pec is related to what we saw at Gračanica. Here the enlargement of the original church of the Holy Apostles took place during the second and the third decades of the fourteenth century. This involved the addition of two churches – St. Demetrius to the north and the Mother of God to the south of the original building, as well as a large narthex spanning the full width of the three churches. The narthex was initially an open structure preceded by a bell-tower.[48] Severely damaged after the Ottoman conquest of this area in 1455, the narthex was repaired and modified sometime after 1557. The damage suffered by the narthex was largely concentrated on its central part, where the original bell-tower once stood, but was never rebuilt. The initial presence of the bell-tower is attested to by the written sources and by an extraordinary donor portrait preserved in the church of the Mother of God. On it are depicted the Serbian archbishop Danilo II, presenting the model of the complex of churches to Prophet Daniel, his namesake. The model, despite various visual

distortions, depicts many aspects of the architecture of the complex that are of relevance, among them the bell-tower (fig. 950). From the sources we know that the bell-tower also contained a chapel dedicated to St. Daniel Stylites, another namesake of Archbishop Danilo II. Archaeological work carried out at Peć has brought to light the foundations of the original bell-tower in front of the main entrance into the narthex.

It appears that the only areas under Ottoman control that were spared strict prohibitions against the use of bells were Mount Athos, the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and possibly a few other isolated pockets. The monasteries on Mount Athos were able to negotiate a special status with Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and to secure the substantial extension of general privileges that they had enjoyed under the Byzantine emperors. Among the special additional privileges they were able to gain was the permission to continue using bells. This privilege, granted to them by Mehmed II, was summarily suspended under his son Bayezid II in 1491, when the bells on Mount Athos were confiscated and removed.[7] Subsequently, the original privilege granted to the Athonite monasteries was evidently again restored.

From the foregoing it is clear that under the Ottomans, apart from a limited number of exceptions, prohibition against the use of bells was universally enforced and bells were systematically destroyed. Many churches that had belfries lost them in the process of implementing this policy. Demolition of bells and bell-towers was a practice aimed at curtailing public forms of expression of the Christian faith and at the general discouragement of Christian population. In large urban centers, this undoubtedly had yet another dimension. The destruction of bell-towers would have eliminated the unwanted auditory and visual competition that such bells and belfries would have presented within environments dominated by the Islamic equivalents – minarets. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in Istanbul (Constantinople), where not a single Byzantine belfry has survived. As a result of archaeological work conducted there since the Second World War, however, it has become apparent that many of the surviving churches actually once had bell-towers and that these were all systematically destroyed. The first scholar to call attention to the former existence of one in a church subsequently converted into a mosque was Horst Hallensleben. In a seminal article on the church of Theotokos Pammakaristos (now Fethiye Camii), he demonstrated that the building once had a bell-tower that was subsequently destroyed and replaced by a minaret.[8] Using as evidence written sources and two woodcuts that depict the monastery and the church in 1578, when it was still the seat of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate, Hallensleben pointed out the fact that a prominent, three-story belfry was still standing at the time (fig. 951). Perspective

950 Peć, Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, Church of the Mother of God, French of Archbishop Danilo II as donor, ca. 1330; detail of the painted model of the complex

951 Constantinople, Monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos, general view from S, 1578 woodcut

ambiguities in the two woodcuts led him to examine the possible location of the Byzantine belfry. His ultimate conclusion was that the present minaret is of an eighteenth-century date and that it replaced the first one, which must have replaced the Byzantine belfry, in all likelihood dismantled between 1586 and 1591 when the complex was taken over by the Ottomans and converted into a mosque. The Byzantine belfry and the first minaret, according to him, must have occupied the same loca-

952 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, general aerial view from NW; 1686 drawing (F. Scarella)

tion, directly above the main portal of the original church, where a spiral staircase, preserved within the thickness of a Byzantine wall, indicates an upper-level construction of which no other traces have been preserved.

Three other Byzantine bell-towers in Constantinople removed by the Ottomans and replaced by minarets have been documented within the last few decades.[72] Together with scores of others lost without trace, they reflect a deep-rooted resentment of bells and bell-towers in Ottoman society, especially in the capital. The most prominent of all Byzantine belfries in Constantinople was the one that rose, on axis, in front of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia. Dwarfed by the size of the church itself, this was a four-story structure whose appearance is recorded in a number of old drawings, of which the one drawn in 1686 by Francesco Scarella is the most informative (fig. 952).[73] The belfry, pierced with numerous apertures, survived the conquest of Constantinople and the conversion of the church into a mosque. Though it was apparently never used as a minaret, it remained in place even after all four minarets had been added to the original building. No precise information is available, but the demise of this belfry apparently occurred only at some point in the nineteenth century. Equally problematic as the exact time of its demise is the question of its original construction. Almost everyone is in agreement that it was built following the Latin conquest, but whether this took place *during* the Latin occupation, or possibly *after* the Byzantine reconquest in 1261, remains a subject of debate.

The fate of Constantinopolitan bell-towers and the chance late survival of the bell-tower in front of Hagia Sophia bring us to an important point regarding the general historiography of Byzantine church architecture. Just over a century ago, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, an ambitious young French scholar, Gabriel Millet, was traveling through the Balkans, collecting material on Byzantine art and architecture. His pioneering journeys resulted in a series of major publications that have remained the foundation blocks of the field of Byzantine architectural and art-historical studies. Not only the vast quantity of the material that he was able to collect, but also his astute observations and conclusions played a major role in shaping the course of future studies. Yet not all of his conclusions were without flaws. Among those, the one that concerns us here specifically is related to his perception of the origins of Byzantine belfries. In 1916 Millet's first general book on Byzantine architecture appeared in Paris under the title *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*. In it he introduced the concept of "schools" into the study of Byzantine architecture, and focused in particular on contrasting the "Greek" and the "Constantinopolitan" schools. His visits to Constantinople were not extensive, but he developed an understanding of the surviving Byzantine monuments that he was able to study. At the time of his visits – all before the outbreak of the First World War – the only pre-modern bell-tower in Constantinople that must have come to his attention was the one in front of the church of Hagia Sophia, destroyed only a few decades earlier. He immediately perceived of it as an "exception" and attributed its building to the Latins, during the period of their occupation of Constantinople (1204–61). His journeys through the Balkans, and especially his visit to Mistra, where he spent a considerable amount of time, made him reach a sweepingly broad, albeit erroneous conclusion that would play a major role in the future development of Byzantine architectural studies. In Mistra, he was able to see a number of standing Byzantine bell-towers, all of them postdating the period of Latin occupation.[74] On the basis of this and his knowledge of a very small number of other Byzantine bell-towers – all of which he also deemed to be later than 1204 – he formulated his laconic sentence "l'clocher est latin," published in what was to become one of the most influential early books on Byzantine architecture.[75]

Thus, in 1916 a sweeping conclusion regarding Byzantine bell-towers was put into scholarly circulation. Based as it was on two flawed premises – first, that Byzantine bell-towers were a rarity; and second, that their appearance was linked exclusively to the Late Byzantine period – Millet's judgment made a lasting impact on studies of Byzantine church architecture. Relying exclusively

on Millet's personal authority, scholars have been repeating his claim uncritically that Byzantine bell-towers were rare; that they were Western-inspired; and that they appeared in Byzantine architecture only *after* the period of Latin occupation.[4] The flawed idea as originally formulated must, of course, be associated with Millet, but his error was clearly conditioned by the information available to him at that time. More troubling, in a sense, has been the lack of critical judgment on the part of those who have blindly followed his thinking.

This is not the place to undertake a detailed revision of Millet's erroneous conclusions related to Byzantine belfries. That must remain a task for a future occasion. What is relevant to us here is to demonstrate how easily Millet and those who followed him were misled on account of the selective destruction of bell towers during Ottoman times. As we have seen, Millet's conclusions depended to a large extent on what he was *able to see*, and the number of belfries he did see was actually quite small. Clearly, then, the early historiography of Byzantine architecture was directly affected by the systematic destruction of belfries under the Ottomans. While many early architectural historians in Balkan countries that gained independence in the nineteenth century (Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria) bemoaned the loss of churches under the Ottomans, they failed to recognize that the destruction of churches was far less extensive than the destruction of belfries. The combined misinterpretation of evidence yielded a distorted general conclusion whose effects are still with us. It is only thanks to the results of Byzantine archaeology that in recent years a new picture has slowly begun to emerge. The main moral of these observations is that *destruction*, and especially *selective destruction* of architecture with a particular ideological aim, can alter the perception of the past. The story of Byzantine church belfries is a particularly informative case.

Equally important in this context is also a chapter of later history, following the liberation of various Balkan entities from Ottoman control in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the time, almost invariably throughout the Balkans, a retaliatory mechanism appears to have been promptly unleashed. Virtually overnight, Islamic minarets became specific targets of vengeance. Hundreds of mosques throughout the Balkans lost their minarets in a manner that closely echoed the Ottoman practice vis-a-vis Christian belfries. It should be noted that, much as in the case of the Ottoman methods, the destruction was *selective*, with a similar ultimate message. As a result, scores of Ottoman mosques still survive in the Balkans, but most of them without their minarets.

The physical destruction of buildings, thus, also has deep cultural roots in the Balkans. Attempting to understand any of the related recent developments without the knowledge of such historical patterns invites oversimplification and, invariably, misinterpretation of what is really at stake. Reflecting over the pages of this book, the reader will be reminded that periodic waves of selective destruction have played their role in the shaping of architectural developments in the Balkans since late antiquity. It may be shocking, but perhaps not too far-fetched, to suggest that destructive and creative practices may have been peculiarly intertwined throughout the history of the Balkans.

To understand better the notion linking destruction and the creative act of building not merely as a cause-and-effect relationship, one may profitably turn to the oral tradition of the Balkan peoples. One of the genuine "monuments" of that tradition is the so-called Walled-Up Wife, the generic name of a folk ballad of extraordinary beauty that survives in as many as 700 variants, tellingly confined in its geographic spread to southeastern Europe and particularly to the Balkans.[5] One of the earliest recorded versions of the ballad is that published by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in 1815 and sent by him to Jacob Grimm, who was impressed by it and whose translation of it into German in 1824 made it renowned in the West.[6] Grimm passed his translation of the Serbian version of the ballad to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was repulsed by its "barbarity," on account of the human sacrifice that constitutes its central theme. The diametrically opposite reactions professed by Grimm and Goethe in 1824 may be seen as paradigmatic reactions to the Balkans in the West during the past two centuries, ranging as they have done from fascination to revulsion. The subject of human sacrifice, as alien and unacceptable as it may be in the modern world, however, has its multifaceted, deep, perhaps even prehistoric roots in the oral traditions that have been a subject of extensive studies by ethnologists, folklorists, anthropologists, historians, historians of religion, and historians of literature and have been quarried for different types of information with varying implications.[7] Underlying all of the versions of the ballad – Serbian, Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Hungarian – is the concept of a human sacrifice, usually of a young beautiful wife, as a prerequisite for the survival of an important building – a fortress, a monastery, or a bridge. According to this mythical conception, a major building creation is not possible without a foundation-sacrifice involving the immolation of a young bride. Though human sacrifice as a practice was undoubtedly much older, in all likelihood even unknown during the historical period, the various versions purport to portray, its message in all cases has broader implications.

The ballad emphasizes the role of repeated destruction by an invisible force as an inevitable demonstration of human weakness when confronted with the will of higher powers. As hard as a patron and his builders may try to counter the invisible superior force, they are repeatedly frustrated in their valiant efforts. Whatever they succeed in building during the day is doomed to

953 Karytaina, Byzantine bridge, general view

come down during the night. Frustration is finally confronted with the ultimate compromise, the need for which is mysteriously communicated to the master builder. Only a human sacrifice can resolve the problem. Thus, a great personal tragedy, the loss of a dearest person, proves to be the way for the building project to be materialized. Implicit in this is the notion that the solidity and durability of a manmade edifice can be secured only by the sacrifice of a human being. The intertwining of the fate of an individual with that of a potentially "eternal" edifice furthermore imbues – symbolically, but also literally – the material creation with a human soul."

Among the buildings that figure most prominently as a subject of such folk legends are bridges. The folklore often linked their structural stability with the idea of immolation, the case of the bridge at Arta being one of the more prominent cases of that type of a legend. The "legendary" aspects of such a concept, however, need not perhaps be linked literally and exclusively with the "barbaric" notion of "human sacrifice." It is possible to think of it as the function of "divine protection." A considerable number of historically documented cases attest to the presence of a "holy person" – a man or a woman – sequestered within the masonry of a building.[11] While actual buildings with which such practice may have been identified in all likelihood exist, they have not yet been discussed in those terms. A case in point could be an interesting, little known medieval bridge at Karytaina in the Peloponnesos, Greece. Two of its preserved medieval arches rest on a massive pier, one face of which features a small chapel accessible by a long flight of steep stone stairs (fig. 953).[12] Perhaps we would be stretching the point too far by suggesting that the chapel may also have functioned as a cell of a sequestered individual. Related phenomena, in other building contexts, are well known and are documented in monastic practice since the beginnings of monasticism, and were emulated to the very end of the Middle Ages in the Balkans.[13] A variety of evidence points clearly to the idea of linkage between human destiny and destiny of buildings. The folklore dramatization of his issue, therefore, only highlights a much broader and deeper set of beliefs and cultural values whose further pursuit goes beyond the scope of this book.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the awarding of two Nobel Prizes in Literature to two authors from the Balkans was linked to their books that share a common theme of intertwining destinies of human life with those of inanimate objects – architecture, and the built environment, generally speaking. The first of these prizes was awarded in 1961 to Ivo Andrić for his novel *The Bridge on the Drina*. In it, the celebrated bridge provides "the stage" for a story that chronicles the life in a small town of Višegrad, from the time of the bridge's construction in the middle of the sixteenth century, to its first demise in modern times, at the beginning of World War One. The awarding of the other Nobel Prize came forty-five years later, in 2006. The winner of this award, Orhan Pamuk, was recognized for his book *Istanbul: Memories and the City*. In this case, "the stage" is the city of Istanbul, while the "action" is the writer's autobiography, focused on his life in the city that has undergone major urban transformation from the time of his own childhood in the early 1950s to the early years of the new century. In this case memories of personal growth are intertwined with the "growing pains" of the great city. Both Andrić and Pamuk, as creative writers, demonstrate clearly their personal links with the creative tradition in the Balkans through recognizing the power of words and masonry as common building blocks of regional cultures.

Here we must underscore yet again the all-embracing importance of the regional folk tradition. The folk ballad of "The Walled-Up Wife," all of its multiple variants notwithstanding, underlines essential regional "commonality" that transcends most modern nationalist ideologies and historiographies. Hard as some modern national historians may have tried to define the specific "national roots" of the ballad, their efforts have invariably failed. The epic tradition of "The Walled-Up Wife," despite its subregional "dialects" speaks, above all, the same regional language. The architectural heritage, as we have seen, resonates with similar metaphoric associations. Its totality is a common voice of richness and beauty. The ultimate message of the medieval architectural heritage of the Balkans, then, must also be perceived as a testimony to the enduring will, spiritual strength and poetic vision of all those who live – against the odds – within the same space haunted by seemingly insurmountable challenges.

Today, as the process of "Balkanization" (read "partitioning") continues and in some sense intensifies, this book also takes on

the role of a reflective reminder about the past. Architecture, along with other forms of historical heritage, documents the past in all of its complexity and richness. This past, in its totality, cannot be claimed as belonging to any single modern group, and thus often presents a "challenge" to modern national ideologies whose aims are much more "precisely" and narrowly defined. Such ideologies have limited invested interests in only *specific aspects* of the Balkan past. The architectural heritage in the Balkans in the coming decades will continue to be subjected, in all likelihood with increasing intensity, to "new claims," and "new ways of looking at the past," while the surviving physical evidence will undergo new trials, ranging from irresponsible "restoration practices," at best, to disfiguration and even elimination, at worst. Unlike the "invisible superior forces" destroying the work of builders in the ballad of "The Walled-Up Wife," the contemporary forces of destruction are very visible and their ugly goals very clear. Unsatisfied with the "real" past, they are committed to creating a "new past," better suited to their own larger goals, while selective destruction becomes one of the tools of choice in this process. The historical role of the Balkans, as a millennial cultural crossroads between East and West, is thus collectively threatened.

Beyond the ugliness and confrontation, death and destruction, historically speaking, the Balkan peninsula has also been a space of multicultural, multiethnic, and multi-religious cohabitation – the remaining historical buildings on its soil being the most powerful witnesses of those conditions. This book has aimed at illuminating the importance of this historic heritage, highlighting in the process the unique historic conditions that produced it.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford, 1997), is a major scholarly contribution in English that addresses the larger phenomenon and its historical and historiographical background; see chapter 1, regarding the origins of the name "the Balkans."

2 For the origins of the term and its recent use, ibid., pp. 32–36.

3 Ibid., especially chapter 3 ("The Discovery of the Balkans"), chapter 4 ("Patterns of Perception until 1900"), and chapter 5 ("From Discovery to Invention, from Invention to Classification").

4 V. Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of Imagination* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1998). More recently also S. Cilauro et al., *Molvania: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry* (London, 2004), a guidebook to an imaginary Balkan country in which the characteristics of all Balkan countries are combined with the express aim of entertaining a broad readership in western Europe, America, and Australia, to whom the book is addressed. The phenomenon is discussed by O. Luthar and T. Petrović, "Der Balkan in westlichen Reiseführen: Identitätsgestaltung durch Konstruktion der Peripherie," in *Sa Bedekerom po jugoistočnoj Evropi / Mit Reiseführen durch Südosteuropa*, ed. D. S. Kostić (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 177–94 [in Serbian with a German summary].

5 S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York, 1996).

6 The concept has a long and wide currency. Recently it has appeared yet again in an influential publication: M. Whitby, "The Balkans and Greece, 420–602," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIV: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, ed. A. Cameron (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 701–30. Even an important and influential encyclopedic work as *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, A. Kazhdan, ed. (New York and Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 248–49, under the entry "Balkans" defines it solely in terms of the name of the mountain range.

7 J. Cvijić, *Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918).

8 A. Zeune, *Gea: Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Erdbeschriebung* (Berlin, 1808).

9 W. Molè, *Sztuka Słowian Południowych* (Wroclaw, 1962), in Polish, with long summaries in Russian and French; also, an edition in Slovenian: W. Molè, *Umetnost južnih Slovanov* [French summary: "L'art des Slaves méridianaux] (Ljubljana, 1965), was one of the rare attempts to deal with the architectural and artistic heritage of the Balkans. Its principal flaw is that it deals only with the heritage of the South Slavs, ignoring other regional factors, most notably the dominant presence of the Byzantine Empire through much of the early period under investigation. A comparably flawed book is H. L. Nickel, *Medieval Architecture in Eastern Europe* (New York, 1983); see my review in *Slavic Review* 44/1 (April 1985), pp. 187–88. Other broad studies that deserve mention are A. Grabar, *Die Mittelalterliche Kunst Europas* (Baden-Baden, 1968), and K. Wessel, ed., *Kunst und Geschichte in Südosteuropa* (Recklinghausen, 1973). Though methodologically superior to the books by Molè and Nickel, these also have their limitations. Thus, Grabar considers only the lands directly linked with the Byzantine tradition, while the book edited by Wessel consists of a series of relevant essays, but its coverage of the material is, of necessity, spotty. An

attempt to approach the material in the Balkans in a methodologically new way was offered by S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos, eds., *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation* (Thessaloniki, 1997), though, as its title indicates, the book deals only with a specific segment of the material in the Balkans and within a time span of only two centuries.

10 S. Ćurčić, *Art and Architecture in the Balkans: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, MA, 1984); of the approximately 1,300 entries in this survey of scholarly literature, only 32 could be identified as expressly devoted to the Balkans as the principal frame of reference.

11 N. Iorga, *Histoire des états balcaniques jusque'à 1924* (Paris, 1925).

12 J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), and Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987).

13 *Hommage rendu à Gabriel Millet et André Grabar*, Séance du 28 octobre 2005. Institut de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris, 2005).

14 G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916). For a brief account of Millet's contribution to the study of Byzantine architecture, see W. E. Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, MA, 1992), pp. lix–lx.

15 G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe: les églises* (Paris, 1919). His classification system was undoubtedly inspired by that introduced thirteen years earlier by a Russian architect and architectural historian, P. P. Pokryshkin, *Pravoslavnaîa tserkovnaîa arkhitektura XII–XVIII stol. v nynieshnem Serbskom korolevstvie* (St. Petersburg, 1906), who preferred the term "group" to that of "school."

16 P. Vocotopoulos, "Church Architecture in Greece during the Middle Byzantine Period," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors, 843–1204*, ed. O. Z. Pevny (New York, 2000), pp. 154–67, especially f. n. 1 – "I prefer the term 'Helladic school' rather than the current 'Greek school,' which sometimes has been misinterpreted as referring to a national Greek school, thereby implying that the buildings of other regions, such as Constantinople and its hinterland, Thessalonike, or Epiros were not built by Greeks."

17 A. Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [English summary: "Monumental and Decorative Architecture in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1953; 2nd edn. 1962). In this most popular book on the subject, Millet's concept was modified only slightly – the term "group" replaced that of the "school" (following Pokryshkin?), and "Byzantinized Serbia" was subdivided into two groups – that of Kosovo and that of Macedonia.

18 J. Strzygowski, *Die orientalische Kunst in Dalmatien* (Vienna, 1911), followed by an even more troubling book: Strzygowski, *O porjeklu starohrvatske umjetnosti* [On the Origins of Old Croatian Art] (Zagreb, 1927); and also Strzygowski, *Early Church Art in Northern Europe* (London, 1928; reprinted New York, 1980), chapter 1 ("The Pre-Romanesque Art of the Croatians").

19 G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile* (Paris, 1916), pp. 625–90.

20 For a brief review of the relevant historiographical developments, see S. Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), especially pp. 65–66.

21 An example of such an intervention is the case of texts dealing with the medieval architecture of Bulgaria (chapter 5), and Serbia and Macedonia – the latter two at the time part of Yugoslavia – (chapter 6) in Ĩũ. S. Ĩaralov et al., eds., *Arkhitektura vostochnoi Evrop'i srednie veka 3, Vseobshchaiîa istoriîa arkhitektur'i v 12 tomakh* (Leningrad and Moscow, 1966), prepared by scholars from Bulgaria (K. Miĩatev) and Yugoslavia (D. Bošković), respectively. The editors took liberties in the reorganization of the material in accordance with the "official" views on regional history of the Balkans in the Soviet Union, which, at the time, favored the Bulgarian point of view. This resulted in an angry rebuttal by D. Bošković, "O našoj arhitekturi srednjeg veka u moskovskoj publikaciji *Vseobshchaiîa istoriîa arkhitektur'i*," *Starinar* n. s., 18 (1968), pp. 225–31, in which the removal of his texts on St. Sophia in Ohrid, St. Acheileios, and St. German in Prespa, and the fortress in Ohrid, and their inclusion in the chapter on Bulgaria, is discussed at length. The church of St. Sophia is an eleventh-century Byzantine (and not a tenth-century Bulgarian) building, as is the case with three other churches also included (and left by the editors) in chapter 6 – the church of the Virgin Eleusa at Veljusa (eleventh century), St. Panteleimon at Nerezi (1164), and the exonarthex of St. Sophia in Ohrid (1314) – all of which, in fact, were built by Byzantine builders for Byzantine patrons. The problem merely highlights the impossibility of dealing with the issues according to various abstract principles used retroactively to "solve" some of the historical problems at stake.

22 A related problem pertaining to the lands of Eastern and Central Europe within a later historical framework has recently been brought to attention by T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art of Culture in Central Europe 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995), cf. "Introduction".

23 Ćurčić, *Art and Architecture in the Balkans*, was in many ways the starting point of research for this book. The volume of published material on architecture in the Balkans since 1984, it should be stressed, has certainly more than doubled.

CHAPTER ONE

1 S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (New York, 1985). More recently *Antiquité tardive* 2 (1994) and 3 (1995) two issues devoted to "La tétrarchie, 293–312: histoire et archéologie"; for the ideological framework of the period, see especially F. Kolb, "Chronologie und Ideologie der Tetrarchie," *Antiquité tardive* 3 (1995), pp. 21–31. Particularly relevant for the Balkan context is D. Srejović, ed., *The Age of Tetrarchs* (Belgrade, 1995).

2 P. L'Orange, *Art and Social Change in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 1965).

3 M. Reddé, "Dioclétien et les fortifications militaires de l'antiquité tardive: quelques considérations de méthode," *Antiquité tardive* 3 (1995), pp. 91–125, reconsiders some of the earlier ideas related to tetrarchic fortifications, as well as the dating of some of the examples attributed to the period.

4 F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC–AD 337* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), chapter 11 ("From Rome to Constantinople"). See also S. Dušanić, "Diocletian's Visits to Quarries and Mines in the Danubian Provinces," *Die Archäologie und Geschichte der Region des Eisernen Tores zwischen 275–602 n Chr.* (Bucharest, 2003), pp. 9–15.

5 T. E. Gregory, "Fortification and Urban Design in Early Byzantine Greece," in *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*, ed. R. L. Hohlfelder (New York, 1982), pp. 43–64.

6 V. Popović, "Glavne etape urbanog razvoja Sirmiuma" [Les principales étapes du devel-

oppement urbain de Sirmium], *Antički gradovi i naselja u Južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima*, Materijali XIII (Belgrade, 1977), pp. 111–22; and see also Jeremić, M., Sirmium, grad na vodi (Belgrade, 2009).

7 J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1984); similarly, G. Velenis, *Ta teichē tēs Thessalonikēs apo ton Kassandro ōs ton Ērakleio* [English summary: The City Walls of Thessaloniki from the Time of Cassander up to that of Heraclius] (Thessaloniki, 1998), chapter VI, argues for a date late in the reign of Theodosius I (d. 395), but the author's evidence is circumstantial and highly debatable.

8 R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London, 1975), p. 286.

9 V. Popović, "Sirmium: A Town of Emperors and Martyrs," in *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia*, ed. D. Srejović (Belgrade, 1993), pp. 15–27; M. Jeremić, "Sirmium in the Period of the Tetrarchy," ibid., pp. 89–115.

10 V. Popović and E. Ochsenschlager, "Der spätkeiserliche Hippodrom in Sirmium," *Germania* 54 (1976), pp. 156–81.

11 M. Vitti, *Ē poleodomikē exelixē tēs Thessalonikēs apo tēn idrysē tēs eōs ton Galerio* [Urban Development of Thessaloniki from its Foundation up to Galerius] (Athens, 1996); also P. Adam-Veleni, "Thessaloniki: History and Town Planning," in *Roman Thessaloniki*, ed. D. V. Grammenos (Thessaloniki, 2003), pp. 121–76.

12 For discussion of the Rotunda, see Chapter 2.

13 K. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and the Early Eleventh Centuries* AD *with Special Reference to Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1996), pp. 127–41, provides a convenient summary of the material and relevant literature on the subject. Unfortunately, the text was completed in 1988, and therefore it does not include the more recent information.

14 Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle*, pp. 97–123. For the role of E. Hebrard in the archaeological discoveries and the replanning of Thessaloniki after the Great Fire of 1917, see A. Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans, 1820–1920: Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1996), chapter 5.

15 E. Dyggve, "La region palatiale de Thessalonique," in *Acta Congressus Madvigiani* (Copenhagen, 1958), vol. I, pp. 353–65; and now H. Torp, "L'entrée septentrionale du palais impérial de Thessalonique: L'arc de triomphe et le vestibulum d'après les fouilles d'Ejnar Dyggve en 1939," *Antiquité Tardive* 11 (2003), pp. 239–72. Also on the palace complex, see A. Mentzos, "To anaktoro kai ē Rotonda tēs Thessalonikēs" [The Palace and the Rotunda in Thessaloniki], *Byzantina* 18 (1995–6), pp. 339–64.

16 Literature on the Octagon is considerable; a convenient summary is given in Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 132–39. Recent work has contributed toward clarifying some of the controversial issues; see the preliminary report by M. Karaberi et al., "Excavation Work on the Palace of Galerius," in *Deka chronia archaiologiko ergo: Parilypseis anakoinōseōn*, ed. P. Adam Veleni and C. Andreïdou (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 98–99.

17 S. Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1994), pp. 67–90. On the arch, see also T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *To mikro toxo tou Galeriou stē Thessalonikē* [Der "kleine Galerius-Bogen" in Thessaloniki] (Athens, 1995), who argues that the head of the Tyche was recut from the presumed original head of Galerius' wife.

18 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces," especially pp. 68–70.

19 P. MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1975), pp. 167–69. Also see below, fig. 1–17.

20 G. Downey, "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103/5 (1959), p. 675.

21 D. Srejović, "*Felix Romuliana*: Galerius' Ideological Testament," in *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia*, ed. Srejović (Belgrade, 1993), pp. 31–53; C. Vasić, "*Felix Romuliana*: Galerius' Palace at Gamzigrad," ibid., pp. 118–63; also M. Čanak-Medić, *Gamzigrad, kasnoantička palata: Arhitektura i prostorni sklop*, *Saopštenja* 11 (Belgrade, 1978).

22 D. Srejović and C. Vasić, *Imperial Mausolea and Consecration Memorials in Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad, East Serbia)* (Belgrade, 1994).

23 For a preliminary report of the excavations, see D. Srejović et al., "Šarkamen, Tetrarchial [*sic*] Imperial Palace," *Starinar* n. s., 47 (1996), pp. 231–43. More recently also M. Vasić and M. Tomović, "Šarkamen (East Serbia): An Imperial Residence and Memorial Complex of the Tetrarchic Period," *Germania* 83–2 (2005), 257–307.

24 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces," especially p. 69.

25 Reddé, "Dioclétien et les fortifications militaires de l'antiquité tardive," especially pp. 119–21 for el-Lejjun. For the "Palace of Diocletian" and its links to late antique military architecture, see also R. Fellmannn, "Der Diokletianspalast von Split im Rahmen der spätrömischen Militärarchitektur," *Antike Welt* 10/2 (1979), pp. 47–55.

26 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces," p. 68.

27 MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak*, pp. 167–69.

28 T. Ivanov and S. Stoianov, *Abritus: Its History and Archaeology* (Razgrad, 1985).

29 L. Tonev, *Gradoustroistvo po bulgarskite zemi prez antichnostta* [Building of Cities in Bulgarian Lands in Antiquity] (Sofia, 1995), pp. 123–30.

30 Ibid., pp. 78–81 (Novae) and pp. 70–78 (Oescus).

31 J. R. Weisman, "The City in Macedonia Secunda," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome, 1984), pp. 288–313, especially pp. 290–91 and 295.

32 J. Russell, "Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contributions and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), pp. 137–54.

33 K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 3rd edn. (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz, 1969), especially chapter IX.

34 D. Srejović, ed., *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia* (Belgrade, 1993); also L. Mulvin, *Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region*, BAR International Series 1064 (Oxford, 2002).

35 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces."

36 The bibliography on the "Palace of Diocletian" is considerable. We note here only J. J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split: Residence of a Retired Emperor* (Sheffield, 1986), a useful monograph with references to the main older literature on the subject.

37 R. Adam, *The Palace of Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London, 1764), is one of the first systematic architectural studies of an ancient site produced in the eighteenth century. Along with the work of Stuart and Revett on ancient Athens, this book made a profound impact on the emergence of neoclassicism in western European architecture.

38 On this, see B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium: A Study on Assembly-Rooms in Roman Palaces during the 1st Century* BC *and the 1st Century* AD (Stockholm, 1963), chapter VI ("Localities for Salutatio").

39 D. F. Brown, "The Arcuated Lintel and its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46

(1942), pp. 389–99. More generally, on variations in classical architecture see M. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1974).

40 M. J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 59–70.

41 P. Zanker, *Il foro di Augusto* (Rome, 1984).

42 K. Swoboda, "The Problem of Iconography of Late Antique and Early Medieval Palaces," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20 (1961), pp. 79–85.

43 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces," especially pp. 68–69.

44 M. Werner, "The Substructures of Diocletian's Palace at Split: Their Construction and Their Design," Ph.D dissertation, Stanford University (1981); S. McNally, "Introduction: State of Scholarship," *Diocletian's Palace: American–Yugoslav Joint Excavations*, ed. McNally, J. Marasović, and T. Marasović, vol. v (Minneapolis, MN, 1989), pp. 3–43, especially pp. 11–15.

45 F. Bulić and L. Karaman, *Palača cara Diokle-cijana u Splitu* (Zagreb, 1927),pp. 168–70.

46 Ibid., p. 103.

47 The "palace" complex is described in detail in Čanak-Medić, *Gamzigrad, kasnoantička palata*, pp. 97–119.

48 W. A. Daszewski, *La mosaïque de Thésée*, Nea Paphos II (Warsaw, 1977), chapter VII ("Iconographie des mosaïques avec une image du labyrinthe"), (58b).

49 W. Reusch, ed., "Die Palastaula (sog. Basilica) in Trier," in *Frühchristliche Zeugnisse im Einzugsbiet von Rhein und Mosel* (Trier, 1965), pp. 144–50, fig. p. 146.

50 Emphasis on multi-domed bath buildings in late antiquity may be gleaned from representations on contemporary floor mosaics, such as the one depicting scenes of country life round a large villa from Carthage, now in the Bardo National Museum in Tunis; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire. Roman Art, AD 200–400* (New York, 1971), fig. 208.

51 Ivanov and Stoianov, *Abritus*, pp. 24–27.

52 H. Vetters, *Mogorjelo: ein spätantiker Herrensitz im römischen Dalmatien* (Vienna, 1966); also D. Basler, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Architektur in Bosnien und Herzegowina* (Vienna, 1993), pp. 62–64.

53 E. B. Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton, NJ, 1971), chapter II ("The Use of the Wooden Dome in the Near East").

54 J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 453–54.

55 Especially, P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150–750* (London, 1971), and multiple subsequent reprintings. Also, A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–600* (London and New York, 1993).

56 Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed. S. Brandt (Vienna, 1897), pp. 7 and 8.

CHAPTER TWO

1 R. Macmullen, *Constantine* (London, 1969), and more recently, N. Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2006), a multi-disciplinary volume that unfortunately appeared too late to be fully taken into consideration in this context.

2 J. L. Teall, "The Age of Constantine: Change and Continuity in Administration and Economy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), p. 28 and f. n. 93.

3 Literature on the Danube *limes* has grown remarkably in recent years. Among the larger studies one should mention: C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae: Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, BAR International Series 88 (Oxford, 1980); R. Ivanov, "Das römische Verteidigungssystem an der unteren Donau zwischen *Dorticum* und *Durostorum* (Bulgarien) von Augustus bis Maurikios," *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 78 (1997), pp. 467–640; P. Petrović, ed., *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (Belgrade, 1996). A recent important work on late Roman fortifications is I. Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien* (Munich, 2002). A crucial work addressing specifically the issue of fortifications and their architecture is still M. Biernacka-Lubanska, *The Roman and Early Byzantine Fortifications of Lower Moesia and Northern Thrace* (Wroclaw, 1982).

4 P. MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1975), pp. 163–65.

5 D. Dimitrijević, "Sapaja: fortification romaine et médiévale dans l'île près de Stara Palanka," *Starinar* n. s., 33–34 (1984), pp. 29–62 [in Serbo-Croatian with a French summary]; also A. Jovanović, "The Problem of the Location of Lederata," in *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, ed. Petrović, pp. 69–72, with the identification of the Sapaja fort as Nova Lederata.

6 G. Koch, *Albanien: Kunst und Kultur im Land der Skiptaren* (Cologne, 1989), pp. 155–56; A. Baçe, "Fortifications de la basse antiquité en Albanie," *Monumentet* II (1976), pp. 45–74 [in Albanian with a French summary on pp. 69–74], on Scampi in the context of other late antique fortifications on the territory of modern Albania.

7 A. Baçe, "Le castellum de Vig," *Monumentet* 14 (1977), pp. 75–95 [in Albanian], pp. 96–100 [French summary].

8 For Castra Nicea, see Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien*, pp. 271–73.

9 M. Tomović, "Les tours fortifiées de la basse antiquité sur le limes des Portes de Fer," *Archeologia Iugoslavica* 24 (1987), pp. 91–100.

10 R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London, 1975), pp. 114–15.

11 For the late Roman frontier in the region of Dobrudja on the basis of recent excavations, see M. Zahariadē, "The Roman Frontier in Scythia Minor, 1980–1994," in *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, ed. Petrović, pp. 223–34, with up-to-date literature. For Tropaeum Traiani, see MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak*, pp. 172–74.

12 MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak*, p. 174

13 B. Döhle, "Zur spätrömischen Militärarchitektur: Das Limeskastell Iatrus (Moesia Secunda)," *Archeologia* 40 (1989), pp. 41–54.

14 T. Tudor, *Les ponts romains du bas Danube* (Bucharest, 1974).

15 P. Petrović, "Niš u antičko doba," in *Istorija Niša*, ed. I. D. Milić (Niš, 1983), pp. 53–75, especially pp. 63–75. Also useful is D. Pešić, ed., *Arheološko blago Niša od neolita do srednjeg veka* [Archaeological Treasures of Niš from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 2004), an exhibition catalogue with up-to-date information on excavations and finds.

16 S. Gušić, "Remesiana in the Late Roman Period," in *The Age of Tetrarchs*, ed. D. Srejović (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 129–37.

17 B. Aleksova and C. Mango, "Bargala: A Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), pp. 265–77.

18 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 169–78; L. Tonev, *Gradoustroistvoto po b'lgarskite zemi prez antichnostta* [Building of Cities in Bulgarian Lands in Antiquity] (Sofia, 1995), pp. 107–16.

19 Some doubts remain both about the extent and the character of the presumed second/third-century walls of Serdica. Current scholarly opinion is divided on the issue. Tonev, *Gradoustroistvoto po b'lgarskite zemi prez antichnostta*, pp. 109–13, sees the last – Jus-

tinianic – phase of the late antique city as greatly expanded (to 84 ha), and fortified by an irregular wall with a corresponding *proteichisma*. If this were the case, Serdica would have been the only major city in the Balkans to be proportionally so enlarged during the sixth century. A different reading of the evidence is offered by T. Ivanov, "Kum problema za ukrepilnata sistema na Serdica, II–VI v." [Toward the Problem of the Fortification System of Serdica, II–VI Centuries], in *Serdica-Sredez-Sofia* (Sofia, 1994), vol. II, pp. 29–52, who also offers a review of previous scholarship on this complex matter. According to him, the second-century walls had only circular corner towers. The intermediate, semi-projecting circular towers, also in evidence in the northern expansion of the walls, in his opinion are the result of Constantine's interventions. He accepts the view that all of the triangular and pentagonal towers, along with the *proteichisma*, belong to Justinian's reconstruction. Whether Ivanov's compromise interpretation is accepted or not, this complex problem cannot be debated further in this context.

20 M. Stancheva, "Za Konstantinoviia kvartal v Serdika" [On Constantine's Quarter of Serdica], in *Serdica-Sredets-Sofia*, vol. II, pp. 53–79.

21 Macmullen, *Constantine*, pp. 128–38.

22 D. V. Grammenos, ed., *Roman Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2003).

23 F. Athanasiadou et al., "Nea stoicheia gia to Octagōno tou Galerianou Syngrotēmatos" [New Finds in the Octagon of Galerius' Complex], *To archaiologiko ergo stē Makedonia kai Thrakē* 8 (1994), especially p. 176.

24 S. Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2000), especially pp. 10–13, providing argumentation related to the sequence of events during the early history of the building up to the time of its conversion into a church.

25 M. J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 58 and *passim*.

26 S. Ćurčić, "From the Temple of the Sun to the Temple of the Lord: Monotheistic Contribution to Architectural Iconography in Late Antiquity," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C. L. Striker (Mainz, 1997), especially pp. 55–56.

27 G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974); R. Krautheimer, *The Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley, CA, 1983); C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985), especially chapter II; and most recently S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), especially chapters 1–4. The first comprehensive urban history of the city up to the present is D. Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History. Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1996).

28 Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, passim.

29 On the porticoed streets of Constantinople and their Eastern origins, see M. Mundell Mango, "The Porticoed Street in Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoglu (Leiden, 2001), pp. 29–50.

30 C. Mango, "The Column of Constantine," in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), vol. III, pp. 1–6.

31 S. Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1994), pp. 67–90.

32 A. Frazer, "The Iconography of the Emperor Maxentius' Buildings in Via Appia," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966), pp. 385–92. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, chapter XI ("L'organisation d'un space politique à l'hippodrome").

33 Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, pp. 58–67 and 212–32.

34 For the harbors of Constantinople, see C. Mango, "The Shoreline of Constantinople in the Fourth Century," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoglu, pp. 17–28; for the water supply, see Mango, "The Water Supply of Constantinople," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 9–18. Mango's suggestion that the "Aqueduct of Valens" may actually have been built by Hadrian (pp. 10–12) has not met with general approval.

35 On this, and the general problem of interpreting the relevant sources, see Mango, *Le développment urbain de Constantinople*, pp. 34–36.

36 C. Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83.1 (1990), 51–61; see also S. Ćurčić, "From the Temple of the Sun to the Temple of the Lord: Monotheistic Contribution to Architectural Iconography in Late Antiquity," *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker (Mainz), 55–59.

37 Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, pp. 35–36.

38 R. Petrović, *Le Christianisme sur le sol de l'Illyricum oriental jusqu'à l'arrivée des Slaves* (Thessaloniki, 1996), pp. 77–79.

39 Ibid., pp. 63–65.

40 E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo, 1951).

41 This complex of extraordinary significance has recently received a major detailed study: N. Duval and E. Marin, eds., *Manastirine: établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, Salona III (Rome and Split, 2000).

42 D. Basler, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Architektur in Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (Vienna, 1993), p. 90, fig. 119.

43 S. Boĭadzhiev, "Khristiianskata grobnichna arkhitektura v Serdika prez II–VI v.," *B'lgarsko arkhitekturno nasledstvo* 1 (1994), pp. 3–27, especially pp. 4–19.

44 See Chapter 1, p. 22.

45 P. Adam-Veleni, "Thessaloniki: History and Town Planning," in *Roman Thessaloniki*, ed. D. V. Grammenos (Thessaloniki, 2003), pp. 157–59 ("The 'Theatre Called Stadium'").

46 The essential information is conveniently summarized by K. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and the Early Eleventh Centuries AD with Special Reference to Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1996), especially pp. 72–74.

47 C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and C. Bakirtrzis, *Philippi* (Athens, 1995), pp. 49–54; also C. Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi: The Archaeological Evidence," in *Philippi at the Time of Paul and After His Death*, ed. Bakirtzis and H. Koester (Harrisburg, 1998), especially pp. 41–43.

48 S. Boĭadziev et al., *Rannohristiianski hram Sveta Sofiia* [The Early Christian Church St. Sophia] Sofia, 1996), pp. 20–23, texts in Bulgarian and English.

49 The phenomenon is alluded to by Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, intro., transl., and comment., A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), pp. 153–54 (Bk. IV, 1–4); for a good insight into its character and scope see L. Mulvin, *Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region*, BAR International Series 1064 (Oxford, 2002).

50 On this, see Chapter 1, n. 18.

51 A. Kirin, "The Rotunda of St. George and Late Antique Serdica: From Imperial Palace to Episcopal Center," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (2000).

52 P. Petrović, *Mediana: Residence of Roman Emperors* (Belgrade, 1994). Excavations at Mediana continue as of this writing. Among the more impressive recent finds are the elements of an elaborate bronze railing; cf. M.

Vasić, "Bronze Railing from Mediana," *Starinar*, Ns. 53–54 (2004), 79–109.

53 Ibid., p. 90, though he maintains that the villa at Piazza Armerina was imperial property, as opposed to the more recent studies that argue in favor of private ownership.

54 Important discoveries of churches from this period have been made very recently at Mediana: cf. M. Vasić, "Hronika iskopavanja Medijane 2000–2002. godine," *Starinar*, Ns. 53–54 (2004), 288–94, reporting on the discovery of a small single-aisled church, next to the great peristyle court. A second, similar church thought to have been designated for use by higher clergy, was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the former one in 2007, but remains as yet unpublished.

55 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 43 and 17, with relevant literature.

56 B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," *Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 33 (1986), pp. 13–81, especially pp. 25–38.

57 J. Wiseman, "The City in Macedonia Secunda," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome, 1984), pp. 289–314, especially p. 305, dates the third church to the middle of the fifth century, contra Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," p. 37, who puts it in the early fifth century. More on this in Ch. III.

58 S. Boyadjiev, "The Early Christian Church of St. Sophia in Sofia," in *Ranokhristiiānski khram Sveta Sofiia* (Sofia, 1996), pp. 7–41.

59 Wiseman, "The City in Macedonia Secunda," pp. 295–97. This view is contested by Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 45–46.

60 The opinions as to when this conversion actually took place are sharply divided. Among the champions of different dates are: E. Torp, "Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'église Saint-Georges à Thessalonique," *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, I (Thessaloniki, 1953), pp. 489–98, was the first of his several studies in which he places the mosaics into the context of the so-called "Theodosian Renaissance" (late 4th century); M. Vickers, "The Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 38 (1970), 183–87 (mid-5th century); J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), pp. 132–64 (early 6th century).

61 A. Lidov, "Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach," *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art* (*Jewish Art 23–24*) (1997–98), 341–53.

CHAPTER THREE

1 R. Krautheimer, *Rome: A Profile of the City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ, 1980) especially p. 21.

2 The first to propose a "structural" ("based absolutely on utility") explanation for the introduction of the impost block (referred to as the *dosseret* or *pulvino*) was the English architect T. G. Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge and Chicago, 1913), vol. I, pp. 51–52.

3 For some preliminary ideas in this context, see J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), chapter V, and S. Ćurčić, "Justinianic Impost Capitals: Some Questions Regarding Their Origins and Meaning," in *Abstracts of Papers, Byzantine Studies Conference* 18 (1992), pp. 53–54.

4 A. Lidov, *Relikvii v iskusstve i kulture vostochnokhristianskogo mira* [Relics in Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World] (Moscow, 2000). L. A. Beliāev, *Khristianskie drevnosti: V'vedenie v sravnitelnoe izuchenie* [Christian Antiquities: An Introduction to Comparative Studies] (St. Petersburg, 2000), is an important introductory study that reveals the limitations of modern knowledge pertaining to the Eastern Christian, in contrast to the contemporary Western, tradition. Discrepancies are amply underscored by J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford, 2000). Most encouraging in this regard are two recent conferences, whose published acts appeared too late to be taken into account in this volume: A. Minchev and V. Iotov, eds., *Ramnokhristianski m'chenitsi i relikvi i tiakhnoto pochitane na iztok i zapad* (Early Christian Martyrs and Relics, and Their Veneration in East and West) (Varna, 2006), and E. Hadjitryphonos, ed., *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean. History, Mouments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives* (Thessaloniki, 2008).

5 E. Markē, "Ta Christianika koimētēria stēn Ellada" [Early Christian Cemeteries in Greece], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 23 (2002), pp. 163–76, though dealing with the developments in Greece alone, provides a useful paradigmatic overview of the main general phenomena.

6 O. Nussbaum, *Der Standort des Liturgen am christlichen Altar vor dem Jahre 1000*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1965), though in many ways outdated, is still useful. Most recently, Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints*, especially chapter I.

7 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), especially pp. 94–98.

8 Notably N. Duval and V. Popović, "Urbanisme et topographie chrétienne dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Illyricum," in *Actes du XE Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Thessaloniki and Vatican City, 1984), vol. I, pp. 541–79; also G. Lavas, "Oi poleis tōn 'Christianikōn vasilikōn': mia symvolē stēn poleodomia to Anatolikou Illyrikou" [Cities of "Christian basilicas": A Study in Urban Building of Eastern Illyricum], ibid., pp. 581–623, and most recently Lavas, "Town Planning in Byzantium," in *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), pp. 29–39; C. Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City: Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 497–528. H. Buchwald, "Byzantine Town Planning – Does it Exist?" *Material Culture and Well-being in Byzantium (400–1453)* (Vienna, 2007), 57–74, appeared too late for full consideration in this context. Other valuable studies include E. Kirsten, "Die Byzantinische Stadt," in *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinische Kongress* (Munich, 1969), pp. I–32; G. Dagron, "Le Christianisme dans la ville byzantine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), pp. 3–25; and J.-M. Spieser, "The Christianisation of the City in Late Antiquity," in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001), chapter III, offering an economic interpretation of the phenomenon. Spieser, "The City in Late Antiquity: A Re-Evaluation," ibid., chapter I, offers an up-to-date "state of the question" analysis with a thorough review of the recent literature.

9 D. Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History. Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1996), p. 73.

10 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 49.

11 V. Tourptsoglou-Stephanidou, "The Roman and Byzantine Building Regulations," *Saopštenja* 30–31 (1998–99), pp. 37–62, especially pp. 43–44. The known corresponding restrictions of building heights in Rome were fixed

at 70 feet (20.77 m) by Augustus, and were reduced to 60 feet (17.76 m) by Trajan.

12 Ibid., pp. 43–52.

13 *Three Byzantine Saints*, trans. E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes (Crestwood, NY, 1977), p. 56.

14 Ibid., pp. 54 and 57.

15 A. Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), pp. 161–72; M. Mundell Mango, "The Porticoed Street at Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001), pp. 29–51; also M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), especially pp. 189–98, where various commercial building types (*horrea, macella*, bakeries, etc.) are discussed.

16 The exact duration of construction is disputed, though 412–13 is generally accepted as the starting date of the building process. The main study of the walls remains *Die Landamauer von Konstantinopel* in 2 volumes: vol. I by F. Kirchen and T. von Lüpke (Berlin, 1938) and vol. II by B. Meyer-Plath and A.-M. Schneider (Berlin, 1943). Kuban, *Istanbul*, chapter 4, provides a convenient summary, though relying also on some questionable data.

17 Though taken by treachery in 1204, the walls were not physically breached until 1453, when the city was finally conquered by the Ottomans.

18 C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1985), pp. 9–10.

19 T. E. Gregory, "*Kastro* and *Diateichisma* as Responses to Early Byzantine Frontier Collapse," *Byzantion* 62 (1992), especially p. 242.

20 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 54.

21 J. Bardill, "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999), pp. 671–96. According to Bardill, initially, it would have been a freestanding structure, some distance in front of the Constantinian city wall, which was then still standing. Triumphal arches, however, were usually urban rather than suburban features. Though some resemblance between the Golden Gate and triumphal arches cannot be denied – and was undoubtedly intentional – the structure lacked any of the sculptural decoration characteristic of Roman triumphal arches, and was flanked by two towers, consistent with its function as a city gate.

22 Mundell Mango, "The Porticoed Street at Constantinople," pp. 29–51, discusses various aspects of the urban fabric of the city, and postulates Eastern origins for the type of planning.

23 F. A. Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 15 (2001), pp. 27–61.

24 C. Barsanti, "Foro di Teodosio I a Constantinopoli," in *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio*, ed. A. Iacobini and E. Zanini (Rome, 1995), pp. 9–50; Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 87–89, insists that the two names refer to two separate spatial entities – "Tauri" referring to a larger area actually containing the "Forum of Theodosius."

25 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 88, may be taking Kedrinos' remarks about the similarities with the Forum of Trajan too literally.

26 W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 258–65.

27 H. Wrede, "Zur Errichtung des Theodosiusobelisken in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 16 (1966), pp. 178–98; also S. Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before the Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 16–38, especially pp. 26–27.

28 Most recently, the issue of the *kathisma* and its location was discussed by J. Bardill, "The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999), especially pp. 222–23. His proposed location of the *kathisma* – opposite the Obelisk of Theodosius – is problematic. Imperial boxes in most Roman hippodromes overlooked the finishing line of the racecourse.

29 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 225–28. More recently, C. Mango, "The Palace of the Bukoleon," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 45 (1997), pp. 41–50.

30 For a critical assessment of these modern interventions, see Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 426–28.

31 R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und Ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966), especially pp. 13–44. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 122.

32 J. Bardill, "The Palace of Lausos and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997), pp. 67–95.

33 The name "sigma court" is derived from the Greek letter sigma, "c." The association is of ancient origin; see R. Billig, "Bilder und Bodenfunde: kleine Beiträge zur Kenntnis der spätantiken Stadt," *Opuscula Romana* 18/3 (1990), especially pp. 57–60 ("Der Sigmahof").

34 R. Krautheimer, "Die Decanneacubita in Konstantiopel. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Frage Rom und Byzanz," *Tortulae. Studien zu Altchrislichen und Byzantinischen Monumenten* (Rome, 1966), pp. 195–99, especially p. 199.

35 C. Mango et al., "The Palace of Lausos at Constantinople and Its Collection of Ancient Sculptures," *Journal of the History of Collections* 4/1 (1992), pp. 89–98; also S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), chapter 5 ("The Lausos Collection").

36 The remark is noteworthy, for it suggests that each luxury residence would have contained a private bathing establishment, a notion that the archaeological evidence generally does confirm.

37 J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire, from death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, vol. I (New York, 1958), p. 139, who paraphrases St. John Chrysostomos, especially his homilies on Psalms (cf. *Patrologia Graeca* 55, pp. 510–11).

38 T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, PA, 1976), pp. 200–01.

39 The possibility of palatine origins is proposed by Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 42.

40 C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 31–36.

41 S. Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before the Hagia Sophia," especially p. 25.

42 Ibid., pp. 28–31.

43 A. M. Mansel, "Les fouilles de Rhegion près Istanbul," in *Actes du VIe Congrès d'études byzantines* (Paris, 1951), vol. II, pp. 255–60.

44 "Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), pp. 229–43.

45 P. Magdaleno, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoglu, pp. 53–69.

46 J. Durliat, "L'approvisionnement de Constantinople," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 19–33; and C. Mango, "The Water Supply of Constantinople," ibid., pp. 9–18.

47 M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), pp. 189–207.

48 C. Mango, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1985), passim, especially pp. 38ff. (Preliminary information is

provided by a splendid catalogue related to an exhibition regarding physical evidence of the Harbor of Theodosius: *Gün Isiginda Istanbul'un 8000 yili. Marmaray, Metro ve Sultanahmet kazilari,* ed. Z. Kiziltan, et al. (Istanbul, 2007), in Turkish; an English edition of the same catalogue is promised.

49 T. Ergil, "A Byzantine Cistern near Istanbul," *Archaeology* 27/1 (January 1974), pp. 42–47.

50 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 278–79.

51 Ibid., pp. 283–85. Mango, "The Water Supply of Constantinople," dates the building to the 530s.

52 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 280.

53 On this subject, see C. Mango, "Constantinople: A Christian Holy City," in *Istanbul: World City* (Istanbul, [1996]), pp. 7–11.

54 P. Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca 350–850* (Cambridge, 2008), appeared too late to be considered in the writing of this book.

55 *Three Byzantine Saints*, trans. Dawes and Baynes, pp. 53–58.

56 R. Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in *Ekphraseis* of Church Buildings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), pp. 59–74.

57 C. Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine in Constantinople," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, ed. N. Cambi and E. Marin (Vatican City and Split, 1998), vol. II, pp. 61–76.

58 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 186–87.

59 A.-M. Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 7–8.

60 C. Mango, "The Date of the Studios Basilica at Istanbul," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), pp. 115–22.

61 T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, and London, 1971), is the crucial study discussing the idiosyncratic nature of the Constantinopolitan liturgy and its effects on the character of early church architecture in the capital.

62 For the development of urban liturgical ceremonies, see J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987).

63 For a comparison of the two plans, see Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, p. 30, fig. 12.

64 N. Asgari, "The Proconnesian Production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity, Based on Evidence from Marble Quarries," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, pp. 263–88.

65 G. Kapitän, "The Church Wreck off Marzamemi," *Archaeology* 22/2 (1969), pp. 122–23, a very useful case study; also J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Marble in Antiquity* (London, 1992), passim; and J.-P. Sodini, "La commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, vol. I: *IVe–VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), pp. 163–86.

66 I. Nikolajević, *La décoration architecturale sculptée de l'époque bas-romaine en Macédoine, en Serbie et au Monténégro* (Belgrade, 1957) [in Serbo-Croatian with a French summary]; J.-P. Sodini, "La sculpture architecturale à l'époque paléochrétienne en Illyricum," in *Actes du XE Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. I, pp. 207–98, C. Barsanti, "L'esportazione di marmi dal Proconneso nelle regioni pontiche durante il IV–VI secolo," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, Ser. III, 12 (1989), 91–220.

67 For the discussion of the conversion of the Rotunda, see Chapter 2, p. 71.

68 Main efforts, but with different approaches and results, are those by J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du VIe au VIe siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1984), and K. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and the Early Eleventh Centuries AD with Special Reference to Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1996), chapter 3. The latter work was actually written in 1988, and therefore, along with Spieser's, lacks more recent information. A very useful recent overview is H. Torp, "Thessalonque paléochrétienne. Une esquisse," *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 113–32.

69 C. Pietri, "La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique et ses relations avec l'église de Rome, Ve–VIe siècles," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome, 1984), pp. 21–62.

70 P. Leporskii, *Istoriia Fessaloniskago ekzarkhata* [The History of the Thessaloniki Exarchate] (St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 64–71.

71 The subject of the "translation" of St. Demetrius is highly controversial. For the point of view supporting the idea of a transfer from Sirmium, see V. Popović, "Die süddanubischen Provinzien in der Spätantike," *Südosteuropa Jahrbuch* 17 (1987), pp. 95–139. It should be noted that Greek scholars uniformly accept Thessaloniki as the original place of St. Demetrius' martyrdom despite the unresolved questions regarding the actual *locus* of his death and burial.

72 G. Gounaris, *The City Walls of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1982), for a general outline of the history and the main architectural phases and features. A part of the controversy has recently been stirred anew by G. Velenis, *Ta teichē tēs Thessalonikēs apo tōn Kassandro os tōn Heirakleio* (Thessaloniki, 1998), and the review of the book by J.-M. Spieser, "Les remparts de Thessalonique: a propos d'un livre récent," *Byzantinoslavica* 60/2 (1999), pp. 557–74.

73 E. Markē-Angelkou, "To stauriko martyrio kai oi christianikoi taphoi tēs odou G Septemvriou Thessalonikēs," (The cruciform martyrion and the Christian tombs of 3rd September Street in Thessaloniki) *Archaiologikē Ephemeris* (1981), pp. 53–69; also C. S. Snively, "Churches and Cemeteries: Religion and Death in Early Byzantine Macedonia," *Starohristijanskata arheologija vo Makedonija* (Early Christian Archaeology in Macedonia) (Skopje, 2003), pp. 59–74, especially p. 64.

74 The church is being excavated by D. Markopoulou; a full excavation report is pending.

75 The Dikitiriou Square excavation has become a symbol of the quest to retrieve some solid information about the ancient city's growth pattern, before access to such information becomes completely impossible. Few isolated construction sites in the city have yielded some information on fifth-century residential architecture; cf. N. Karydas, "Palaiochristianikes oikies me triklinio stē Thessalonikē," [Early Christian houses with triclinia in Thessaloniki], *Archaiologiko ergo stē Makedonia kai Thrakē* 10-B (1996), pp. 571–84.

76 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, p. 139.

77 J. Knithakēs, "To oktagono tēs Thessalonikēs," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 30/A (1975), especially pp. 105–06.

78 C. Bouras, "Nees paratēreseis sto oktagōno tēs Thessalonikēs," in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. II, pp. 33–43. His suggestion that the octagon was actually built by Theodosius I as his mausoleum has generally not been accepted.

79 J.-P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*, pp. 367–70.

80 E. Markē, "Ho anonymos staurikos naos tēs odou Hagiou Dēmētriou stē Thessalonikē," *Ē Thessalonikē* 1 (1985), pp. 159–88. The proposed reconstruction of the plan of this building, the hypothetical function assigned to it – that of an "all-purpose Christian cult building" – as well as the postulated Armenian connections, cannot be accepted.

81 *Miracula Demetrii*, I. 1. 22. M. Vickers, "A Note on the Byzantine Palace in Thessaloniki," *The Annual of the British School in Athens* 66 (1971), pp. 369–71.

82 E. Markē, "Enas agnōstos oktagōnikos naos stē Thessalonikē," *Makedonika* 23 (1983), pp. 117–32.

83 For the example of Rome, see Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*; pp. 7–40, passim.

84 The building is essentially unpublished. I am grateful to E. Hadjitryphonos, who has studied it and who kindly supplied me with its plan. P. V. Devolēs, Dēmētrios, o philopolis Aggios. Thessalonikē, Theatro-Stadio, Kataphygē (Thessaloniki, 2008), appeared too late to be taken into account.

85 K. Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest*, BAR International Series 399 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 10–13.

86 A summary of the different proposed dates is given by Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, p. 142.

87 The literature on Hagios Demetrios is extensive, and issues related to its archaeology and dating are much contested. A particularly useful summation is C. Bakirtzis, *The Basilica of St. Demetrios* (Thassaloniki, 1988). The conclusions expressed in G. Soteriou and M. Soteriou, *Hē vasiliki tou Hagiou Dēmētriou tēs Thessalonikēs* (Athens, 1952), are generally rejected at present, but the work nonetheless remains the crucial study of the building.

88 D. Pallas, "Le ciborium hexagonal de saint-Demetrios de Thessalonique," *Zograf* 10 (1979), pp. 44–58; A. Mentzos, *To proskynima tou Agiou Dēmētriou Thessalonikēs sta vizantina chronia* (Athens, 1994), who considers the history of the cult of St. Demetrius and the pilgrimage associated with it in the context of other early Christian shrines; and more recently C. Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessaloniki: The Tomb of St. Demetrios," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), pp. 175–92.

89 C. Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979), 1–13.

90 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 99–103.

91 Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," especially pp. 244–45, 251, and 269.

92 In contrast to a fanciful reconstruction drawing by E. Hebrard, reproduced in several publications, which depicts the church preceded by such an atrium.

93 B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300–850* (Oxford, 1984); also C. Kunderewicz, "La protection des monuments d'architecture antique dans le Code Théodosien," *Studi in honore di Edoardo Voltera* 4 (Milano, 1971), pp. 137–53.

94 E. Tsigaridas, *Latomou Monastery: The Church of Hosios David* (Thessaloniki, 1988), especially pp. 8–10.

95 The western part of "Hosios David" was destroyed in the course of its subsequent history. The eastern, preserved rooms, with their absidioles, were clearly intended for liturgical purposes.

96 For some preliminary comments, see S. Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2000), passim.

97 I. Mikulčić, *Stobi: An Ancient City* (Skopje, 2004), is a comprehensive, up-to-date monograph that became available to me too late to be fully taken into account; see also J. R. Wiseman, "The City in Macedonia Secunda," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*, pp. 288–314, who gives a succinct summary of historical and archaeological information on the late antique city and the life within it.

98 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 48–49.

99 B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," in *XXXIII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna, 1986), especially pp. 43–48.

100 W. J. Dinsmoor, "The Baptistery: Its Roofing and Related Problems," in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, vol. II, (Belgrade, 1975), pp. 15–27.

101 For a convenient summary of the secondary literature on late antique Philippi, see Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 67–87. The classic work on the history and architecture of Philippi in late antiquity remains P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris, 1945), notwithstanding the major archaeological discoveries that have been made since.

102 The discovery of a brick vaulted tomb under the floor of the north apse in the palace octagon, unfortunately, has not helped to clarify many of the mysteries that still shroud the question of the changing functions of this building. Several scholars believe, in my opinion wrongly, that this tomb was situated below the main altar of the octagon functioning as a church.

103 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, p. 77.

104 Thus, A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–600* (London and New York, 1993), chapter 7, especially pp. 171–75.

105 Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, pp. 283–412.

106 G. Gounaris and G. Velenis, "Panepistēmiakē anaskaphē Philippōn" [The University Excavations at Philippi) *Archaiologiko ergo stē Makedonia kai Thrakē* 10–B (1996), 719–33.

107 On this, see Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 81, 75, and 80, respectively, who cites the original excavation reports.

108 Literature on the Agora is vast. Essential for the late antique period is A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XXIV: *Late Antiquity, AD 267–700* (Princeton, NJ, 1988).

109 Ibid., chapter 5, pp. 95–116.

110 S. Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1994), especially p. 70.

111 Ibid., pp. 70–71.

112 For example, Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 201–02, whose text was completed in 1988, before the publication of Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, in which this original misinterpretation has been corrected.

113 G. Fowden, "The Athenian Agora and the Progress of Christianity," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990), especially pp. 497–98.

114 Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, especially pp. 24–49, and passibm.

115 Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," especially pp. 344–52 and 394–95, prudently questioned these simplified identifications. His article, however, appeared before it was definitively shown that the "Palace of the Giants" was not a "gymnasium," but a palatial residence.

116 Ibid., pp. 394–95.

117 Ibid., pp. 359–60.

118 J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), pp. 183–86, figs. 238–44, who dates it to the second, but suggests that it was in use until the seventh century.

119 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 119–21.

120 Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, pp. 72–73, citing earlier literature.

121 G. Fowden, "The Athenian Agora and the Progress of Christianity," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990), pp. 498–99.

122 Ibid., p. 499.

123 R. M. Rothaus, *Corinth: The First City of Greece: An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion* (Leiden, Boston and Köln,

2000). Also, D. N. Schowalter and S. J. Friesen, eds., *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge, MA, 2005).

124 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 212ff., gives a useful summary of the city's history in late antiquity, based on literary sources and archaeological evidence available in 1988.

125 D. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1958 à 1973* (Vatican City, 1977), pp. 156–63.

126 Ibid., pp. 154–56.

127 Ibid., pp. 165–71.

128 Tentative reconstructions may be found in G. Stanzel, *Längesbau und Zentralbau als Grundthemen der frühchristlichen Architektur* (Vienna, 1979), pp. 66–68, pls. 14–19.

129 E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo, 1951), especially chapter IV; and now N. Duval and E. Marin, *Manastirine: établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochretienne à Salone*, Salona III (Rome and Split, 2000), for a detailed analysis of the evolution of the "transept," see pp. 363–452; for a constructive debate on the question of its evolution, see also B. Brenk and J. Dresken-Weiland, "Zwei Berichte über des Martyrerkultus in *Manastirine* (Salona)," *Antiquité tardive* 9 (2001), pp. 381–97.

130 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 180.

131 Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, pp. 79–80.

132 For the original layout of these basilicas in the fifth century, ibid., pp. 27ff.

133 On these and other related matters, see I. Nikolajević, "'Salona christiana' aux VIe et VIIe siècles," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 72–73 (1979), pp. 151–69 [in Serbo-Croatian with a French summary].

134 As, for example, in Albania: H. Saradi, "Aspects of Early Byzantine Urbanism in Albania," in *The Medieval Albanians: Akten des Symposiums*, ed. C. Gasparis (Athens, 1998), pp. 81–130.

135 P. Vežić, "Starokršćanski sloj katedrale u Zadru" [The Early Christian Stratum of Zadar Cathedral], *Diadora* 10 (1988), pp. 166ff.

136 P. Vežić, "Starokršćanska arhitektura u Zadru i na zadarskom području" [Early Christian Architecture in Zadar and in the Surrounding Region], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 12 (1986), pp. 174ff.

137 P. Vežić, "Krstionica u Zadru" [The Baptistery in Zadar], *Peristil* 4 (1991), pp. 13–23.

138 I. Shtereva, "Baptistère paléo-chrétien à Sliven," in *La culture materiélle et l'art dans les terres Bulgares, VIe–XVIIes, Izvestiia na Arkheologicheskiia institut* 38 (Sofia, 1995), pp. 7–13.

139 A. Khachatrian, *Les baptisteries paléochretiens: plans, notices et bibliographie* (Paris, 1962), passim. For examples of hexagonal buildings in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Philippopolis, see Chapter 3, above.

140 R. Hodges, W. Bowden, and K. Lako, eds., *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys, 1994–1999* (Oxford, 2004).

141 O. Gilkes and K. Lako, "Excavations at the Triconch Palace," ibid., pp. 151–75.

142 D. I. Pallas, "Epiros," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel, 2 (1971), especially pp. 214–31 (Nikopolis), despite its early publication date, still a useful brief account of the city's history and its buildings.

143 T. Gregory, "The Early Byzantine Fortifications of Nikopolis in Comparative Perspective," in *Nicopolis I*, ed. Chrysos (Preveza, 1987), pp. 253–61.

144 P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, "Early Christian and Byzantine Magnesia," in G. Hourmouziadis, et al., *Magnesia: The Story of a Civilization* (Athens, 1982), especially pp. 114–22.

145 Ibid.; for the basilicas, see pp. 132–45.

146 T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, and London, 1971), pp. 117–25.

147 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 118.

148 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 103–12, for a useful overview.

149 For a summary of recent archaeological work at Dion, see D. Pandermalis, *Dion. The Archeaological Site and the Museum* (Athens, 1997).

150 Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, pp. 77–80.

151 A. Mentzos, "Early Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture in Pieria," *Byzantine Macedonia: Art, Architecture, Music and Hagiography*, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2001), esp. pp. 8–9; Mentzos dates these changes to the late sixth or early seventh century, but a dating at the beginning of the sixth century seems far more plausible.

152 See, for example, S. Ćurčić, "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Patterson Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, 1999), pp. 71–80; also, in a broader context, R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), esp. pp. 86–92.

153 I. Mikulčić, *Heraclea Lyncestis. Ancient City in Macedonia* (Skopje, 2007); and also Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, pp. 87–103.

154 R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London, 1975), pp. 300–12; also L. Tonev, *Gradoustroistvoto po B'lgarskite zemi prez antichnostta* (Sofia, 1995), pp. 123–30.

155 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, p. 310.

156 P. MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1975), pp. 172–74. This would be in stark contrast to Constantinople, which at about the same time had only fourteen churches serving a population of approximately 300,000.

157 Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, p. 19; for Malchos, cf. Malchus, "Testimonia," in R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, II (Liverpool, 1983), fragment 20, 3–19.

158 I. Fisković, "Jesu li Polače na Mljetu bile sijelo vladara Dalmacije?" [Were [*sic*] Polače on the Isle of Mljet the Seat of the Rulers of Dalmatia?], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 13–14 (1996–97), pp. 61–82; also Fisković, "Late Antique Buildings in Polače on the Island of Mljet," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. III, pp. 273–86.

159 Ćurčić, "Late Antique Palaces," p. 70 and f. n. 36.

160 E. Markē, *Kitros: Mia polē-kastro tēs vyzantinēs periphereias* [Kitros: A City-Castrum on the Byzantine Periphery] (Thessaloniki, 2001) [in Greek with substantial English summary, pp. 79–89].

161 D. Basler, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Architektur in Bosnien und Herzegowina* (Vienna, 1993), pp. 62–64.

162 M. Čanak-Medić, *Gamzigrad: Kasnoantička palata* (*Saopštenja* 11) (Belgrade, 1978), pp. 127–30.

163 When excavated in 1935, the complex was first interpreted as a *villa rustica*; see Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 277–79; V. Dintchev, "Household Substructure of the Early-Byzantine Fortified Settlements on the Present Bulgarian Territory," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 1/1 (1997), p. 47; finally, T. Völling, "Befestigte *Villae rusticae* oder militärische Kleinkastelle? Anmerkungen zu drei Fundplätzen im Bulgarischen Binnenland," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 4/2 (2000), especially pp. 36 and 45–46.

164 C. Bouras, "The Daphni Monastic Complex Reconsidered," in *Aetos: Studies in Honour of*

Cyril Mango, ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), pp. 1–14, who argues that in its entirety the monastery complex is a Middle Byzantine creation. His dating runs counter to opinions of a large number of scholars who, since the first scholarly publication on the monastery (G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899)), have almost invariably been inclined to date the monastery enclosure to the late antique period. Most recently again, I. Baldini Lippolis, "Il monastero di Dafnì (Grecia): le fase protobizantina," *Studi in memoria di Patrizia Angioli Martinelli, Studi e Scavi*, n.s. 10, ed. S. Pasi (Bologna, 2005), pp. 31–48. Bouras, along with others, agrees that only an archaeological exploration of the complex could produce a definitive answer to this issue.

165 S. Boiadzhiev, "L'eglise de Djanavar Tépé près de Varna," *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. B. Borkopp, et al. (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 65–71.

166 Notably S. Popović, "Prolegomena to Early Monasticism in the Balkans as Documented in Architecture," *Starinar* n. s., 49 (1999), pp. 131–44; also N. K. Moutsopoulos, "Monasteries Outside the Walls of Thessaloniki during the Period of Slav Raids," *Cyrillomethodianum* 9 (1987), pp. 129–94.

167 On this, see Popović, "Prolegomena," pp. 135–36 and f. n. 35, in conjunction with two sites in Dalmatia – Rižinice and Crikvine — as well as a recently excavated site at Postenje in Serbia, in all three of which the apse of the church faced north and not east.

168 A. Opait, C. Opait, and T. Banica, "Der frühchristliche Komplex von Slava Rusa," in *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. R. Prillinger et al. (Vienna, 1992), pp. 113–35.

169 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, p. 297.

170 Popović, "Prolegomena," pp. 135–37.

171 Ibid., pp. 137–39.

172 V. Korać, *Studenica Hvostanska* (Belgrade, 1976).

173 V. Dintchev, "Zikideva: An Example of Early Byzantine Urbanism in the Balkans," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 1/3 (1997), especially pp. 58–59.

174 S. Eyice and N. Thierry, "Le monastère et la Source Sainte de Midye en Thrace Turque," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970), pp. 47–76.

175 P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae: L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (IVe–VIIe s.)*, *Salona* II (Rome and Split, 1995), vol. I, pp. 312–15.

176 I. Nikolajević, "Les ensevelissements dans les églises paléochrétiennes sur le territoire de la Serbie," *Arheološki vestnik* 29 (1978), pp. 678–93, especially pp. 681–82 and 686–87 (in Serbo-Croatian with a French summary); more recently, G. Milošević, "Martirijum i grobljanska bazilika u Jagodin Mali u Nišu," [English summary: "The Martyrium and the Cemetery Basilica in Jagodin Mala in Niš], in *Nis i Vizantija: Zbornik radova* 2 (Nis, 2004), pp. 121–40.

177 A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art Chrétien antique* (Paris, 1946), in many ways outdated, but still of considerable importance.

178 D. Nikolov and K. Kaltchev, "Un ensamble paléochrétien à Augusta Traiana – Beroe," *Izvestiia na muzeite ot iugoistochna B'lgariia* 15 (1995?), pp. 29–44 (in Bulgarian with French summary).

179 Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, pp. 88–89. Pallas dates the monument to the second half of the fourth or the fifth century.

180 M. Bospatchieva, "An Early Christian Martyrium from Philippopolis," *Archaeolgia Bulgarica* 5/2 (2001), pp. 59–69. A somewhat smaller hexagonal martyrium has also been uncovered in a cemetery outside the western city walls of Thessaloniki; cf. E. Markē, Hē nekropolē tēs Thessalonikēs stous ysterōmaïkous kai palaiochristianikous chronous (Apo ta mesa tou 3ou ōs ton 7o aiōna m. Ch.)" [Necropoleis of Thessaloniki of the late Roman and Early Christian era (mid-3rd to 7th cent. AD), Ph.D. Dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (2000), pp. 78–81, fig. 30. I am most grateful to Dr. Markē for putting her unpublished dissertation at my disposal.

181 D. Bošković, "L'art entre l'antiquité et l'époque romane sur le litoral de l'ancienne Zeta," *Starinar* n. s., 27 (1976), pp. 71–82, especially p. 73.

182 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 250–51.

183 P. Georgiev, *Martiriumt v Pliska in nachaloto na Khristiianstvoto v Bulgariia* [The Martyrium and Pliska at the Beginning of Christianity in Bulgaria] (Sofia, 1993).

184 Ibid., pp. 110–11, and French summary, pp. 137–40. Georgiev's is the latest and most detailed discussion of the problem promoting the Bulgarian martyrium theory. According to this theory, the martyrium was built in commemoration of one Endravota, the eldest son of Omurtag and an uncle of Boris. Endravota, who embraced Christianity, did not succeed to the throne after Omurtag's death in 831, and was executed shortly thereafter for his Christian beliefs.

185 I. Ribarević Nikolić, "Genesis and Formation of a Complex Type of Church Using Early Christian Churches in Herzegovina as Examples", in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. III, pp. 693–714, is an encouraging recent approach, albeit limited geographically.

186 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, p. 279; also S. Boiadzhiev, "Proizhod i razvitie na kr'stokupolniia tip ts'rkvi v Miziia i Trakiia prez IV–VI v. [Origine et évolution des églises cruciformes à coupole en Mésie et en Thrace aux IVe–VIe siècles], *Arkheologiia* 37/4 (1995), pp. 8–18, who identifies the tomb in the north chamber as that of a martyr Sevastianus on the basis of a Latin inscription on a brick discovered at the site. Other ideas expressed in this article, connecting the lateral chambers with the "evolution" of cruciform churches, are not convincing.

187 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, p. 279.

188 Ibid., p. 242.

189 Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, p. 39.

190 V. Bitrakova Grozdanova, "L'architecture paléochrétienne dans l'région d'Ohrid et de Prespa," *Corso di cultura* 23 (Ravenna, 1986), p. 113, fig. 6, and p. 118, with some general, albeit largely formal, comments on the type. Birtakova Grozdanova's dating of the monuments in FYROM to the late fourth to early fifth century seems generally somewhat early, in contrast to the tendency elsewhere to date these monuments too late (sixth century, and even later).

191 I. Nikolajević, "Églises à transept-nain de la Dalmatie," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 10 (1967), pp. 87–94.

192 Ibid., pp. 92–93; also Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, vol. I, pp. 335–37, who maintains the earlier dating of the monument (late fifth–sixth century).

193 Nikolajević, "Églises à transept-nain de la Dalmatie," passim; the church at Mokro Polje (fig. 3) is illustrated at a wrong scale, thus appearing to be half of its actual size.

194 A. Gnirs, "Frühchristliche Denkmäler in Pola," *Jahrbuch des K.K. Zentralkomission für Kunst und historische Denkmäler* 4 (1906), p. 40 (?); also B. Marušić, *Spätantike und byzantinische Pula* (Pula, 1967), p. 26.

195 A. H. S. Megaw, "A Cemetery Church with Trefoil Sanctuary in Crete," in *Actes du XE Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. II, pp. 321–27.

196 B. Marušić and J. Šašel, "De la cella trichora au complèxe monastique de St. André à Betika entre Pula et Rovinj," *Arheološki vestnik* 37 (1986), pp. 307–42.

197 N. Cambi, "Triconch Churches on the Eastern Adriatic," in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. II, pp. 45–54.

198 Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, vol. I, pp. 394–400.

199 Ibid., pp. 144–46.

200 Ibid., pp. 77–79

201 H. Balducci, *Basiliche protocristiane e bizantine a Coo (Egeo)* (Pavia, 1936), pp. 32–46.

202 D. Pallas, "Oi charaktēres kai aktinovolia tēs ekklesiastikēs architektonikēs tēs Nikopoleōs" [Characteristics and Spreading of Church Architecture of Nikopolis], in *Nicopolis I*, ed. Chrysos, pp. 225–39. All of the basilicas discussed below, with the exception of Byllidos, Synaxis, and Klapsi, appear in this work. Specific references to these three basilicas appear in notes below.

203 S. Mucaj, "Les basiliques paléochrétiennes de Bylis et leur architecture," *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 40 (1993), especially pp. 571–74.

204 C. Bakirtzis, "Synaxis de Maronée: données des fouilles, 1985–1990," in G. Hadjimichalis and C. Bakirtzis, *Synaxis: exposition d'art contemporain et d'archéologie* (Domaine de Kerguéhennec, 1994).

205 E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and M. Michailidis, *Ē vasilikē tēs Agias Pareskevēs stēn Kozanē* [The Basilica of St. Paraskeve at Kozani] (Thessaloniki, 2002). The church, initially dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, is attributed by the authors (on the basis of its mosaics) to the third quarter of the sixth century.

206 P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, "Early Christian and Byzantine Magnesia," in Hourmouziadis et al., *Magnesia*, p. 150 and fig. 56.

207 E. W. Kleinbauer, "The Aisled Tetraconch," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (1967); also Kleinbauer, "The Double Shell Tetraconch Building at Perge in Pamphylia and the Origins of the Architectural Genus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 227–93, where the origins of the type are attributed on a highly speculative basis to Constantinople during the reign of Constantine I.

208 G. Koch, *Albanien: Kunst und Kultur im Land der Skipetaren* (Cologne, 1989), pp. 186–87.

209 For San Vitale, and the manner in which the saint's tomb was located and made accessible, see the discussion of its relevance in relationship to the so-called double-shell churches in Chapter 4, p. 200 and n. 68.

210 V. Bitrakova-Grozdanova, *Monuments paléochrétiens de la Region d'Ohrid* (Ohrid, 1975), pp. 23–67.

211 Ibid., p. 95.

212 The plan, produced in 1854 by one M. Osmont, has been published by A. Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans, 1820–1920* (Thessaloniki, 1996), pp. 75–82, and color plate on p. 92; see now also R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley (Thessaloniki, 2007). pp. 167–72. For the 6th-century modifications see our discussion in Chapter 4.

213 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 94ff., offers some general observations. Particularly noteworthy studies focused exclusively on the architecture of basilicas are A. K. Orlandos, *Ē xylostegos palaiochristianikē vasilikē tēs Mesogeiakēs lekanēs*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1952–56; reprinted in one volume, Athens, 1994); and N. Spremo-Petrović, *Proportions architecturales dans les plans des basiliques de la préfécture de l'Illyricum* (Belgrade, 1971) (in Serbo-Croatian with a French summary).

214 Most recently, N. Duval and J.-P. Caillet, "La recherche sur les églises doubles depuis 1936: historique et problèmatique," *Antiquité tardive* 4 (1996), pp. 22–37, along with several other articles on the subject of double churches that also appear in the same volume.

215 I. Matejčić and P. Chevalier, "Nouvelle interprétation du complexe épiscopal 'pre-Euphrasien' de Poreč," *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998), pp. 355–65.

216 P. Chevalier, "Les églises doubles de Dalmatie et de Bosnie-Herzégovine," *Antiquité tardive* 4 (1996), pp. 149–59.

217 J.-P. Sodini and K. Kolokotsas, *Aliki II: la basilique double* (Athens and Paris, 1984).

218 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 327–29. The dating of the first church into the fourth century on the basis of Constantinian coins needs to be reexamined. The second phase was dated to the period of Justinian "or a little earlier."

219 B. Aleksova, *Episkopijata na Bregalnica* (Prilep, 1989), pp. 43–53.

220 Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, pp. 230–33; also D. Parrish, "An Early Byzantine Mosaic Workshop Based on Kos: Architectural Context and Pavement Design," *Antiquité Tardive* 9 (2001), pp. 331–49.

221 E. Marin, "Narona: basilique et baptistère paléochrétiens de Sv. Vid," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae*, vol. III, pp. 474–506.

222 B. Migotti, "Zusatz zur Datierung der ausserstädtischen frühchristlichen Architektur des breiteren salonitanischen Bereiches," *Arheološki vestnik* 43 (1992), pp. 111–33.

223 Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, vol. II, pl. XLVI, fig. 1, who dates the church to the sixth and seventh centuries.

224 Ibid., pp. 291–97, pl. XLVIII, fig. 2, who dates the church to the second half of the sixth century.

225 Ibid., pp. 431–33.

226 Early Christian baptisteries in the Balkans have attracted considerable scholarly attention, though they have generally been dealt with regionally, within the confines of individual modern states: Greece: I. Volanakēs (Bolanakēs), *Ta palaiochristianika vaptistēria tēs Ellados* (Athens, 1976); former Yugoslavia: I. Nikolajević, "Ranohrišćanske krstionice u Jugoslaviji," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 9 (1966), pp. 240–56; also O. Illic, "Early Christian Baptisteries in Northern Illyricum," *Starinar*, N.s. 51 (2006), 223–43. Dalmatia: P. Chevalier, "Les baptistères paléochrétiens de la province romaine de Dalmatie," *Diadora* 10 (1988), pp. 111–62; also Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, vol. II, pp. 159–80; Bulgaria: N. Chaneva-Dechevska, "Po v'prosa za kr'shtelnite v B'lgariiā," *Izvestiiā na Sektsiiāta po teoriiā i istoriiā na gradoustroistvoto i arkhitekturata pri* BAN 24 (1972), pp. 223–38.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA, 1997), chapters 5 and 6. M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge and New York, 2005), appeared too late to be fully considered in the writing of this chapter.

2 A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London and New York, 1985; reprinted 1996), chapter 6 ("Procopius and the *Buildings*"). Also *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000), edited by C. Roueché, is devoted to the general topic: "*De Aedificiis*: le texte de Procope et les réalités", but only one of the articles on regional issues in this volume broaches the problem of the Balkans: T. Gregory, "Procopius on Greece," ibid., pp. 105–14. On the significance of Anastasios I as a builder, especially of fortifications, see V. Velkov, *Cities in Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam, 1976), passim; also A. Barnea, "La Dobroudja aux IVe–VIIe siécles n.è.," in *La Dobroudja romaine*, ed. A. Suceveanu and A. Barnea (Bucharest, 1991), chapter III.

3 G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects: Their

Training and Methods," *Byzantion* 18 (1949), pp. 99–118, especially pp. 112–14.

4 H. B. Dewing and G. Downey, trans. and eds., *Procopius*, Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols. (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1940; reprinted 1961), vol. VII: *Buildings*, IV. i. 33–35.

5 I. Mikulčić, "Spätantike Fortifikationen in der S. R. Makedonien," *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (1986), pp. 253–77. The author indicates that as many as 350 fortified sites are on record, but the number applies to *all* fortifications built from the end of the third century to the end of the sixth. Most recently: I. Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in NordMakedonien: Städte – Vici – Refugien – Kastelle* (Munich, 2002), the most comprehensive study of regional fortifications to date.

6 I. Barnea, "Contributions to Dobroudja History under Anastasius I," *Dacia* n. s., 4 (1960), pp. 363–74.

7 J. Crow, "The Long Wall of Thrace," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 109–24; also J. Crow and A. Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Long Wall," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997), pp. 235–62.

8 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, IV. ix. 6–7.

9 R. Vulpe, "Histoire ancienne de la Dobroudja," in *La Dobroudja* (Bucharest, 1938), especially p. 371.

10 The larger issue has recently come into focus – albeit partially – as a result of extensive German-Bulgarian investigations conducted in 1997–2003, whose published results have started appearing too late to be taken fully into account; most recently J. Henning, ed. *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, vol. 2 [Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans] (Berlin and New York, 2007), especially chapters five and six. Written by a number of authors, articles in this volume not only reveal different approaches, but apparently also irreconcilable differences in the interpretation of evidence. J. Henning, "The Metropolis of Pliska or, how large does an early medieval settlement have to be in order to be called a city?" Ibid., pp. 209–40, clearly highlights the long standing problems in dealing with the site of Pliska. On the other hand, the issue of the earlier (pre-ninth-century) Byzantine presence has not been broached, though some of the published revisions in the interpretation of archaeological evidence leave several major problems – especially those related to the architecture of the site – completely unresolved. This, of course, remains an issue that must be confronted. Thirty catalogued late antique coins found in earlier excavations at Pliska have been published – I. Iordanov, "Monetite i pechatite ot Pliska, 1899–1999" [Coins and Seals from Pliska, 1899–1999], *Pliska-Preslav* 8 (2000), pp. 135–71, especially pp. 142–4 (late antique coins), but the author dismisses the relevance of this material by stating: "such a quantity of ancient and Byzantine coins could be found on any site of comparable size to Pliska on the territory of present-day Bulgaria." (p. 137). Given that a proportionally small area of Pliska had been excavated in earlier times, and the fact that some of that material was apparently selectively withheld from publications, we must remain skeptical about several implicit issues.

11 K. Miiatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia, 1974), p. 48, fig. 42.

12 Crow and Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople," p. 250, fig. 9.

13 Miiatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*, pp. 30–36, where the "established" dating is used throughout.

14 R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London, 1975), pp. 259–63.

15 R. Rashev, "Tronnata palata v Pliska," *Pliska-Preslav* 8 (2000), pp. 35–43, citing also older literature.

16 P. Georgiev and S. Vitliänov, *Arkhiepiskopiiata – manastir v Pliska* (Das Erzbischofliche Kloster in Pliska) (Sofia, 2001), present the results of the excavations conducted mostly in the 1970s. Notwithstanding the fact that the material presented includes multiple fragments of marble slabs and column shafts with inscriptions in Greek and Latin (fig. 66), tomb stones with Greek inscriptions (figs. 67, 1–3) and fragments of a characteristically sixth-century marble transennae (fig. 69), the authors maintain the "established" ninth-century dating for the basilica and the entire complex.

17 For the most recent summation, see P. Petrović, ed., *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (Belgrade, 1996). Also relevant is M. Vasić, "Le limes protobyzantin dans la province de Mésie Première," *Starinar* n. s., 45–46 (1994–95), pp. 41–53. For a critical assessment of Procopios' account of the reconstruction of the Danubian *limes*, see M. Garašanin, "Ad Procope De aedificiis IV, VI, 8–18," *Starinar* n.s. 45–46 (1994–95), pp. 35–39.

18 For these statistics, see P. Petrović, "Les forteresses de la basse antiquité dans la région du Haut Timok," *Starinar* n.s. 45–46 (1994–95), p. 55.

19 V. Popović, "Donji Milanovac – Veliki Gradac (Taliata), rimsko i ranovizantijsko utvrdjenje," *Starinar* n.s. 45–46 (1994–95), pp. 265–80 (French summary pp. 281–82).

20 Vasić, "Le limes protobyzantin dans la province de Mésie Première," pp. 45–46.

21 M. Biernacka-Lubanska, *The Roman and Early-Byzantine Fortifications of Lower Moesia and Northern Thrace*, trans. L. Tokarczyk (Wroclaw, 1982), as well as Petrović, ed., *Roman Limes*, where the material from archaeological excavations conducted between *circa* 1980 and 1995 is also included.

22 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, IV. vi. 32–33.

23 Petrović, "Les forteresses de la basse antiquité dans la région du Haut Timok," pp. 55–66.

24 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, IV. i. 17–19.

25 For the Thessalonikan example, see N. K. Moutsopoulos, "Monasteries Outside the Walls of Thessaloniki during the Period of Slavic Raids," *Cyrillomethodianum* II (1987), pp. 129–94 [reprinted in *Byzantina arthra kai meletēmata, 1959–1989* (Thessaloniki, 1990), pp. 1113–78]; for Malathrea, see A. Baçe, "Aperçu sur l'architecture des fortifications antiques dans notre pays," *Monumentet* 17 (1979), pp. 5–45 [in Albanian, with a French summary], especially p. 40 and fig. 16a; for Monemvasia, see H. A. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), p. 30.

26 M. Jeremić, "Balajnac, agglomération protobyzantine fortifiée," *Antiquite Tardive* 3 (1995), pp. 193–207.

27 M. Jeremić and M. Milinković, "Die Byzantinische Festung von Bregovina (Südserbien)," *Antiquite tardive* 3 (1995), pp. 209–25.

28 D. Mitova-Dzhonova, "Das frühbyzantinisches Castrum Stenos an der 'via Singiduno per Hadrianopolim usque ad Constantinopolim' am Succi-Pass (Claustro; Stenos)," *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae*, eds. N. Cambi and E. Marin (Split and Vatican City, 1998), vol. III, pp. 531–40.

29 Mikulčić, "Spätantike Fortifikationen in der S. R. Makedonien," pp. 266–69.

30 S. Anamali, "Architettura e decorazione tardoantica in Albania," *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 40 (1993), pp. 447–74, especially p. 458 and fig. 4.

31 The main general survey of late antique forti-

fication architecture on the territory of Albania is A. Bace, "Fortifications de la basse antiquité en Albanie," *Monumentet* II (1976), 45–74 [in Albanian, with a French summary], who records 118 late antique (fourth–sixth century) fortifications (in contrast to 94 mentioned by Procopios as having been reconstructed by Justinian in Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova), and discusses some of their general characteristics; see also G. Karaiskai, "A propos des fortifications de la basse antiquité de notre pays," *Monumentet* 12 (1976), pp. 221–28 [in Albanian with a French summary], who raises several important methodological issues regarding the problem of dating fortifications, for most of which no historical records exist. See also the useful account of fortifications on the territory of present-day Albania by H. Saradi, "Aspects of Early Byzantine Urbanism in Albania," in *Oi Alvanoi sto mesaiona* [The Medieval Albanians], ed. C. Gasparis (Athens, 1998), especially pp. 104–16.

32 A. Gutteridge, "Cultural Geographies and 'the Ambition of Latin Europe': The City of Durres and Its Fortifications, *c.* 400–*c.* 1501," *Archeologia médiévale* 30 (2003), pp. 19–65.

33 I. Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien*, pp. 263–68.

34 A. Poulter, "Churches in Space: The Early Byzantine City of Nikopolis," *Churches Built in Ancient Times: Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology*, ed. K. Painter, *Occasional Papers: The Society of Antiquarians of London*, v. 16 (1994), 249–68.

35 Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, pp. 136–46, gives a summary account of demographic changes in the empire from the end of the third century to the mid-fifth; map 5 (p. 138) illustrates the distribution of cities in the eastern Mediterranean *circa* 457.

36 For a different view regarding the decline of cities, see M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1996), pp. 53–68. Special studies dealing more specifically with aspects of late antique cities in the Balkans are V. Velkov, *Cities in Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam, 1976), and Saradi, "Aspects of Early Byzantine Urbanism in Albania," pp. 81–130. H. G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006). Unfortunately, this important book appeared too late to have benefited the author in the writing of this chapter.

37 G. Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (Norman, OK, 1960).

38 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, pp. 3–97.

39 Ibid., I. x. 11–12.

40 The main study of the Chalke still is C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959). Ongoing excavations, as of the summer of 2007, some 150 meters southeast of Hagia Sophia, have brought to light the remains of a building externally faced with white marble blocks. The results of the excavations have not yet been published, but the excavators claim to have uncovered the remains of the Chalke. If so, this will be a major contribution to the understanding of the position of the Great Palace in relationship to the known buildings – Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome.

41 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986).

42 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, I. xi. 20–21.

43 Ibid., I. xi. 24–27.

44 W. Jobst et al., *Neue Forschungen und Restaurirungen im byzantinischen Keiserpalast von Istanbul* (Vienna, 1999). Previously, the dating of the mosaics has varied widely – from the fifth to the seventh centuries.

45 J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), pp. 27–72, who dates the mosaics to the period of Emperor Heraklios (610–41), though this has not met with general approval.

46 M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Annicia Juliana's Palace Church in Istanbul* (Austin, TX, 1989). The church may have been destroyed as early as the second half of the tenth century, and its ruins subsequently plundered for spoils used in the construction of buildings in Constantinople and elsewhere.

47 S. Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 16–38.

48 Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, passim.

49 Ibid., pp. 77–78.

50 U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Konstantinopel* (Tübingen, 1977).

51 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 245–57, on the general development of the domed basilica in Early Byzantine architecture.

52 Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before Hagia Sophia," pp. 35–36.

53 R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy in Justinian's Great Church* (London, 1988), is but the most recent monograph with exhaustive bibliographical listing of older literature. Also noteworthy for our porposes are: R. van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, DC, 1965–86), the most comprehensive architectural survey of the building, and Mark and Çakmak, eds., *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, a recent collection of essays by different authors.

54 Paradoxically, the first direct emulations of Hagia Sophia occurred only a thousand years after Justinian I, under the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I and his architect Sinan, who considered it an ideal prototype for other imperial mosques. More on this issue in Chapter 9.

55 On the structural principle involving a dome on four points of support, see Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before Hagia Sophia," pp. 26–31.

56 On the beginnings of the use of brick in vaulting see chapter 1, pp. 40–42.

57 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 238–39, on the significance of the use of modular, domical bays in Early Byzantine architecture.

58 R. Taylor, "A Literary and Structural Analysis of the First Dome on Justinian's Hagia Sophia, Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55/1 (1996), pp. 66–78, whose interpretation of textual evidence and the resulting structural interpretation have not met with general approval.

59 R. Mark, *Light, Wind, and Structure: The Mystery of the Master Builders* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), chapter 3.

60 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 205–36, passim.

61 G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), passim.

62 T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, and London, 1971), pp. 42–51.

63 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, I. viii. 16.

64 A thorough architectural study of Hagios Sergios and Bakkos does not exist. The building has not been systematically recorded, nor have any archaeological explorations in or around it ever been conducted. Thus, this

unique late antique building in many ways remains an enigma. Sadly, the building has recently undergone extensive restoration without qualified supervision, while interested scholars were barred access during this process of "restoration." Recent scholarship on the building has focused almost exclusively on the question of its original general function, Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 224 and n. 22 (with extensive literature on the subject), maintaining that the building was intended as a palace church, while C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), pp. 58–59, insists that it was built for the needs of a refugee community of Monophysite Syrian monks by the sympathetically inclined Empress Theodora. Most recently: J. Bardill, "The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), pp. 1–11, siding with Mango; and T. Mathews, "The Palace Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. J. J. Emerick and D. M. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), pp. 137–41, siding with Krautheimer.

65 For an example from Syria, see the cathedral of Bosra; cf. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 53.

66 Ibid., pp. 76–78.

67 G. Gerola, "Il secello primitivo di S. Vitale," *Felix Ravenna* 10 (April 1913), pp. 427–32; also *Felix Ravenna* 11 (July 1913), pp. 459–70.

68 See Chapter 3, pp. 157–59.

69 The earliest known response to this problem in the West is the remodeling of the area related to the shrine of St. Peter in the Constantinian basilica in Rome under Pope Gregory the Great (590–605); see J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 80–82.

70 For a fine summary of historical events and relevant sources se M. J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoeum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 119–29. P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors, 337–1042," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), pp. 3–60.

71 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, I. iv. 10.

72 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 242, apparently following a number of scholars who dealt with the issue before him. Two important misinterpretations of Procopios' account appear in Krautheimer's verbal and other scholars' visual reconstructions of the building: 1. Procopios makes no mention of the total number of domes, and 2. he very explicitly states that "the arm [of the church] which extends toward the west . . . is *enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross*" (Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, I. iv. 13). One should comment here that the notion of the bilaterally symmetrical "Greek cross" is of a much later making. To Procopios, and everyone else in the sixth century, the form of the cross was characterized by a stem longer than the two arms and the top.

73 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, I. iv. 18.

74 Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, especially chapter VI ("Procopius and the *Buildings*").

75 A.-M. Talbot, "An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism," *Illinois Classical Studies* 12 (1987), 229–41.

76 R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).

77 H. Goldfus, "St. Euphemia's Church by the Hippodrome of Constantinople within the Broader Context of 7th-Century History and Architecture," *Ancient West and East* 5, nos. 1–2 (2006), 178–97.

78 J. Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople et le livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), pp. 78ff.; for the comparison with San Vitale, see Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 76.

79 C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 37–45, especially pp. 44–45, for the date of this building.

80 For a more detailed account of these developments, see S. Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2000), pp. 18–20.

81 K. Theocharidou, "Ē Rotonda tēs Thessalonikēs: Nea stoicheia kai aposaphēneseis me aphormē tis anastēlōtikis ergasies," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 16 (1991–2), pp. 57–76.

82 Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki*.

83 F. Dirimtekin, "The Baptistery of Saint Sophia," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 12 (1963), pp. 65–87.

84 K. Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest*, BAR International Series 399 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 189–97.

85 A. Yerolymbos, "A Contribution to the Topography of 19th-Century Adrianople," *Balkan Studies* 34/1 (1993), pp. 49–72, who reproduces a city plan drawn in 1854 by a French military engineer called Osmont. The plan records the still-extant late antique walls.

86 N. Mavrodinov, "L'origine de la construction et du plan de Sainte-Sophie à Constantinople," *Actes du vie Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Paris, 1951), vol. II, pp. 277–98, especially pp. 286–93, and figs. 56–58; also now R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley* (Thessaloniki, 2007), pp. 167–72. This publication appeared too late to be fully considered.

87 For the new cathedral of Serdica, see A. Kirin, "The Rotunda of St. George and Late Antique Sedica: From the Imperial Palace to an Episcopal Complex," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (2000), especially chapter I.

88 S. Boĭadzhiev, "The Early Christian Church of St. Sophia," in *Ranokhristiĭanski khram Sveta Sofiia* (Sofia, 1996), pp. 7–41, for the latest clarification of the sequence of earlier buildings on the site. Current research by A. Kirin indicates that Hagios Giorgios within the city walls may have been converted into the cathedral following the sack of Serdica by the Huns in 441–42 and its subsequent rebuilding.

89 P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris, 1945), notwithstanding various significant archaeological discoveries made on the site since its publication, remains the crucial study of Basilica B, along with various other buildings and urban planning aspects of Philippi.

90 The literature on Justiniana Prima is extensive. The most useful recent overview is V. Kondić and V. Popović, *Caričin Grad: site fortifié dans l'Illyricum byzantin* (Belgrade, 1977), now supplemented by B. Bavant and V. Ivanišević, *Iustiniana Prima – Caričin Grad* (Belgrade, 2003).

91 Dewing and Downey, eds., *Procopius*, vol. VII: *Buildings*, IV. i. 19–20.

92 Ibid., IV. i. 21–26.

93 Č. Vasić, "Relativni hronološki odnosi izmedju objekata na akropolju Caričinog grada" [Fr. res.: "Rapports chronologiques relatifs entre les constructions de l'Acropole à Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima)] *Starinar*, N.s. 19 (1987), 127–38.

94 A. Hoti, E. Metalla, and E. Shehi, "Gërmime

arkeologike Durrës 2001–2003," [Archaeological work in Durres in 2001–2003], *Candavia* 1 (2004), 154–57 (in Albanian). Section 8 considers the Macellum-Forum.

95 V. Popović, "La signification historique de l'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad," in *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 26 (Ravenna, 1979), especially pp. 277–78, citing relevant earlier literature.

96 Ibid., pp. 273–74, with older literature.

97 Ibid., pp. 254–55.

98 Ibid., p. 283.

99 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 275, who also cites older literature.

100 V. Antonova, *Shumen i Shumenskata krepost* (Shumen, 1995).

101 Hodinnott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 256–58.

102 M. Mirković, "*Antistes Stefanus* i gradjevinska delatnost Justinijanova vremena u Polimlju" [*Antistes Stefanus* and Building Activity in Polimlje in the Time of Justinian], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 18 (1978), pp. 1–8 [in Serbian with an English summary].

103 Ž. Karać, "The Problem of the Exploration of 6th and 7th c. Urban Planning on Croatian Soil within the Context of General Byzantine Urban Studies," *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. II, pp. 959–74.

104 G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises Byzantines: fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969); also S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36/2 (May 1977), pp. 94–110, where the sense of this development was first registered, albeit too timidly (pp. 94–95, and f.n. 5 and 6).

105 P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae: L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie, IVe–VIIe s.*, Salona II (Rome and Split, 1995), vol. I, passim; I. Ribarević Nikolić, "Genesis and Formation of a Complex Type of Church Using Early Christian Churches in Herzegovina as Examples," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. III, pp. 693–714.

106 D. Stričević, "Djakonikon i protezis u ranohrišćanskim crkvama" [Diaconicon and Prothesis in Early Christian Churches], *Starinar* n. s., 9–10 (1959), pp. 59–65.

107 Ćurčić, "Design and Structural Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before Hagia Sophia," especially pp. 26–32.

108 I. N. Travlos, *Poleodomikē exelixis tōn Athēnōn* [The Urban Development of Athens] (Athens, 1993), pp. 138–40.

109 M. Korres, "The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century," in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times* (Athens, 1994), pp. 138–61, especially pp. 144–49.

110 H. Buchwald, "Retrofit-Halmark of Byzantine Archecture," in *Form, Style, and Meaning in Byzantine Church Architecture* (Aldershot, 1999), chapter VIII.

111 Travlos, *Poleodomikē exelixis tōn Athēnōn*, pp. 137–38.

112 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 203.

113 A. Terry and F. Gilmore Eaves, *Retrieving the Record: A Century of Archaeology at Poreč (1847–1947)* (Zagreb, 2001).

114 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 278–80.

115 B. Marušić, *Kasnoantička i bizantinska Pula* [Late Antique and Byzantine Pola] (Pula, 1967), pp. 20–23.

116 Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Architecture," pp. 94–110, especially pp. 94–95, regarding Early Byzantine developments.

117 Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, vol. I, pp. 28–31; also N. Novak, "La choeur de l'église paléochrétienne de Mirine près d'Omišalj sur l'île de Krk," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 5 (1999), pp. 119–31.

118 I. Pavić, "Die Pfeilerbasilika in Dubrovnik: Spätantiker oder mittelalterlicher Bau?" *Arheološki vestnik* 51 (2000), pp. 205–23.

119 A. Meksi, "La grande basilique et le baptistaire [*sic*] de Butrint," *Monumentet* I/25 (1983), pp. 47–75 [in Albanian, with an extensive French summary, pp. 70–75].

120 M. Čanak-Medić, *Gamzigrad: palais basantique* (Saopštenja II) (1978), pp. 127–40.

121 M. Milinković, "Die Gradina auf dem Jelica-Gebirge," *Antiquite Tardive* 3 (1995), pp. 227–50.

122 M. Popović, "The Early Byzantine Basilica at Ras," *Starinar* n. s., 48 (1997), pp. 91–107.

123 M. Jeremić, "The Architecture of the Early Christian Basilica at Bregovina," *Hortus Artium Medievalum* 9 (2003), pp. 221–35.

124 Kondić and Popović, *Caričin Grad*, pp. 155–6.

125 I. Mikulčić, "Deux églises paléochrétiennes près de Maked. Kamenica," *Starinar* n. s., 27 (1977), pp. 181–91.

126 A. Minchev, "Rannoto khristiiānstvo v Odessos," *Izvestiiā na narodniiā muzei, Varna* 22 (37) (1986), 31 ff. Also: A. Minchev, "Early Christian Double Crypt with Reliquaries at Khan Krum Street in Varna (Ancient Odessos)," *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and their Veneration in East and West, Acta Musei Varnaensis* 4 (Varna, 2006), pp. 229–56, provides an account of a site in Varna excavated with difficulties over a long period of time (1914–2004), yielding the remains of three successively built Early Christian basilicas (circa 400 to circa 500). Despite the impressive finds that came to light (floor mosaics, reliquaries, etc.), the architecture of the three basilicas is very poorly preserved.

127 Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 327–29. Here, also, an earlier basilica was evidently destroyed and replaced by the one dated to the period of Justinian "or a little earlier." The dating of the first church in the fourth century on the basis of Constantinian coins needs to be carefully reexamined.

128 S. Boiadzhiev, "L'ancienne église métropole de Nesebar," *Byzantino-Bulgarica* I (1962), pp. 321–46. The author's proposed dating for both phases is debatable, but that issue cannot be taken up here.

129 I. Velkov, "An Early Christian Basilica at Mesembria," *The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* I (1946), pp. 61–70.

130 For a cautious attempt at questioning the established dating of the Great Basilica cf. S. Mikhailov, "Novi danni za goliāmata bazilika v Pliska," [New information on the Great Basilica] *Pliska-Preslav* vol. 6 (1993), pp. 22–32, whose conclusions are collectively rejected by the editorial board of the publication in question in a short note at the end of his article (31–32). Earlier dating of the basilica was proposed already by Dj. Stričević, "La renovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centrals des Balkans au IXe–XIe siécles," *XII Congrês international des etudes byzantines, Rapports* VII (Belgrade-Ohrid, 1961), especially pp. 180–86, who favored a sixth-century date.

131 P. Vocotopoulos, "Paratērēseis stēn legomenē vasilikē tou Agiou Nikōnos," in *Praktika A' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnēsiakōn spoudōn* (Athens, 1976), pp. 273–85 [with French summary: "Remarques sur le basilique dite de Saint-Nikon], who argues for a seventh-century date.

132 S. Stanev, "The Basilica of Belovo," *Mnēmeio kai perivallon* 5 (1998–99), pp. 35–51, is the latest, and the most informed, study of the building. Stanev, however, against the majority opinion, dates the first phase of the building to the first half of the fifth century, and its completion to *circa* 450 or shortly after. A sixth-century date for the second phase is accepted here.

133 I. Changova, "Bazilikata v Rakitovo," *Arkheologiia* 38/4 (1996), pp. 48–59.

134 S. Boĭadzhiev, "Arkhitekturniiat obraz na Elenskata ts'rkva krai Pirdop," *Prinosi kŭm b'lgarskata arkheologiia* 1 (1992), 31–34.

135 Anamali, "Architettura e decorazione tardoantica in Albania," pp. 466–67.

136 A. Milchev et al., "Rannovizantiiska bazilika pri s. Kramolin, Loveshka oblast," *Arkheologiia* 36/1 (1994), pp. 26–36; also S. Boĭadzhiev, "Otnovo po v'prosa za rannovizantiskata 'Bazilika' pri s. Kramolin, Loveska oblast," *Arkheologiia* vol. 37, no. 3 (1995), 43–44, with a critical assessment of the original publication.

137 T. Marasović, "Il complesso episcopale salonitano nel VI–VII secolo," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. II, pp. 1003–14.

138 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 254–55. The main monograph on the building, despite its early date, remains H. H. Jewel and F. W. Hasluck, *Our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros* (London, 1920).

139 V. Pennas, "Early Christian Chios," in A. Zacharou-Loutari et al., *Chios: History and Art* (Chios, 1989), pp. 56–63.

140 The church is unpublished except for a brief notice by D. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1958 à 1973* (Vatican City, 1977), pp. 236–39.

141 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 255.

142 J. C. Smith, "Form and Function of the Side Chambers of Fifth- and Sixth-Century Churches in Ravenna," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49/2 (June 1990), pp. 181–204. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 274, glosses over the problem of the appearance of a virtually identical layout in the cathedral of Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad), dated before *circa* 550, and therefore predating the liturgical changes by more than a quarter of a century; see also p. 217, and note 106, above.

143 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 321–33; C. Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Construction of Race and Nation* (Leuven, 2001), especially chapter 3, part 1, and passim.

144 A. Gattiglia, "Architettura simbolica di età giustinianea nei Balcani: la trichora," in *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae Christianae*, vol. II, pp. 189–226, offers a bold hypothesis relating the "Trinitarian dogma" to the triconch form, but ignores the fact that the plan long predates the relevant disputes and Justinian's input in the matter.

145 D. Stričević, "Ranovizantijska crkva kod Kuršumlije" [The Early Byzantine Church near Kuršumlija], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 2 (1953), pp. 179–96.

146 G. Stričević, "Byzantine Archaeology in Yugoslavia, 1955–1958," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1958* (Munich, 1960), especially pp. 587–88.

147 J. Jeličić-Radonić et al., *Gata: Crkva Justinijanova doba* [Gata: A Church from Justinian's Time] (Split, 1994).

148 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, *Rannokhristiĭanskata arkhitektura v B'lgariia, IV–VI v.* [Early Christian Architecture in Bulgaria, IV–VI Centuries] (Sofia, 1999), pp. 240–42.

149 D. Panaiotova, *Chervenata ts'rkva pri Perushtitsa* (Sofia, 1956), is still the main monograph on the building. Also useful is a summary account by Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, pp. 293–97.

150 J. Mitchell, "The Archaeology of Pilgrimage in Late Antique Albania: The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs," in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, ed. W. Bowden, L. Lavan, and C. Machado (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2004), pp. 145–86.

151 D. Kiriazê, "Prokatariktikes paratērēseis sto nao tēs Episkopês Kisamou" [Preliminary Remarks on the Church of Episkopi in Kissamos, Crete], *Mnēmeio kai perivallon* 8 (2004), pp. 119–30 [in Greek with a substantial English summary].

152 S. Radojčić, "Crkva u Konjuhu," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 1 (1952), pp. 148–66. Most recently, including the results of new archaeological investigations: C.S. Snively, "Archaeological Investigation at Konjuh, Republic of Macedonia, in 2000," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), especially pp. 302–05.

153 On the significance of late antique Konjuh, see Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien*, pp. 128–33.

154 Radojčić, "Crkva u Konjuhu," pp. 35–36.

155 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 274–75.

156 W. Bowden and L. Përzhita, "The Baptistery," in *Byzantine Butrint*, pp. 176–201.

157 O. Feld, "Eine Kirche für Maria in Miletos," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C. L. Striker (Mainz, 1996), pp. 67–70, and figs. 2 and 3, who discusses Hagios Ioannis at Kos in conjunction with a comparable building, a church, possibly dedicated to the Virgin, at Miletos on the western coast of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 In addition to G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd edn. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), parts II and III, see W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA, 1997), part III; and J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), chapters 2 and 3. Several recent books are focused in this crucial period, among them J. W. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), and M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1996), who offers a particularly refreshing, broad perspective. For the question of "continuity versus discontinuity," see A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), pp. 429–78. For the archaeological point of view, see E. Zanini, *Introduzione all'archeologia bizantina* (Rome, 1994), especially pp. 136–41 ("Continuità e discontinuità"). For the role of the Slavs see F. Dvornik, *Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956). More recently F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700* (Cambridge, 2001), an anthropologically focused study that examines the appearance of the Slavs on the Balkan scene from the historiographical perspective.

2 Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 32.

3 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), chapters 12 and 13, and C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), chapter 6.

4 Students of Byzantine architecture have repeatedly addressed this problem, but almost routinely coming to the same myopic conclusion that, owing to the general economic and urban decline, building activity had practically ceased over a period of two centuries (*circa* 600–800). An important exception in this regard is V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture, 582–867: Its History and Structural Elements*, Orientalia christiana analecta 237 (Rome, 1991); also in a slightly expanded version in Italian: *L'architettura religiosa nell'impero bizantino, fine VI–IX secolo* (Messina, 1995).

5 A helpful graphic illustration of this phenomenon is offered by a map entitled "Cities in

the Empire about 780" in Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, p. 404.

6 A. Dunn, "The Transition from *polis* to *kastron* in the Balkans, III–VII cc.: General and Regional Perspectives," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18 (1994), pp. 60–80; also J. D. Howard-Johnstone "Urban Continuity in the Balkans in the Early Middle Ages," in *Ancient Bulgaria*, ed. A. G. Poulter (Nottingham, 1983), pp. 242–54. On the other hand, C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), chapter 3 ("The Disappearance and Revival of Cities"); also W. Liebeschuetz, "The End of the Ancient City," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich (London and New York, 1992), pp. 1–49, see the problem differently. Most recently W. Brandes, "Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: Different Sources, Different Histories?" in *The Idea and the Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (Leiden, 1999), pp. 25–57, though largely focused on Asia Minor, is of considerable methodological interest.

7 V. Popović, "Disintegration und Ruralisation der Stadt in Ost-Illyricum von 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert n. Christ," in *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum* (Mainz, 1982), pp. 545–66.

8 The crucial work on the city during this period is C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985; 2nd edn., 1990), especially chapter IV; also Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in his *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), chapter I.

9 C. Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New York, 1986), p. 130.

10 A. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (Leiden, 1984).

11 Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, pp. 101–03, who stresses the importance of the walls for the survival of the city and the empire in the context of an illuminating chapter entitled "How the Roman Empire Survived."

12 Mango, *Byzantium*, pp. 79–80.

13 C. P. Fitzgerald, *China: A Short Cultural History*, 4th edn. (London, 1976), p. 328. The facts given in this account are surprising for several reasons. Reference to "flat roofs" expands our understanding of the palace complex as having been built on a series of artificial terraces, so that one can well imagine the roofs of the lower buildings serving as usable terraces for the upper ones. On the other hand, the reference to the early form of "air conditioning" system strikes one as extraordinarily wasteful of water, particularly if one recalls that the main city water-supply line – the Aqueduct of Valens – was out of service between 626 and *circa* 775, that is, during the very time when the Chinese visit to Constantinople is believed to have taken place (643).

14 Mango, *Byzantium*, pp. 96–97.

15 C. Mango, "Constantinople: A Christian Holy City," in *Istanbul: World City*, ed. A. Batur (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 7–11.

16 R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).

17 For the transfer of the relics and their accommodation in the church, see H. Goldfus, "St Euphemia's Church by the Hippodrome of Constantinople within the Broader Context of 7th-Century History and Architecture," *Ancient West and East* 5, nos. 1–2 (2006), 178–97.

18 C. Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979), 1–13.

19 C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 45–58.

20 U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen zur Architektur* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 212–13, with interpretations that are to some extent at variance with what is presented here.

21 G. M. Velenis, *Ta Teichē tēs Thessalonikēs apo tōn Kassandro os tōn Ērakleio* [The Walls of Thessaloniki from the Time of Cassander up to that of Heraklius] (Thessaloniki, 1999) [in Greek with an English summary], who associates a large section of the city walls, against majority opinion, with the patronage of Heraklios.

22 K. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and Early Eleventh Centuries AD with Special Reference to the Towns of Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1996), p. 139 (octagon) and p. 126 (agora).

23 K. Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest*, BAR International Series 399 (Oxford, 1988), especially pp. 155–57, for the dating of the first phase.

24 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 59.

25 Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki*, p. 156.

26 Ibid., pp. 53–59, offers a hypothetical reconstruction of the first phase of construction with vaulted galleries as they may have appeared at the time. Her reconstruction is not fully convincing, however, and leaves many open questions that cannot be debated here.

27 I. Nikolajević, "'Salona Christiana' u VI i VII veku," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 72–73 (1979), pp. 151–69.

28 Ž. Rapanić, "Prilog proučavanju kontinuiteta naseljenosti u salonitanskom ageru u ranom srednjem vijeku," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 74 (1980), pp. 189–213.

29 N. Gioles, *Byzantini naodomia, 600–1204* [Byzantine Church Building, 600–1204] (Athens, 1987), pp. 19–20.

30 C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), pp. 141–43.

CHAPTER SIX

1 For the best general introduction, see D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York and Washington, DC, 1971), chapters 3 ("The Balkans in the Ninth Century") and 4 ("The Balkans in the Tenth Century"); also J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), chapters 4, 5, and 6, who, with sound reason, has placed an emphasis on the history of Bulgaria during this span of time. Valuable in this context is also R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study across the Early Medieval Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1975). Discussion in Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd edn. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), parts III (chapters 5–7) and IV, is still useful, particularly as an overview from the Byzantine perspective. Also: W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, CA, 1988), and more recently M. Wittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1996), with an up-to-date section on the Balkans (pp. 262–98).

2 This is not an appropriate place for a meaningful debate about the terminology. Therefore, the terms themselves will consciously be avoided, though certain relevant related issues will be periodically addressed in the discussion below. For a general introduction into the subject, see W. Treadgold, *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*

(Stanford, CA, 1984), especially chapter 3 ("The Carolingian Renaissance") and 4 ("The Macedonian Renaissance").

3 L. Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), is a collection of essays by a number of scholars, whose very choice of subjects and methodological approaches to them reveal at once the complexities of issues and the richness of the material, as well as the intrinsic contradictions of the period.

4 Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 185.

5 Ibid., p. 315.

6 It should be noted that the term *philoktistos*, used by early writers to identify emperor-builders, appears to have gone out of fashion by the end of the sixth century. I owe this information to Prof. Alexandros Alexakis, to whom I am grateful.

7 J. Haldon, "The Idea of Town in the Byzantine Empire," in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (Leiden, 1999), pp. 1–23; also E. A. Ivison, "Urban Renewal and Imperial Revival, 730–1025," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. 26 (2000), pp. 3–46. For the archaeological and, especially, architectural point of view, see C. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," in *XVI. Internazionaler Byzantinistenkongress: Akten*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 611–53, and most recently Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 497–528.

8 Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, chapter 5 ("Cities"), is an excellent introduction to a comparative analysis of urban developments in Byzantium and Bulgaria.

9 P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), chapter 1 ("La survie de la mégalopolis paléochrétienne").

10 C. Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New York, 1986), especially pp. 130–31.

11 C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), pp. 206–07, provides several illuminating paragraphs from the collection.

12 R. Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative Metaphor and Motion in Ekphraseis of Church Buildings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), pp. 59–74.

13 H. Maguire, "The Beauty of Castles: A Tenth Century Description of a Tower in Constantinople," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 17 (1994), pp. 21–24.

14 W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), p. 313. For a good illustration of several towers bearing inscriptions of Theophilos, see R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), pp. 7–17, figs. 7, 8, 10–13.

15 C. Mango, "Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki et al. (Princeton, NJ, 1995), pp. 645–49.

16 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 301–03; also C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 54–55.

17 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 161.

18 Ibid., p. 160.

19 Ibid., pp. 196–99.

20 Ibid., p. 215, f. n. 159; Mango's suggestion that we should visualize a *pentakoubiklon* (or *pentacoubiclon*) as "a tetraconch which, counting the central space, would have been divided into five bays" is not convincing.

21 Note a description of a tenth-century aristocratic country residence that included a *stauroriklinos* – a cross-shaped dining hall – that was domed and surrounded by four bedrooms: M. Whittow, "Rural Fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium, Tenth to Twelfth Century," *Bosphorus: Essays in Honor of Cyril Mango* (*Byzantinische Forschungen 21*) (Amsterdam, 1995), especially pp. 64–65.

22 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 208.

23 Ibid., pp. 209–10.

24 Mango, "Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople."

25 C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, NJ, 1981), pp. 13–16.

26 J. Schultz, "The Restoration of the Fondaco dei Turchi," *Annali di architettura* 7 (1995), pp. 19–38, and idem, "Early Plans of the Fondaco dei Turchi," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), pp. 149–59.

27 For these statistics, see Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," p. 130.

28 R. Ousterhout, "Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century*, ed. Brubaker, pp. 115–30. Ousterhout's conclusion: "Looking back on the ninth century, we are a bit like a ship at sea" (p. 130) is unnecessarily gloomy.

29 C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), pp. 108ff.

30 Ibid., especially pp. 96–98, where the essential points are summarized. Now also: S. Mamaloukos, "Paratērēseis stēn architektonikē tou naou tēs Panagias Pantovasilissas stēn Trigleia tēs Vithynias" (English summary: "Observations on the Architecture of the Church of the Panagia Pantobasilissa at Trigleia in Bithinia"), *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 26 (2005), 51–62.

31 V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture, 582–867: Its History and Structural Elements*, Orientalia christiana analecta 237 (Rome, 1991), chapter 4; R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), chapter 1. On the role of distinctive abutting spaces in Byzantine church architecture of the capital, see L. Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

32 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 164.

33 P. Magadaleno, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX–XIIIth Centuries*, ed. M. Angold, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–111, especially p. 95.

34 R. Janin, *La géographie ecclesiastique de l'empire byzantine*, part 1, vol. III: *Les églises et monastères* (Paris, 1969), pp. 235–36. A. Lidov, "Tserkov Bogomateri Farosskoi. Imperatorskii khram relikvarii kak konstantinopol'ski Grob Gospoden" [The Church of the Mother of God Pharos. The imperial chapel-reliquary as the Constantinopolitan Tomb of the Lord], *Vizantiiskii mir. Iskusstvo Konstantinopolia i natsional'ie traditsii* (Moscow, 2005), 79–108.

35 T. Mathews and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul and Its Frescoes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), pp. 125–34; also Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau*, pp. 40–55.

36 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 72–73.

37 For the meaning of the name Nea, and a number of related historical issues, see P. Magdaleno, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987), pp. 51–64; on its

architecture, see S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Reconsideration of the Nea Ekklesia," in *Abstracts of Papers: Sixth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (1980), pp. 11–12, and most recently Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, especially p. 119, who criticizes R. Krautheimer (*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić, Harmondsworth, 1986, pp. 355–36) for his ambivalence on the question of the church type, but avoids taking a stand on the matter himself. For a useful review of the up-to-date ideas with most of the relevant literature, see also Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau*, pp. 30–39.

38 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 194–95.

39 An idea of the effect of such silver embellishment of church sanctuary furnishings may be gleaned from the so-called Sion Treasure. Albeit of sixth-century date, this treasury includes an altar table sheathing, a lampstand revetment in the form of a column, in addition to a large number of other silver objects whose general character fits closely the description of silver-sheathed objects in the Nea; see S. A. Boyd and M. M. Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1992), pp. 5–18 passim, and pp. 31–34.

40 V. Marinis, "The Monastery *tou Libos*: Architecture, Sculpture, and Liturgical Planning in Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople," Ph.D dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (2004).

41 S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36/2 (May 1977), pp. 94–110, especially pp. 108–10.

42 T. Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982), pp. 125–38, especially.

43 Striker, *The Myrelaion*.

44 C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 149–69.

45 C. Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle et leur signification historique et sociale," *Traveaux et Memoirs* 6 (1976), pp. 351–65, especially p. 362, where he dismisses other interpretations of the design of the building.

46 C. Mango, "Byzantine Writers on the Fabric of Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 41–56, especially p. 54. Also C. Maranci, "The Architect Trdat: Building Practices and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Byzantium and Armenia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 62, no. 3 (2003), 292–305.

47 The events related to the siege of 904 according to John Kaminiates are conveniently summarized by A. E. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1972), pp. 33–34. The main study of the sea walls of Thessaloniki is by C. Bakirtzis, "The Sea Fortifications of Thessaloniki," *Byzantina* 7 (1975), pp. 291–341 [in Greek with a substantial English summary].

48 E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens, 1997), pp. 20–21.

49 G. M. Velenis, *Mesovyzantinē naodomia stē Thessalonikē* (Athens, 2003), is the first attempt at sketching a general picture of Middle Byzantine (*circa* 800–1200) architecture in Thessaloniki. The ideas and interpretations presented in this study are in several instances at variance with those expressed below.

50 G. Velenis, "Hē chronologēsē tou naou tēs Hagias Sophias Thessalonikēs mesa apo ta epigraphika dedomena," in *Thessalonikeōn Polis: Graphes kai pēges 6000 chronon* 3 (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 70–77, especially p. 72.

51 S. Ćurčić, "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), pp. 71–80.

52 S. Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2000), pp. 22–23.

53 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 192 and 193. The churches in question are the Holy Apostles and the church of the Mother of God at Rhabdos, respectively. For the use of flying buttresses in Byzantium, see S. Ćurčić, "Some Reflections on the Flying Buttresses of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 8 (2004), pp. 7–22.

54 G. M. Velenis, *Mesovizantinē naodomia stē Thessalonikē*, pp. 8–16.

55 Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, pp. 258–59, who cites two articles on the excavation and the identification of the church.

56 V. Gjuzelev, "Die Hauptstadt-Entwicklung in Bulgarien," *Hauptstädte zwischen Save, Bosporus und Dniepr. Geschichte-Funktion-Nationale Symbolkraft* (Wien, 1998), especially pp. 145–48 ("Pliska – Die Erste bulgarische Hauptstadt: Vom Nomadenlager zur Khansresidenz (681–893), R. Rashev, "Pliska: The First Capital of Bulgaria," in *Ancient Bulgaria*, ed. A. G. Poulter (Nottingham, 1983), pp. 255–69; also R. F. Hoddinott, "Politics, Liturgy, and Architecture in Bulgaria during the Second Half of the Ninth Century," in *Armos* (Thessaloniki, 1991), vol. II, pp. 787–804, are but two relatively recent examples in English. For a dissenting point of view, see D. Krandzhalov, "Is the Fortress at Aboba Identical with Pliska, the Oldest Capital of Bulgaria," *Slavia Antiqua* 13 (1966), pp. 429–49, who proposed a diametrically opposite, extreme point of view that likewise must be considered problematic. Most recently, L. Doncheva-Petkova, "100 godini arkheologicheski razkopki v Pliska," *Pliska-Preslav* 8 (2000), pp. 9–18, provides a review of scholarly contributions dedicated to Pliska; surprisingly, works not sympathetic to the "official line of thought" (e.g., the works of D. Krandzhalov and Dj. Stričević) were not even cited in the bibliography.

57 Most Bulgarian scholars now concede that the original attempts to link the beginnings of Pliska with Asparukh (670s–701) were completely unfounded.

58 For the still clearest discussion of this architecture, see K. Mijatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia, 1974), pp. 55–57.

59 Mijatev, pp. 82–83.

60 D. Ovcharov et al., *Golemiiāt tsarski dvorets v'v Veliki Preslav*, vol. I: *Preslavska patriarshiiā prez x vek* (Sofia, 1991), is focused on the patriarchal palace complex. For a more detailed discussion of the imperial palace complex, see S. Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobulgarskata kultura, VI–XI vek* (Sofia, 1977), especially pp. 191–96. Most recently, the excavations at Preslav have brought to light the existence of a second basilican church to the east of the imperial palace complex and north of the "cathedral" (see below); M. Vaklinova, et al., "Vladatelskata ts'rkva na Veliki Preslav" (English summary: "The Royal Church of Veliki Preslav"), *Arkheologiiā* 14, no. 4 (2003), 30–40. This information, unfortunately, reached me too late to be fully incorporated into the main text. We may postulate, however, that the relationship between the two churches may perhaps have intentionally been planned in emulation of the relationship between the churches of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirine in Constantinople.

61 Mango, *The Brazen House*, especially pp. 87–92.

62 Ovcharov et al., *Golemiiāt tsarski dvorets v'v Veliki Preslav*, vol. I, pp. 11–32.

63 C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 115–16, pls. 140 and 142. The use of the term *opus sectile* in this context is erroneous: the decorative panels were actually made by carving out the background around the main design, which would be left as a flat surface, while the background would be filled with multicolored stone pieces, often resembling mosaic work.

64 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 79.

65 P. Georgiev, "Klasifikatsiiā i kharakter na grobnichnite postroiki i s'or'zheniiā v Preslav," *Preslav* 4, ed. I. Bozhilov (Sofia, 1993), pp. 79–107.

66 R. Kostova, "Bulgarian Monasteries, Ninth to Tenth Centuries: Interpreting the Archaeological Evidence," *Pliska-Preslav* 8 (2000), pp. 190–99, signals an important new direction in the study of Bulgarian monasteries of this period. The article is related to the author's as yet unpublished dissertation. N. Chaneva-Dechevska, *Ts'rkvi i manastiri ot Veliki Preslav* (English summary: "Churches and Monasteries in Veliki Preslav] (Sofia, 1980), despite being outdated in many respects, is still a valuable overview of all ecclesiastical and monastic sites at Preslav.

67 Starting with the initial monograph, K. Miiātev, *Kr'glata ts'rkva v Preslav* (Sofia, 1932), the church has been a subject of many specialized studies. S. Boiādziev, "Arkhitekturata na Kr'glata Ts'rkva v Preslav," in *Izsledvaniiā na b'lgarskoto srednovekovie*, ed. Boiādziev et al. (Sofia, 1982), pp. 5–128, is but the latest extensive study, with an overview of the older literature.

68 R. Hoddinott, "Zapadni vliianiiā v'rkhu Kr'glata ts'rkva v Preslav," *Arkheologiiā* 10/1 (1968), pp. 20–31.

69 Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 174.

70 A particularly relevant example is that excavated in the early monastic complex of Bogorodica Hvostanska in Serbia. The earliest phase of this monastery, along with the basilica and the nearby "hypogeum," is dated to the late fifth or early sixth century; V. Korać, *Studenica hvostanska* (Belgrade, 1976), especially p. 90.

71 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, *Ts'rkovnata arkhitektura na p'rvata b'lgarska d'rzhava* (Sofia, 1984), pp. 192–96.

72 See the discussion on p. 277 of this chapter, as well as fig. 282A.

73 Thus, Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 174–75; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 369.

74 Chaneva-Dechevska, *Ts'rkovnata arkhitektura na p'rvata b'lgarska d'rzhava*, p. 93, where a whole large group of these churches is referred to as "the provincial variants."

75 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, p. 19.

76 V. Korać, *Martinići: ostaci ranosrednjovekovnog grada* [Martinići: les vestiges d'une ville du haut moyen âge] (Belgrade, 2001) [in Serbian with a French summary].

77 N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Rentina* [Redina], vol. I (Thessaloniki, 1995); vol. II (Athens, 2001) [The Byzantine Fortress of Redina: Fortifications and Water Supply]; vol. III (Thessaloniki, 2002); and vol. IV (Thessaloniki, 2000) [Churches of the Byzantine Settlement].

78 P. Georgiev, "La signification historique et architecturale de l'église près de Ravna," in *La culture materielle et l'art dans les terres Bulgares, VIe–XVIIe s.* (Sofia, 1995), pp. 48–58.

79 A. Ricci, "The Road from Baghdad to Byzantium and the Case of the Bryas Palace in Istanbul," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century?*, ed. Brubacker, pp. 131–49.

80 C. Bakirtzis, *Synaxis de Maronée: données des fouilles, 1985–1990* (Domaine de Kerguehennec, 1994).

81 The early history of the monastery is sparsely documented: E. Stikas, *To Oikodomikon Chronikon tēs Monēs Osiou Louka Phōkidos* [A Building Chronicle of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokida] (Athens, 1970). The literature on the subject of the monastery's origins and early chronology has multiplied significantly in recent decades. P. Mylonas, "*Gavits* arméniens et *Litae* bizantines: observations nouvélles sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *Cahiers archéologiques* 38 (1990), pp. 99–122; and Mylonas, "Nouvélles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *Cahiers archéologiques* 40 (1992), pp. 115–22, are the most recent studies to address the issue of the monastery planning.

82 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 383–84; and Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 118.

83 L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tēs Panagias sto monasatēri tou Hosiou Louka* [Sculptural Decoration of the Church of Panagia in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas] (Athens, 1980), pp. 22–56.

84 P. L. Theocharides, "Recent Research into Athonite Monastic Architecture, Tenth–Sixteenth Centuries," in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 205–21, especially pp. 211–12. Also, most recently P. L. Theocharides, "Architectural Organization of the Athonite Monasteries during the Byzantine Period," *Athos, la Sainte Montagne. Tradition et renouveau dans l'art*, ed. G. Galvaris (Athens, 2007), pp. 97–128.

85 On the schematic plan of the monastery published by Theocharides ("Recent Research," fig. 16.1), the two structures flanking the lateral chapels are identified as the "northern belfry" and the "southern belfry," but nothing is said about them in his text.

86 P. M. Mylonas, "La trapéza de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 35 (1987), pp. 143–57. For a general consideration of Athonite examples within a larger context of monastic refectories, see S. Popović, "The *Trapeza* in Cenobitic Monasteries: Architectural and Spiritual Contexts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998), pp. 281–303, especially p. 292 (Great Lavra).

87 L. Bouras, "Some Observations on the Grand Lavra Phiale at Mount Athos and Its Bronze Strobilion," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archailogikēs heterias* 4th ser., 8 (1975–76), pp. 85–96.

88 P. M. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *Cahiers archéologiques* 32 (1984), pp. 89–112, first made this important observation. The exact time and the reasons for this addition, however, remain unclear. T. Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der Byzantinischen Architektur* (Munich, 1995), is the most extensive architectural study of the monument published thus far, though the main ideas presented in it largely follow those presented in older scholarship.

89 S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels," especially pp. 97–98.

90 S. Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Nicosia, 2000), especially pp. 20–31.

91 Theocharides, "Recent Research into Athonite Monastic Architecture," especially pp. 304–5.

92 S. Popović, "Pyrgos in the Late Byzantine Monastic Context," in *Manastir Žiča: Zbornik radova*, ed. D. Drašković and S. Djordjević (Kraljevo, 2000), pp. 95–107; S. Voyadjis, "The 'Tsimiskes' Tower of the Great Lavra Monastery," *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds. A Bryer and M. Cunningham (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 189–203;

T. Pazaras, ed., *The Towers of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki, 2002).

93 P. L. Theocharides, "Observations on the Byzantine Buttressed Towers of Macedonia," *Byzantine Macedonia: Art, Architecture, Music and Hagiography*, eds. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2001), 20–27.

94 S. V. Mamaloukos, *To katholiko tēs monēs Vatopediou: Istoria kai architektonikē* [The Katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery: History and Architecture] (Athens, 2001) [in Greek with a substantial English summary] is an outstanding study of this important monument.

95 The subject was first seriously broached by Dj. Stričević, "La rénovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centraux des Balkans au IXe–XIe siècle," *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Belgrade, 1963), vol. I, pp. 165–211, though my general understanding of the role of the basilica in Byzantine architecture differs from that of Stričević. See also C. Bouras, "Zourtsa: une basilique byzantine au Peloponnèse," *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971), pp. 137–49.

96 Most recently Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, pp. 7–9.

97 S. Boiadzhiev, "L'ancienne église métropole de Nesebar," *Byzantino-Bulgarica* I (1962), pp. 321–46.

98 A. Meksi, "La grande basilique et le baptistaire [*sic*] de Butrint," *Monumentet* 1/25 (1983), pp. 47–75, especially pp. 70–72 [in Albanian with a substantial French summary].

99 P. Mylonas, "Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 28 (1979), pp. 143–60.

100 Bouras, "Zourtsa."

101 A. Xyngopoulos, *Ta mnēmeia tōn Serviōn* [Monuments of Servia] (Athens, 1957).

102 N. Moutsopoulos, *Hē vasilikē tou Agiou Achilleiou stēn Prespa* [The Basilica of St. Achilleus at Prespa] (Thessaloniki, 1999) [in Greek with a brief English summary].

103 P. Vokotopoulos, *Hē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron apo tou telous tou 7ου mechri tou telous 10ου aiōnos* [Church Architecture in Western Sterea and Epiros from the End of the 7th to the End of the 10th Centuries] (Thessaloniki, 1992), pp. 35–41.

104 N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 9ος–11ος aiōnas* [Churches of Kastoria, 9th–11th Centuries] (Thessaloniki, 1992), pp. 113–44.

105 Ibid., pp. 203–305, esp. pp. 203–27.

106 Exceptional in this regard has been the work of N. Moutsopoulos (ibid.), who dates these two buildings to the tenth century and allows for the possibility of Bulgarian patronage under distinctive local circumstances as reflected in the use of Greek in the fresco inscriptions. Bulgarian scholars have generally subscribed to the idea that the buildings in question are Bulgarian, by virtue of presumed patronage and their architectural characteristics; cf. Chaneva Dechevska, *Ts'rkovnata arkhitektura* (as in f. n. 71), pp. 52–55, who refers to earlier Bulgarian scholarship on the subject.

107 The building may have been a result of a substantial rebuilding of an earlier basilica from which an apse may have been partially reused. M. Chatzidakis et al., *Naxos* (Athens, 1989), especially pp. 30–34; also G. Dimitrokallis, *Vyzantinē naodomia stēn Naxo* [Byzantine Church Building in Naxos] (Athens, 2000), especially pp. 30–31.

108 A. Papalexandrou, "The Church of the Virgin at Skripou: Architecture, Sculpture, and Inscriptions in Ninth-Century Byzantium," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University (1998); also, eadem, "Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder," *Word and Image*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2001), 259–83, passim.

109 Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels," especially pp. 100–01.

110 Papalexandrou, "Text in Context." especially pp. 246ff.

111 Ćurčić, "Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus." More about this phenomenon will be said in Chapter 6.

112 F. A. Bauer and H. A. Klein, "The Church of Hagia Sophia in Bizye (Vize): Results of the Fieldwork Seasons 2003 and 2004," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006), pp. 249–70.

113 A. Mentzos, "Hē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē tēs Pierias stēn prōtē vyzantinē periodo," *Epistimoniko synedrio: Hē Pieria sta vyzantina kai neōtera chronia* (Katerinē, 1993), pp. 153–65.

114 E. Markē, "Ho mesovizantinos naos tēs Pydnas," in *Oi archaiologoi miloun gia tēn Pieria* (Thessaloniki, 1986), pp. 59–64.

115 A. Kountouras and C. Bakirtzis, "Hē Agia Sofia Dramas," in *Hē Drama kai ē periohē tēs: Istoria kai politismos* (Drama, 1992), pp. 141–55.

116 For the earlier date, see Vokotopoulos, *Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 193–6, who provides a thorough review of the older literature on the subject. For the later date, see A. Meksi, "Deux églises byzantines du district de Gjirokastra," *Monumentet* 9 (1975), especially pp. 82–105 [in Albanian with a substantial French summary, pp. 103–05]. More recently, G. Koch, "Einige überlegungen zur Kirche in Labove e Kryqit," *Monumentet* 1/33 (1987), pp. 27–62 [in Albanian and German, the latter pp. 53–62], arguing for a tenth-century date.

117 J. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 24 (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 139–48.

118 Vokotopoulos, *Hē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 20–28, pl. 7.

119 Dēmētrokallēs, *Vyzantinē naodomia stēn Naxo*, p. 45.

120 S. Boiadziev, "L'église du village Vinica à la lumière de nouvelles données," *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 2 (1966), pp. 241–65.

121 The extensive literature on this subject cannot be critically reviewed here, but the reader is alerted to the particular nature of this phenomenon. Useful general studies are: Mamaloukos, *To katholiko tēs monēs Vatopediou*, chapter 2 (pp. 21–85), in Greek; G. Stričević, "Églises triconques médiévales en Serbie et en Macédoine et la tradition de l'architecture paléobyzantine," in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études Byzantines*, vol. I, pp. 224–40, where the late antique link is rejected.

122 Moutsopoulos, *Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias*, chapter 3 (pp. 87–109).

123 Ibid., chapter 1 (pp. 2–20).

124 P. Miljković-Pepek, "L'architecture chrétienne chez les Slaves macédoniens à partir d'avant la moitié du IXe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress*, pp. 483–500, especially pp. 489–90.

125 D. Koco, "Klimentoviot manastir Sv. Pantelejmon i raskopkata pri 'Imaret' vo Ohrid," in *Kniga za Kliment Ohridski*, ed. B. Koneski et al. (Skopje, 1966), pp. 129–69.

126 D. Koco, "L'église du monastère de Saint Naoum," in *Akten des XI internazionalen Byzantinisten Kongresses* (Munich, 1960), pp. 244–47; more recently P. Miljković-Pepek, "Nekoi pogledi vrz arhitekturata," *Naum Ohridski*, ed. N. Čelakoski (Ohrid, 1985), pp. 65–82.

127 B. Aleksova, *Episkopijata na Bregalnica* (Prilep, 1898), pp. 81–85, and fig. 100.

128 N. Drandakēs, "Panagia Drosiani" in Chatzidakis et al., *Naxos*, pp. 18–26.

129 Aleksova, *Episkopijata na Bregalnica*.

130 Miljković-Pepek, "L'architecture chrétienne," p. 491 (e.g., Žiganci and Teranci, both near Kočani, and Goren Kozjak).

131 Vokotopoulos, *Hē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 45–50.

132 V. P. Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture: A Study of Pre-Romanesque* (London, 1987), pp. 103–4, with the improbable date of ca. 800.

133 The term "hall-church" used by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 312, is deliberately rejected as potentially misleading.

134 A sub-variant of this type has also been identified by G. Dēmētrokallēs, *Agnōstoi byzantinoi naoi Ieras Mitropoleōs Messēnias* (Athens, 1990), pp. 75–95, especially p .93. The type, exemplified by the church of the Taxiarchis at Polichnē, near Messini, Greece, includes eleven other monuments. These churches, generally of smaller dimensions than the inscribed-cross type, feature western piers that are built integrally with the western wall of the naos. Hence, the identity of western piers is lost. We cannot go further into the discussion of this sub-variant, but a few of its representative examples will be referred to later in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

135 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 312, where the type is erroneously referred to as "characteristic, new, and unique" in the context of Greater Bulgaria.

136 Vokotopoulos, *Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 69–74.

137 Dēmētrokallēs, *Vyzantinē naodomia stēn Naxo*, pp. 30–31.

138 Vokotopoulos, *Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 74–80; also A. Meksi, "Dy kisha Bizantine në rreth të Gjirokastrës (French summary: "Deux églises Byzantines du district de Gjirokastra"), *Monumentet* 9 (1975), especially pp. 77–82, who proposes a later date (late-eleventh to mid-twelfth century) of construction.

139 Vokotopoulos, *Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 80–86.

140 P. Miljković-Pepek, *Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča* [Le complexe des églises de Vodoča] (Skopje, 1975).

141 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 312, n. 28.

142 N. Mutsopulos (*sic*), "Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Baudenkmäler aus Klein-Prespa und aus Hl. German," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechishe Jahrbücher* 20 (1970), pp. 31–49.

143 N. Ovcharov, "Ranniiat katolikon ot IX–X v. na manastira 'Sv. Ioan Prodrom' v. K'rdzhali i negovata monumentalna dekoraciia," *Arkheologiia* 42/3–4 (2001).

144 The village of Kaynarca once had the Greek name of Genna. The church had been mistakenly identified as being located in the village of Iana, near Sofia, Bulgaria.

145 S. Mamaloukos, "The Church of Virgin Mary in Genna, Eastern Thrace," *Peri Thrakis* 4 (2004), pp. 69–92 [in Greek with an English summary], who dates the building to the tenth or early eleventh century.

146 Vokotopoulos, *Ē ekklēsiastikē architektonikē eis tēn dytikēn sterean Ellada kai tēn Ēpeiron*, pp. 56–69.

147 H. R. Goette, *Athen–Attika–Megaris* (Cologne and Vienna, 1993), pp. 137–39.

148 Mijatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*, p. 187, who proposes a fourteenth-century date on typological grounds, but this is an erroneous conclusion. Associations with Middle Byzantine developments, if any, are far more likely.

149 Ćurčić "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels," pp. 101–02.

150 Aleksova, *Episkopijata na Bregalnica*, pp. 10–11. The evidence for a fifth- or sixth-century church on the same site is dubious.

151 See p. 277, above.

152 A. K. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnēmeia Tegas-Nikliou. *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn Mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados* 12 (1973), 141–63.

153 Most recently, the problem of five-domed churches was considered by E. Hadzityphonos, "Approche de la typologie des églises à cinq coupoles dans l'architecture byzantine," *Saopštenja* 22–23 (1990–91), pp. 41–76 [in Serbian with a French summary, pp. 75–76], who provides extensive older literature on this topic, but some of her conclusions call for a further assessment.

154 See pl. 6.6 above.

155 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 340.

156 M. G. Biris, "Later Additions to the Katholikon of Monē Petrakē in Athens," *Ekklēsies stēn Ellada meta tēn Alōsē* (Churches in Greece, 1453–1850), vol. 2 (Athens, 1982), pp. 191–202 (in Greek, with an English summary, p. 202).

157 J. Martinović, "Prolegomena za problem prvobitne crkve Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru," *Prilozi za povjest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 30 (1990), pp. 5–29 [in Serbian with an Italian summary].

158 G. Moravcsik, ed., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administando Imperio* (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 136–37.

159 V. Korać and J. Kovačević, "Crkva Sv. Tome na Prčanju u Boki Kotorskoj," *Zbornik filosofskog fakulteta* II/1 (1970), pp. 107–17 [in Serbian with a French summary, pp. 114–17].

160 C. Mauropoulou-Tsioumi and A. Kountouras, "Ho naos tou Agiou Andrea stēn Peristera, metaskeuasmenos tou 9° ai.," *Klironomia* 13 (1981), pp. 488–96. The authors postulate a rebuilding of a late antique structure in the ninth century, but firm proofs for such an interpretation are lacking.

161 P. Vežić, "Early-Medieval Phase of the Episcopal Complex in Zadar," *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 1 (1995), pp. 150–61, where the functional context of the building is analyzed, along with a brief discussion of the two phases of construction; regarding the letter in greater detail, see Vežić, *Crkva Su. Trojstva (Sv. Donata) u Zadru: konzervatorski radovi i rezultati istraživanja* (Zagreb, 1985); Vežić, *Sveti Donat. Rotunda Sv. Trojstva u Zadru* [St. Donatus: The Rotunda of the Holy Trinity in Zadar] (Split, 2002), is the most recent well-illustrated monograph on the building, including all of the recent findings and interpretations.

162 Moravcsik, ed., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 138–39. The dedication to St. Donatus appears to have occurred only in the fifteenth century.

163 V. Korać, "L'origine ravennate de Saint-Donat (Sainte-Trinité) à Zadar," *Zograf* 21 (1990), pp. 9–17 [in Serbian with a French summary] sees San Vitale in Ravenna as the prototype. Alternatively, T. Marasović, "Dvije nove studije o predromaničkoj umjetnosti u Dalmaciji," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 17 (1988), supports the idea of links with Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen. I. Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana* (Split, 1990), p. 26, wisely, disassociates the Zadar church from both.

164 Most recently, see S. Popović, "Preispitivanje crkve Svetog Petra u Rasu" [Reexamining the Church of St. Peter in Ras], in *Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi: Istorija i predanje* (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 229–32 [in Serbian with a substantial English summary], with older literature.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 An important work on the period in question is P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–*

1204 (Cambridge, 2000). Other basic general works that cover the history of the Balkans, or significant parts thereof, relevant to the period under investigation are D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), chapter 7; also J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), chapters 7 and 8; Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994), chapters 1, 2, and 3. Discussion in G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd edn. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), parts V, VI, and VII (chapters 1 and 2), still retains many of its qualities as an invaluable perspective from the point of view of the Byzantine Empire. W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA, 1997), parts V and VI (chapter 22), offers a similar broad perspective and also brings the reader up to date on some new points of view and on the secondary literature in general.

2 A. P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, CA, and London, 1985), is a major study of the changing patterns of Byzantine culture during the period in question.

3 B. Krsmanović, *Uspon vojnog plemstva u Vizantiji XI veka* [The Rise of Byzantine Military Aristocracy in the 11th Century] (Belgrade, 2001) [in Serbian with a substantial English summary]. Now also B. Krsmanović, *The Byzantine Province in Change. On the Threshold Between the 10th and 11th Century* (Belgrade and Athens, 2008).

4 P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX–XIIIth Centuries*, ed. M. Angold, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–111, especially p. 95.

5 I. Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 3 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae III (Bonn, 1897), p. 767; as quoted by Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," p. 95.

6 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* p. 255, Ex. 36.

7 C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), p. 219.

8 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, pp. 117–19 and 247–48, Ex. 23.

9 A pioneering historical study was G. Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 13 (1959), pp. 47–66. More recently, see M. Angold, "The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City'," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), pp. 1–37; V. Hrochová, "Les villes byzantines aux IIe–13e siècles: phénomène centrifuge ou centripète dans l'évolution de la société byzantine?," in *Aspects des Balkans médiévaux* (Prague, 1989), pp. 11–28. The most recent study, taking into account also the results of archaeological investigations, is C. Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 497–528.

10 Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, pp. 699–706.

11 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, pp. 31–39.

12 For the state of knowledge based on archaeological investigations on the territory of Serbia, see M. Popović, "Les forteresses du système défensif byzantin en Serbie au XIe–XIIe siècle," *Starinar* n. s., 42 (1993), pp. 169–85. A comparable brief survey of settlements in Bulgaria is B. Borisov, "Settlements of Northeast Thrace, 11th–12th Centuries," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 5/2 (2001), pp. 77–92. Methodologically, the most impressive of such overviews, albeit limited to the territory of FYROM, is I. Mikulčić, *Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini vo Makedonija* [Medieval Towns and Fortifications in Macedonia] (Skopje, 1996).

13 P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), especially pp. 55–57.

14 T. F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–92), pp. 72–93.

15 For the destruction of the city at the hands of the Crusaders, see *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI, 1984), chapters VIII and IX, whose viewpoint, though not dispassionate, is our main eyewitness account of the events. For conditions in the city leading up to the Latin conquest, see S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul", in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. I. A. Bierman et al. (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), pp. 40–45, Appendix ("Translation of the Section on the Destruction of the Statues by Nicetas Choniates").

16 D. Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001), pp. 277–97.

17 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, p. 255, Ex. 35.

18 Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, p. 58.

19 Ibid., pp. 69–70.

20 W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 301–07.

21 C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 56–58.

22 P. Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), pp. 101–14; also reprinted in Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1991), chapter V.

23 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 228–29.

24 Ibid., p. 229; Mango interprets "Persian" as meaning "Seljuq."

25 In addition to that by Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," see L.-A. Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration: Descriptions and Islamic Connections," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, ed. Angold, especially pp. 141–42; and also S. Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), especially pp. 140–44, where the broad implications of blending different artistic traditions are discussed as a Mediterranean phenomenon pertaining to court cultures.

26 S. Runciman, "Blacherna Palace and its Decoration," *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 277–83.

27 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, p. 145, Ex. 20.

28 Mango, *The Art of the Byzatine Empire*, p. 236.

29 Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration," p. 141, fig. 9.

30 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, p. 245, Ex. 19.

31 Ibid., p. 240, Ex. 10.

32 R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première region de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), pp. 39–47.

33 For Pliska and Preslav, see Chapter 6, pp. 287–93. For the Norman palaces, see G. di Stefano, *Monumenti della Sicilia Normanna*, 2nd ed., ed. W Krönig (Palermo, 1979), especially 992–113.

34 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 236.

35 Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," pp. 92–111, especially p. 95.

36 G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916).

37 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, chapter 2 ("Decentralization and 'Feudalization' of the Byzantine State"); A. J. Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery* (University Park, PA, and London, 1988), chapter 3; S. Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Regional or Provincial?* (Nicosia, 2000), especially pp. 7–9.

38 R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), pp. 154–56, with earlier literature on the subject.

39 O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), is still basic for the understanding of the principles in question.

40 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, pp. 174–75, where the technique is discussed at greater length.

41 A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos tōn Byzantinōn ktiriōn tēs Konstantinoupoleos* [Ceramo-Plastic Decoration of Byzantine Buildings in Constantinople] (Athens, 1973), passim, with numerous graphic illustrations of different patterns.

42 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, p. 179; also, more generally, Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus*, pp. 20–31.

43 U. Peschlow, "Zum byzantinischen opus-sectile Boden," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 435–47.

44 R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 15–32.

45 C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 58–72.

46 Ibid., pp. 58–72, especially pp. 71–72.

47 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 236.

48 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 196–97.

49 Ibid., pp. 144–46.

50 Ibid., pp. 188–89; S. Westfallen, *Die Odalar Camii in Istanbul. Architektur und Malerei einer mittelbyzantinischen Kirche* (Tübingen, 1998).

51 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 169–71. Most recently V. V. Sedov, *Kilise Dzhami: Stolichnaīa arkhitektura Vizantii* [Kilise Camii: Architecture of the Byzantine Capital] (Moscow, 2008), in Russian with an English summary; appeared too late to be fully considered in this context.

52 R. Ousterhout, "Some Notes on the Construction of Christos ho Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) in Istanbul," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs hetairias* 4th ser., 16 (1991–92), pp. 47–56.

53 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, p. 179 and fig. 143, who plays down the significance of this technique.

54 Although much has been written on various aspects of the Pantokrator complex, no comprehensive study of either the monastery or its three churches exists. A convenient summary is provided by C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1978), pp. 134–36. For a good, albeit brief historical and social account, see R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London, 1985), especially pp. 194–214.

55 P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauver Pantokrator," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), pp. 1–145.

56 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, p. 107, who reports on the observations made on the church, indicating that the smaller, eastern dome was built as an afterthought.

57 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 217–18.

58 Demangel and Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes*.

59 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 219.

60 H. Schäfer, "Architekturhistorische Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Kiever Rus im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24 (1973–74), pp. 197–224; for the Armenian and Georgian origins of certain features of Middle Byzantine Constantinopolitan architecture, see Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 127–30.

61 Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 218–19.

62 Ibid., p. 219, f. n. 173; also Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 128.

63 For theoretical considerations for the reconstruction of the church, see C. Bouras, "Typologikes paratiriseis sto katholiko tēs monēs tōn Manganōn stēn Konstantinoupolē," *Archailogikon Deltion* 31 (1980), pp. 136–51; also S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36/2 (May 1977), pp. 94–110, especially p. 103.

64 T. F. Mathews, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliadà (Chalke), Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp. 115–27; also C. Mango, "A Note on Panagia Kamariotissa and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople," ibid., pp. 128–32.

65 C. Bouras, "The Architecture of the Church of the Panaghia Mouchliotissa in Constantinople," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* 26 (2005), pp. 35–50 [in Greek with an English summary].

66 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 140–43; H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels* (Tübingen, 1973), is focused almost exclusively on its substructure. L. Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 99–113, provides the most substantial discussion of the church to date, though a thorough study of the building remains a major desideratum.

67 H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13–14 (1963–64), pp. 128–93.

68 This chapter of the city's history is discussed in F. Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessaloniki, 1224–1242* (Thessaloniki, 1996).

69 N. Oikonomides, "La tour du grand chartulaire Lapardas à Thessalonique," *Zograf* 27 (1998–99), pp. 33–36.

70 On this, see infra.

71 Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration," p. 139.

72 This important church, despite having recently undergone thorough archaeological investigation and restoration, still lacks a serious publication. D. E. Evangelidēs, *Hē Panagia tōn Chalkeōn* (Thessaloniki, 1954), is out of date and contains several mistaken observations, such as considering the upper floor above the narthex a twelfth-century addition. The error was rectified by K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia tōn Chalkeōn* (Graz and Cologne, 1966), pp. 13–15.

73 A. Tsitouridou, "Die Grabkonzeption des ikonographischen Programms der Kirche Panagia Chalkeōn in Thessalonike," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/5 (1982), pp. 435–41.

74 N. Nikonanos, "Hē ekklēsia tēs Metamorphosēs tou Sōtēros sto Chortiatē," *Kernos: Timētikē prosphora ston kathēgētē Geōrgio Bakalakē* (Thessaloniki, 1972), pp. 102–10 [with a German summary].

75 A new book on Medieval Athens is being prepared by Ch. Bouras; for a preliminary intro-

duction see C. Bouras, "Middle Byzantine Athens," *Glas CCCXC de l'Académie serbe des sciences et des arts, Classe des sciences historiques*, II (2001), 103–13.

76 M. Korres, "The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century," in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. P. Tournikiotōs (Athens, 1994), pp. 138–61, especially pp. 146–49, who dates the main architectural reconstruction of the Parthenon to the twelfth century, attributing it to Archbishop Nikolaos Ayiotheodoritēs (1166–75).

77 S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence," *Archaeology and the Crusades*, eds. P. Edbury and S. Kalopissi-Verti (Athens, 2007), 1–33, with up-to-date literature.

78 Tanoulas, "The Athenian Acropolis as a castle under Latin rule (1204–1448): Military and building technology," *Technognōsia stē latinokratoumenē Ellada* (Athens, 2000), pp. 96–122.

79 The state of knowledge of these issues is effectively summarized by Bouras, "Middle Byzantine Athens," pp. 236–42.

80 Ibid., p. 227. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 140, gives far more conservative statistics: "there were probably more than forty of which eight have survived," but his numbers, judging by the quoted number of the surviving churches, do not seem reliable.

81 Although a new study of all of the Middle Byzantine churches of Athens is currently being prepared by C. Bouras, A. Xyngopoulos, "Byzantina kai Tourkika mnēmēia tōn Athenōn," *Evretērion tōn Mesaionikōn Mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados* I/B (Athens, 1929), pp. 63–94, is still the most exhaustive general coverage. Also invaluable is *Byzantina mnēmia: ekklēsies periochē Attikēs* (Athens, 1970), an album of measured architectural drawings of most of the churches in question.

82 C. Bouras and L. Boura, *Hē Helladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiona* [Helladic Architecture during the 12th Century] (Athens, 2002), pp. 39–44, provides particularly useful insights into this important collection of material.

83 A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, Athenian Agora XX (Princeton, NJ, 1971).

84 C. Bouras, "The Soteira Lykodemou at Athens: Architecture," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* 4th ser., 25 (2004), pp. 11–23.

85 For the twelfth-century Athenian monuments, see Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiona*, pp. 32–54, passim, with up-to-date information and relevant bibliography.

86 H. Maguire, "The Cage of Crosses: Ancient and Medieval Sculptures on the 'Little Metropolis' in Athens," in *Thimiama stēn mnēmē tēs Laskarinas Mpoura*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1994), vol. I, pp. 169–72. It is impossible to accept a recently published interpretation that would associate the construction of the church with the Ottoman period; cf. B. Kiilerich, "Making Sense of the Spolia in the Little Metropolis in Athens," *Arte Medievale* 4 (2005), 1–20.

87 Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, whose works unnecessarily polarized scholarship on Byzantine architecture, essentially providing the basis for subsequent "national" approaches to the study of the past. Most recently P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Church Architecture in Greece during the Middle Byzantine Period," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors, 843–1261*, ed. O. Z. Pevny (New York, 2001), pp. 154–67, proposes that the term "Greek School" be replaced by "Helladic School."

88 R. L. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, Corinth XVI (Princeton, NJ, 1957).

89 For some preliminary comments, see S. Ćurčić, "Houses in the Byzantine World," in *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), pp. 229–38.

90 E. Drakopoulou, *Hē polē tēs Kastorias tē Vyzatinē kai Metavyzantinē epochē, 12os–16os ai.: istoria, technē, epigraphes* [The Town of Kastoria in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods, 12th–16th Centuries: History, Art, Inscriptions] (Athens, 1997), offers valuable insights into the issues mentioned here.

91 N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias, 9os–11os aiōnas* [Churches of Kastoria, 9th–11th Centuries] (Thessaloniki, 1992). See also A. Wharton Epstein, "Byzantine Churches of Kastoria: Dates and Implications," *Art Bulletin* 62/2 (1980), pp. 190–207.

92 Moutsopoulos, *Ekklēsies tēs Kastorias*, pp. 307–92.

93 Ibid., pp. 401–11.

94 Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus*, pp. 21–22.

95 E. G. Stikas, *To oikodomikōn chronikōn tēs monēs Osiou Louka Phōkidos* [The Building Chronicle of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis] (Athens, 1970), is the most comprehensive study of the monastery buildings, as well as of its two churches.

96 C. L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt of Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, NJ, 1991).

97 C. Bouras, *Vyzantina staurotholia me neurōseis* [Byzantine Ribbed Cross Vaults] (Athens, 1965). The few rare instances of the use of ribs in Byzantine architecture within modern Greece are found virtually exclusively on buildings directly or indirectly associated with Hosios Loukas.

98 Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus*, p. 24.

99 For Christ Pantepoptes, see p. 361 and n. 52 above.

100 C. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982).

101 G. Millet, *Daphni* (Paris, 1899), still a basic work, despite its early date. A comprehensive monograph on this important building and its mosaics is a major desideratum.

102 A. Orlandos, "Hosios Meletios", *Archaion tōn Byzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados* 5 (1939–40), 34ff; and 7 (1951), 72ff.

103 S. Voyadjis, "Paratērēseis stēn oikodomikē istoria tēs monēs Sagmata stē Voiōtia" [Observations on the Structural History of the Sagmata Monastery in Boeotia], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* 4th ser., 18 (1995), pp. 49–70, is the most recent study of the building history.

104 The excavations were conducted under the directorship of I. A. Papangelos of the 10th Ephoreia for Byzantine Antiquities in Thessaloniki.

105 S. Ćurčić, "Function and Form: Church Architecture in Bulgaria, 4th–19th Centuries," in *Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria*, ed. V. Pace (Sofia, 2001), pp. 46–66, especially p. 57, with older literature.

106 E. Bakalova et al., *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo Monastery* (Plovdiv, 2003).

107 N. Ovcharov and D. Hadzhieva, "Srednovekovniiāt manastir v gr. K'rdzhali, center na arhiepiskopiiāta na Akhridos prez XI–XIV v." [Medieval Monastery in K'rdzhali, Center of the Bishopric of Akhridos from the 11th to the 14th Centuries], *Razkopki i prouchvaniiā* 24 (1992), 5–52.

108 N. Ovcharov, "The Early Catholicon [*sic*] from the 9th–10th Century in the St. John Prodromos Monastery in the Town of Kurdzhali [*sic*]," *Arkheologiiā* 42/3–4 (2001), pp. 25–37 [in Bulgarian with an English summary].

109 Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*.

110 Most recently C. Bouras, *Vyzantinē kai Metavyzantinē architektonikē stēn Hellada* [Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture

in Greece] (Athens, 2001), and particularly Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna.*

111 We should note here the "school" of Epiros as articulated in modern Greek scholarship; G. Velenis, "Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Origins of the School," in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 279–85.

112 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), chapter 17, in a compromise solution to the problem of presenting the surviving material, introduces three subcategories: "Constantinople," "Northern Greece and the Balkans," and "Greece."

113 P. Vocotopoulos, "The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981), pp. 551–73, is virtually an isolated effort at offering a general analysis, though it must be considered a prolegomena to the study of the subject.

114 R. Ousterhout, "Byzantine Funerary Architecture of the Twelfth Century," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rus' i strani vizantiiskogo mira, XII vek* (St. Petersburg, 2002), pp. 9–17.

115 V. Korać, "O arhitekturi katedralnih crkava XI veka na vizantijskom kulturnom području" [Architecture of 11th-century cathedral churches within the Byzantine cultural sphere], in *Izmedju Vizantije i zapada: Odabrane studije o arhitekturi* (Belgrade, 1987), pp. 57–67, and idem., "O srednjovekovnim bazilikama u Makedoniji i Srbiji" [Medieval Basilicas in Macedonia and Serbia], ibid., pp. 68–76.

116 T. Papazotos, *Hē Veroia kai oi naoi tēs, 11os–18os ai.* [Veroia and Its Churches, 11th–18th cent.] (Athens, 1994), pp. 164–69.

117 The church is essentially unpublished; briefly: Korać, "O arhitekturi katedralnih crkava XI veka na vizantijskom kulturnom području," p. 60 and fig. 1–4, who dates it to the late eleventh century. G. Sotiriou, 'Mnēmeia tēs Thessalias 13. kai 14. aiōnos," *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn spoudōn* 6 (1929), pp. 290–315, is the only serious study of the monument to date, though his dating of the building to the Late Byzantine period is now considered erroneous.

118 A. Orlandos, "Hē metropolis tōn Serrōn" [The Metropolitan Church of Serres], *Archaion tōn Byzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados* 5 (1939–40), pp. 153–66.

119 D. Koco and P. Miljković-Pepek, *Manastir* (Skopje, 1958).

120 G. Milošević and S. Djurić, "Crkva Sv. Prokopija u Prokuplju – Rezultati istraživačkih radova u 1987. godini" [L'église Saint-Procope à Prokuplje] *Starinar* n. s., 38(1987), pp. 83–109, especially pp. 95–101 ("Building Chronology") [in Serbian with a substantial French summary].

121 S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška: Njen postanak i njeno mesto u arhitekturi Milutinovog vremena* (Belgrade, 1963), chapters 3 and 4 [in Serbian with a French summary, pp. 268–70].

122 B. Čipan, *St. Sophia, the Cathedral Church of the Ohrid Archbishopric: A Chronology of Architecture* (Skopje, 1995), and B. M. Schellewald, *Die Architectur der Sophienkirche in Ohrid* (Bonn, 1986), are but the latest studies with references to earlier scholarship on the subject. A definitive study of this important monument is much needed.

123 For a discussion of belfries in Byzantine church architecture, see Epilogue.

124 A. S. Petkos, "Excavation of a Middle Byzantine Church at Sisani near Kozani: New Information on the Diocese of Sisanion," *Makedonikôn* 32 (2001), pp. 313–37 [in Greek with an English summary]. The church was being excavated by Sōtēris Kissas, whose untimely death in 1994 disrupted the completion of the excavation and the publication of this important building.

125 Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," p. 109. The arrangement at Ohrid has not been adequately explored.

126 R. Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), pp. 261–80; also R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley* (Thessaloniki, 2007), pp. 23–31.

127 Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Church at Enez," pp. 272–76.

128 S. Pejić, "Arhitektonska plastika Bogorodičine crkve u Drenovu," *Starinar* n. s., 36 (1985), pp. 161–71.

129 D. Bošković, "L'église de Sainte-Sophie à Salonique et son reflet dans deux monuments postérieurs en Macédoine et Serbie," *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 1 (1954), pp. 110–15.

130 V. Korać, "Les églises a nef unique avec une coupole dans l'architecture byzantine des XIe et XIIe siècles," *Zograf* 8 (1977), pp. 10–14. It should be noted that the type is relatively common on the Aegean islands, though these monuments are often not dated with precision. A particularly interesting group is found on Naxos: G. Dēmētrokallis, *Byzantinē naodomia stēn Naxo* [Byzantine Church Building in Naxos] (Athens, 2000), pp. 42–51 (single-aisled churches), but also pp. 37–40, where a number of churches with deep interior spur walls instead of pilasters are classified as the "inscribed cross" type.

131 M. Rakocija, "Crkva u Gornjem Matejevcu kod Niša", *Saopštenja* 22–23 (1990–91), pp. 7–24 [French summary: "Église de Gornji Matejevac, près de Niš].

132 M. Čanak-Medić and D. Bošković, *Arhitektura Nemanjinog doba / L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. 1, *Crkve u Toplici i dolinama Ibra i Morave/Les églises de Toplica et des vallées de l'Ibar et de la Morava* (Belgrade, 1986), pp. 15–36, is the latest study of this important monument, providing all of the earlier literature.

133 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, *Tsŭrkovnata arkhitekturata v B'lgariia prez XI–XIV vek* [Church Architecture in Bulgaria in the 11th–14th Centuries] (Sofia, 1988), p. 101.

134 H. Hallensleben, "Das Katholikon des Johannes-Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrai," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), pp. 158–73, written over forty years ago, is by now inadequate. N. Bakirtzis, "Monastery of St. John of Prodromos at Serres," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (2006), introduces a methodologically broad approach to the study of this important monastery.

135 S. V. Mamaloukos, *To katholiko tēs monēs Vatopediou: istoria kai architektonikē* [The Katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery: History and Architecture] (Athens, 2001), p. 293.

136 Dj. Stričević and G. Subotić, "Iskopavanje Zanjevačke crkve" [Fouilles de l'église de Zanjevac] *Starinar* n. s., 9–10 (1959), pp. 307–15 [in Serbian with a French summary].

137 P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje, 1981), is an impressive monographic study of this important monument.

138 P. Miljković-Pepek, *Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča* [Le complèxe des églises de Vodoča] (Skopje, 1975).

139 K. Trajkovski, "Excavations at Morodvis in 1980 and 1981," *Zbornik Arheološkog Muzeja na Makedonija* 10–11 (1983), 133–42.

140 S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (Munich, 1985); also now Ousterhout and Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley*, pp. 49–85.

141 E. Hadzitrifonos, "Pristup tipologiji petokupolnih crkava u vizantijskoj arhitekturi" *Saopštenja* n. s., 22–23 (1990–91), pp. 41–76, a typological study of five-domed churches in Byzantine architecture.

142 I. Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, Programme, Patronage* (Wiesbaden, 2000).

143 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, pp. 58–85, who, maintaining an older point of view, considers the Byzantine use of architectural drawings improbable. This viewpoint has been challenged more recently by S. Mamaloukos, "Zētēmata schedismou stē vyzantinē architektonikē" [Design Issues in Byzantine Architecture], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 24 (2003), pp. 119–30, and C. Bouras, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture," *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini = Travaux et Mémoire* 15 (2005), 99–108.

144 The work has been conducted under the directorship of I. A. Papangelos of the 10th Ephoreia for Byzantine Antiquities in Thessaloniki. Mamaloukos, *To katholiko tēs monēs Vatopediou*, p. 294.

145 Ibid., pp. 291–92.

146 Ibid., p. 289 and pp. 285–86, respectively.

147 The church was first published in some detail by P. Vocotopoulos, "O byzantinos naos tou Olynthou" [The Byzantine Church at Olynthos], *Diethnēs Symposio Byzantinē Makedonia, 324–1430 m. Ch.* (Thessaloniki, 1995), pp. 45–56.

148 B. Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae: kult na martirite vo Makedonija od IV do IX vek* (Skopje, 1995), pp. 162–68. The cult of the fifteen martyr-saints, promoted by Archbishop Theophilact of Ohrid (1088/89–1126), has been linked to the site by virtue of a vaulted tomb with a fresco depicting their group portrait, discovered under the naos of the church. The church, erroneously dated to the ninth or early tenth century, was built over the remains of an early Christian church, itself restored at some intermediate stage. The vaulted tomb was surrounded by a large number of graves, suggesting the early existence of the cult in the area.

149 N. Mavrodinov, *Ednokorabnata i kr'stovidnata ts'rkva po b'lgarrskitie zemi do kraia na XIV v.* (Sofia, 1931), p. 106, figs. 123 and 124, whose photograph of the building illustrates its appearance prior to its unfortunate "restoration."

150 In addition to Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, see also P. Vocotopoulos, "Church Architecture in Greece during the Middle Byzantine Period," pp. 154–67, who advocates the use of the term "Helladic School" and sketches its beginnings against the "Pre-Helladic" background. A few years earlier, C. Bouras, "Church Architecture in Greece around the Year 1200," in *Studenica et l'art Byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. Korać, pp. 271–78, still preferred the term "Greek School".

151 C. Bouras, "Vyzantines 'anagennēseis' kai ē architektonikē tou 11ou kai 12ou aiōnos" [Byzantine "Renaissances" and the Architecture of the 11th and 12th Centuries], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 5 (1969), pp. 247–72.

152 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 131–33.

153 Ibid., pp. 96–99.

154 C. Bouras, "The Franco-Byzantine Church of the Virgin at Anhelion (Glatsa), in Elis," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 12 (1984) [published 1986], pp. 239–64 [in Greek with an English summary].

155 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 169–70.

156 Ibid., pp. 266–68.

157 Ibid., pp. 117–20.

158 C. Bouras, "Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Variations of the Single Domed Octagon," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 9 (1977–79), pp. 21–32.

159 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 273–74.

160 Ibid., pp. 135–37.

161 Ibid., pp. 297–99.

162 P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Ho trikoghos naos tou Agiou Nikolaou sto Platani tēs Achaïas" [L'église triconque de Saint-Nicolas à Platani (Achaïe)], *Armos: Timētikos tomos ston kathēgētē N. K. Moutsopoulo* (Thessaloniki, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 383–405 [in Greek with a French summary].

163 A. Orlandos, *Archaion tōn Byzantinōn Mnemeiōn tēs Ellados*, vol. 1, 1 (1935), pp. 105–20.

164 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 150–52.

165 Ibid., pp. 224–26.

166 Ibid., pp. 120–21.

167 Ibid., pp. 143–44.

168 Ibid., p. 143, fig. 150.

169 Ibid., pp. 81–85.

170 Ibid., pp. 325–28.

171 G. Hadji-Minaglou, *L'église de la Dormition à Merbaka (Haghia Triada)* (Paris, 1992).

172 C. Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 250–51, with enumeration of Gothic elements and a brief analysis of current dating arguments. Hadji-Minaglou champions an early date, *circa* 1130–35, seeing it as a prototype of the entire group.

173 G. D. R. Sanders, "Three Peloponnesian Churches and Their Importance for the Chronology of Late 13th- and 14th-Century Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser (Athens, 1989), pp. 189–99, especially pp. 190–92, who proposes a date in the third quarter of the thirteenth century on the basis of proto-maiolica ceramic bowls incorporated into its façades.

174 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 187–90.

175 Ibid., pp. 109–11.

176 A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture in Mani," *Annual of the British School in Athens* 33 (1932–33), pp. 137–62, especially p. 152 and pp. 156–57.

177 H. Buschhausen and H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien* (Vienna, 1976), an extensive study of the entire medieval monastery, including the early fourteenth-century refectory. See also review by S. Ćurčić in *Speculum* 54/2 (April 1979), pp. 353–58, with a critical assessment of certain issues, including the architectural documentation and the dating of the church to *circa* 1080.

178 Most recently, by S. Mamaloukos, "Observations on the Form of the Corner Bays in Two-Columned Cross-in-Square Churches in Greece," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 14 (1989), pp. 189–204, who cites older literature on the subject [in Greek with an English summary].

179 P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Peri tēn chronologēsēn tou en Kerkyra naou ton Agion Iasonos kai Sosipatrou" [Sur la datation de l'église des Saints-Jason-et-Sosipatros à Corfou], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 5 (1969), pp. 149–74 [in Greek with a French summary].

180 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 61–63.

181 C. Bouras, "Ho Agios Iōannēs ho Eleēmōn Ligouriou Argoliados" [The Church of Hagios Ioannes Eleimon at Ligourio], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 7 (1974), pp. 1–30.

182 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Elladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 71–74.

183 Ibid., pp. 133–35.

184 Ibid., pp. 106–08. N. Charkiolakēs, "Hē architektonikē tou naou tēs Panagias Katholikēs Gastounēs" [Architecture of the Church of the Theotokos at Gastounē], *Peloponnēsiaka* 24 (1999), pp 227–318, provides rich visual documentation of the church. On the latest redating of the church see A. Athanasoulēs, "E anachronologēsē tou naou tēs Panagias tēs katholikēs stē Gastounē" (The Redating of the Church of the Panagia Katholiki at Gastouni), *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 24 (2003), pp. 63–78.

185 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Helladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 291–96.

186 Ibid., pp. 86–88; also B. N. Papadopoulou, *Hē Vyzantinē Arta kai ta mnēmeia tēs* (Athens, 2002), pp. 62–66, both favoring an earlier date.

187 Bouras and Boura, *Hē Helladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 171–74.

188 H. Kalliga, "The Church of Haghia Sophia at Monemvasia: Its Date and Dedication," *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 9 (1977–79), pp. 217–21; also Bouras and Boura, *Hē Helladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 241–46.

189 E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou en Tryphilie (Péloponnèse) et autres edifices du même type* (Paris, 1951), where the reconstruction of the building and its relationship to other members of the group are explored. The author dated the building to the last quarter of the eleventh century, but a twelfth-century date has generally been accepted. See Bouras and Boura, *Hē Helladikē naodomia kata tou 12o aiōna*, pp. 320–24.

190 I. Goldstein, "Kroatien und Dalmatien zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen," in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Konstantinou (Vienna, 1997), pp. 161–81, offers a brief historical and historiographical overview.

191 Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, chapter 6, on the Hungarian–Venetian conflict over control of the Dalmatian towns.

192 I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictini in Croatia et regionibus finitimis], vol. 1 (Split 1963), for the historical role and the cultural influence of the Benedictine Order, especially in Dalmatia.

193 I. Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana: Pregled umjetnosti u Dalmaciji od 9. do 13. stoljeća* [A Review of Art in Dalmatia from the 9th through the 13th Centuries] (Split, 1990), despite its brief nature, is one of the broader recent studies that offers a useful historiographical introduction to the problems alluded to here.

194 Critical assessment of earlier Croatian historiography of medieval architecture has largely come from Croatian general historians; see I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek* [Croatian Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb, 1995), passim. The most important recent study of architecture and sculpture of the early period is Ž. Rapanić, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji* [Pre-Romanesque Period in Dalmatia] (Split, 1987), with an extensive critical review of historiography (pp. 19–50) and an attempt at creating new conceptual models of thinking about the architecture in the region. See also I. Supičić, ed., *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: A Cultural Survey* (Zagreb, 1999), particularly pp. 417–42 (R. Ivančević, "The Pre-Romanesque in Croatia – A Question of Interpretation," an essay on the historiography and the state of scholarship), pp. 445–72 (T. Marasović, "Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia"); and pp. 475–91 (I. Petricioli, "Sculpture from the 8th to the 11th Century").

195 V. P. Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture: A Study of the Pre-Romanesque* (London, 1987). An early champion of the "national" character of "Early Croatian" architecture and art was J. Strzygowski, *Die orientalische Kunst in Dalmatien* (Vienna, 1911), followed by an even more troubling book: Strzygowski, *O porijeklu starohrvatske umjetnosti* [On the Origins of Old Croatian Art] (Zagreb, 1927); also Strzygowski, *Early Church Art in Northern Europe* (London, 1928; reprinted New York, 1980), chapter 1 ("The Pre-Romanesque Art of the Croatians"). The nationalist approach was unfortunately resuscitated in the aftermath of the 1991–92 war.

196 In principal, this generally agrees with directions suggested by Rapanić, *Predromanicko doba u Dalmaciji*. For a similar approach, see V. J. Djurić, "Počeci umetnosti kod Srba," in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of the Serbian People], ed. S. Ćirković, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 1981), pp. 230–48; T. Marasović, "Byzantine Component in Dalmatian Architecture from 11th to 13th Century," in *Studenica et l'art Byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. Korać, pp. 455–61.

197 For a useful perspective on the "decline" and the "new beginnings" of towns in the Croatian context, as well as a critical assessment of earlier scholarship, see Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, pp. 172–83 (in Croatian), who also offers cautionary comments on the potential pitfalls of the relevant terminology.

198 I. Petricioli, "Remains of Residential Architecture in Romanesque Style in Zadar," *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 9 (1962), pp. 117–61 [in Croatian with an English summary].

199 P. Vežić, "O centralnim gradjevinama Zadra i Dalmacije u ranom srednjem vijeku" [The Centrally Planned Religious Structures of Zadar and Dalmatia in the Early Middle Medieval Period], *Diadora* 13 (1991), pp. 323–75 (English summary pp. 369–71).

200 Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana*, pp. 32–34. The church is also discussed by P. Vežić, "Elementi di architettura bizantina nelle costrucioni alto medievali di Zara" [Elements of Byzantine architecture among early medieval buildings in Zadar], *Hortus atrium medievalium* 4 (1998), 55–7, especially 62–64, with a particular emphasis on the role of Byzantine building tradition.

201 Ibid., pp. 72–75.

202 C. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru* [The Church and the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar] (Zagreb, 1931).

203 I. Petricioli, *Katedrala sv. Stošije u Zadru* [Cathedral of St. Anastasia in Zadar] (Zadar, 1985).

204 Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture*, pp. 133–35.

205 C. Fisković, "Romaničke kuće u Splitu i Trogiru" [Maisons romanes à Split et à Trogir] *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3rd ser., 2 (1952), pp. 129–78.

206 T. Marasović, "Iskapanje ranosrednjovjekovne crkve Sv. Marije u Trogiru" / "Fouilles à l'église de Sainte Marie du haut moyen âge à Trogir], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3rd ser., 8–9 (1963), pp. 83–100.

207 Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana*, p. 34.

208 Ibid., pp. 87–93; also: L. Karaman, "Dalmatinske katedrale" [Dalmatia's Cathedrals], *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 10 (1963), pp. 29–66.

209 C. Fisković, *Radovan* (Zagreb, 1965), an extensive monograph on Master Radovan, but focused primarily on his main work – the portal of Trogir Cathedral.

210 G. Novak, *Povijest Splita* [History of Split], vol. 1 (Split, 1957), pp. 485–535, discusses the appearance of Split during the Middle Ages.

211 Fisković, "Romaničke kuće u Splitu i Trogiru," pp. 129–78.

212 Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture*, pp. 141–42 (St. Euphemia) and p. 157 (Gospa od zvonika).

213 D. Kečkemet, "Restauracija zvonika splitske katedrale" [Restoration of the Split Cathedral Belfry], *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 6–7 (1956), pp. 37–78 [in Croatian with a French summary].

214 L. Karaman, *Andrija Buvina: Vratnice splitske katedrale i drveni kor u splitskoj katedrali* (Zagreb, 1960) [in Croatian with an English summary, pp. 43–49].

215 Z. Peković, *Dubrovnik: Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnoga grada* [La fondation et le développement de la ville médiévale] (Split, 1998).

216 An important testimony of the growth of Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century is its Statute, codified in 1272, and elaborated in 1296 and 1335; cf. V. Bogišić, *Le Statut de Raguse* (Paris, 1984), and more recently in Croatian: B. Bogišić, *Statut grada Dubrovnika, 1272* (Dubrovnik, 1990). Though several decades younger than the Statute of Venice (1213), the Dubrovnik Statute appears to have borrowed very little from the Venetian antecedent.

217 J. Stošić, "Prikaz nalaza ispod katerdrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku," in *Archaeological Researches in Dubrovnik and Its Surroundings* (Zagreb, 1988), pp. 15–38 [in Croatian with an English summary, pp. 36–38].

218 C. Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji* [The First Known Builders in Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik, 1955), especially pp. 23–29 [in Croatian with a French summary].

219 I. Stevović, "Jednobrodne kupolne crkve u Dubrovniku u vreme vizantijske vlasti" [Single-Naved Churches with One Dome in Dubrovnik during the Byzantine Rule], *Zograf* 21 (1990), pp. 18–30.

220 M. Čanak-Medić, *Arhitektura Nemanjinog doba / L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. II: *Crkve u Polimlju i na Primorju / Églises de la vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique* (Belgrade, 1989), pp. 119–36.

221 V. J. Djurić, "Kotorske crkve oko 1200. godine i njihovo poreklo" [Les églises de Kotor vers 1200 et leur origins], *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 25 (1989), pp. 1–20, who reexamines the question of the origins of single-cell domed churches along the Adriatic littoral, focusing on the relatively late monuments in Kotor.

222 Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. II, pp. 203–32.

223 V. Korać, "Prvobitna arhitektonska koncepcija kotorske katedrale XII veka: njeno poreklo i njen značaj za arhitekturu u Zeti i Raškoj" [La conception première de la cathédrale de Kotor [XIIe s.]: ses origins et son importance pour l'architecture de la Zeta et de la Rascie] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 3 (1967), pp. 3–30 [in Serbian with a French summary], an important study of the church, though partially superseded by the results of the most recent work on the building (see note 224 below).

224 M. Čanak-Medić, "Katedrala Svetog Tripuna kao izraz umetničkih prilika u Kotoru sredinom XII veka" [The Cathedral of St. Tryphon as an Expression of Artistic Conditions in Kotor around the Middle of the 13th Century], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 36 (1997), pp. 83–98 [in Serbian with a French summary].

225 The question of "Old Croatian basilicas" is critically reviewed by Rapanić, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji*, pp. 169ff.

226 Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana*, p. 34 and p. 42.

227 The names of the two churches are sometimes interchanged; see Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture*, pp. 120 and 122–23.

228 Ibid., pp. 156–57.

229 Ibid., pp. 153–54.

230 Ibid., pp. 54–55.

231 Ibid., pp. 135–36, and fig. 27.

232 M. Zadnikar, *Stična in zgodnaja arhitektura Cistercijanov* [Stična and Early Cistercian Architecture] (Ljubljana, 1977).

233 M. Zadnikar, *Kostanjevički kloster "Fontis S. Mariae"* (Ljubljana, 1994).

234 T. Marasović, "Regionalizam u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi Dalmacije" [Regionalism in Early Medieval Architecture in Dalmatia], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3rd ser., 14 (1984), pp. 135f. Idem., "Byzantine Component in Dalmatian Architecture," pp. 455–61. D. Domančić, "Graditeljstvo ranog srednjeg vijeka na Braču" [Early Medieval Building on Brač], in *Brač u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Povlja, 1984), notwithstanding his valuable recording of numerous unpublished small churches on the island of Brač, has contributed to an apparent growing trend toward an ever more narrowly defined approach to the problem.

235 I. Stevović, "O prvobitnom izgledu i vremenu gradnje crkve Sv. Mihajla u Stonu" [Sur l'aspect originel de la construction de l'eglise Saint-Michel a Ston] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 35 (1996), pp. 175–95.

236 Marasović, "Byzantine Component," p. 457, with older literature. More recently, P. Vežić, "Elementi di architettura bizantina nelle costruzioni alto medievali di Zara," *Hortus artium medievalium* 4 (1998), especially pp. 66–68.

237 Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture*, p. 125.

238 M. Popović, "Crkvina à Panik," *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* n. s. 6, v. A (1979), pp. 249–58.

239 The literature on the church is extensive. I. Petricioli, "Crkva Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine" [The Church of the Holy Saviour at the Source of the Cetina River], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3rd ser., 22 (1995), pp. 19–28 [in Croatian with an English summary], provides a detailed historiographical overview of the subject; also T. Marasović, "Crkva Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine: Prilog tipološkoj analizi" [The Church of St. Saviour at the Source of the Cetina River], ibid., pp. 37–54 [in Croatian with an English summary], appear in an issue of this periodical entirely devoted to the church of Sv. Spas. The tenor of most articles, unfortunately, is colored by current political preoccupations, possibly affecting some of the scholarly conclusions. All scholars contributing to this volume argue for a ninth-century date for Sv. Spas, against earlier opinions of noted Croatian historians, according to whom the building should be dated to the eleventh century. The earliest writers on the subject, referred to the building as "a mixture of Latin and Byzantine forms" and as "Croato-Byzantine," respectively, against the current point of view that rejects any Byzantine associations.

240 M. Jurković, "Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine i problem *westwerka* u hrvatskoj predromanici" [The Church of the Saviour at the Source of the Cetina River and the Westwork [*sic*] in the Croatian Pre-Romanesque], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3rd ser., 22 (1995), pp. 55–80 [in Croatian with a substantial English summary].

241 I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, 3 vols. (Split, 1963–65).

242 M. Popović, "Monastère St. Pierre de Campo près de Trebinje," *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* n. s., 6 (1979), pp. 271–82.

243 Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. II, pp. 147–67.

244 M. Čanak-Medić, "Prvobitna zamisao kupolnog dela Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici" [La premiere conception de l'ensemble de coupoles couvrant l'église de la Vierge à Studenica], *Raska bastina* 2 (1980), pp. 27–42.

245 M. Čanak-Medić, "Dvojne kule na pročelju crkava Nemanjinog doba" [Tours géminées sur la façade des églises de l'époque de

Nemanja], in *Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi: istorija i predanje*, ed. J. Kalić (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 181–97.

246 P. Vežić, "O centralnim gradjevinama Zadra i Dalmacije u ranom srednjem vijeku" [The Centrally Planned Religious Structures of Zadar and Dalmatia in the Early Medieval Period], *Diadora* 13 (1991), pp. 323–75, is the most comprehensive recent study dealing with all centralized buildings in Dalmatia.

247 Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana*, pp. 80–81.

248 J. Nešković, "Crkva Sv. Jovana u Zatonu na Limu," [The church of St. John in the village of Zaton on the river Lim] *Saopštenja* 35–36 (2003–04), pp. 61–77.

249 V. Korać, "L'architecture du haut Môyen Age en Dioclée et Zeta," especially pp. 159–61.

250 Vežić, "O centralnim gradjevinama Zadra i Dalmacije u ranom srednjem vijeku" pp. 323–71; for Rogačići, see I. Čremošnik, "Izvještaj o iskopinama u Rogačićima kod Blažuja" [Compte rendu sur les fouilles à Rogačići près de Blažuj] *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* n. s., 8 (1953), pp. 303–15.

251 Korać, "L'architecture du haute môyen age en Dioclée et Zeta", especially pp. 159–61.

252 The term is used freely to describe a complex set of developments on the territories of the modern state of Greece during the thirteenth century. A brief historical outline may be found in Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 64–65 and 69–80. The main work on the Franks in southern parts of Greece is A. Bon, *La Morée franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaie* (Paris, 1969).

253 For the most comprehensive recent overview of historiography on the subject, see C. Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," pp. 247–62. See also B. Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago, IL, and London, 1979), as well as P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders, eds., *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, Oxbow Monograph 59 (Oxford, 1996).

254 Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece*, pp. 27–42.

255 Ibid., pp. 42–52.

256 Ibid., pp. 64–77; also articles by N. K. Cooper and M. L. Coulson in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. Lock and Sanders, pp. 29–47 and pp. 48–59, respectively.

257 A helpful micro-regional study is B. D. Borisov, "Settlements of Northeast Thrace," *Archaeologica Bulgarica* 5–2 (2001), pp. 77–92.

258 A. Kirin, "The Rotunda of St. George and Late Antique Serdica: From Imperial Palace to Episcopal Complex," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (2002), especially pp. 26–32.

259 S. Boĭadzhiev, "Krepostno stroitelstvo prez Vtoroto b'lgarskoto tsarstvo" [Fortification Building During the Second Bulgarian Empire], in *Krepostno stroitelstvo po b'lgarskite zemi*, ed. P. Balabanov et al. (Sofia, 2000), pp. 193–252.

260 V. Dintchev, "Zikideva: An Example of Early Byzantine Urbanism in the Balkans," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 1/3 (1997), pp. 54–77, for the identification of the site and a comprehensive analysis of its urban history during the Early Byzantine period.

261 Comparable examples of a similar move from a flatland site to a nearby higher elevation under similar circumstances exist from the late antique era. A notable case is that of Kourion, in Cyprus, where the ancient town appears to have been abandoned by the seventh century, whereas a nearby hill site – now known as Episkopi-Serayia – seems to have come into being as its direct successor; see H. Wylde Swiny, ed., *An Archaeological Guide to the Ancient Kourion Area and the Akrotiri Peninsula* (Nicosia, 1982), pp. 153–54. In both instances the seat of the local bishop was moved to a new, more secure location.

262 K. Miiatev et al., eds., *Tsarevgrad T'rnov*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1973), and subsequent volumes in the series, include comprehensive excavation reports and results of research based on these excavations. A. Popov and I. Aleksiev, *Tsarstvuvastiiat grad T'rnov: arkheologicheski prouchvaniia* (Sofia, 1985), is an excellent summary of the results of all excavations to date.

263 As a case in point we can refer to the acropolis of Iustiniana Prima discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 211–12.

264 N. Angelov, "Tsarskiiat dvorets i Patriiarshiata na Tsarevets," in Popov and Aleksiev, *Tsarstvuvshiiat grad T'rnov. Arkheologicheski prouchvaniia*, pp. 43–52.

265 Ibid., pp. 52–63.

266 See Chapter 6, pp. 24–26.

267 A. Popov, *T'rnovska Velika Lavra* (n. p., 1985) [English text, pp. 43–48].

268 I. Nikolova and M. Robov, *Khram't na p'rvite Asenevtsi: Ts'rkvata 'Su. Dimit'r v'v Veliko T'rnovo* [The Temple (*sic*) of the First Assens] (Veliko T'rnovo, 2005) [in Bulgarian with an English summary].

269 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, "Arkhitekturni osobenosti na ts'rkvite s's stegnat kr'st ot perioda na razvitiia feodaliz'm v B'lgariia" [Architectural Characteristics of Compact Cross Churches from the Period of Mature Feudalism in Bulgaria], *Izsledvaniia v'rkhu arkhitekturata na b'lgarskoto srednovekovie*, ed. S. Boĭadzhiev et al. (Sofia, 1982), pp. 131–99.

270 Most recently, B. Penkova, "Bolgarskie tserkvi grobnits'i," *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Vizantiia i Drevniaia Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 143–54 [German summary: "Die Bulgarischen Grabenkirchen], with extensive older literature on the subject. The two-storied arrangement is viewed by most scholars as a reflection of the funerary function of the churches in question. While certainly applicable in a number of important examples, this "formula" cannot be universally employed.

271 It was already K. Mijatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sophia, 1974), p. 171, who suggested that the exclusive function of the "crypt" of the Bogorodica Petrichka was to provide a substructure, necessitated by the sloping terrain.

272 H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *Jahrbuch der österreichishen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979), pp. 261–96.

273 Mijatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*, p. 180.

274 S. Boĭadzhiev, "V'prosa za datirovkata na dvete ts'rkvi v Bachkovskiia manastir," *Rodopski zbornik* 3 (1972), pp. 79–103 [French summary: "Sur la datation des deux eglises du monastere de Bačkovo].

275 G. Stoikov, *Arkhitekturni problemi na Boianskata ts'rkva* (Sofia, 1965), remains the only serious study of the architecture of the church. A more recent volume of the periodical *Problemi na izkustvoto* 28/A (1995) contains nine important articles devoted to the various aspects of the Boiana church and its historiography, but none of them deals with its architecture.

276 Mijatev, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*, pp. 166–71, identified the monuments belonging to this group as representing a "provincial variant" of the cross-in-square type. He was followed in his interpretation by Chaneva-Dechevska, *Tsrkovnata arkhitekturata v B'lgariia prez XI–XIV vek*, pp. 88–94, who also added the church in the village of Ruen, near Plovdiv, to the group.

277 Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus*, especially pp. 29–30.

278 Long believed to have been built in the fourteenth century, on the basis of newly discovered fine Byzantine frescoes of *circa* 1100, it is

now clear that this is a Byzantine building: L. Prashkov, "Novootkritie rospisi rubezha XI–XII vv. v kladbishchenskoi tserkvi arkhangela Mikhaila v gorode Rila, v Bolgarii" [Newly Discovered Fragments of Medieval Wall Paintings of the 12th Century in the Cemetery Church of St. Archangel Michael in Rila, Bulgaria] in *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Rus' i stran'i vizantiiskogo mira, XII vek*, pp. 100–14.

279 Chaneva-Dechevska, *Tsŭrkovnata arkhitektura v B'lgariia prez XI–XIV vek*, pp. 94–95.

280 For the early medieval history of Serbia, see S. Ćirković, *I Serbi nel Medioevo* (Milan, 1992). Also, most recently, idem., *The Serbs* (Oxford, 2004).

281 M. Popović, *The Fortress of Ras* (Belgrade, 1999) [in Serbian with an extensive English summary].

282 Pioneering studies of medieval architecture of Serbia paid little or no attention to monastic complexes as entities, but were focused almost exclusively on ecclesiastical buildings; see n. 290 below. S. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Cross in Circle: Architecture of Monasteries in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1994) [in Serbian with an English summary, pp. 475–86], is a major study, not only of monastic architecture in medieval Serbia, but also of various aspects of the monastic architectural tradition in the Byzantine cultural sphere in general.

283 Ibid., especially pp. 60–65, on the relationship between the two traditions.

284 S. Popović, *The Architectural Iconography of the Late Byzantine Monastery* (Toronto, 1997). The term "architectural iconography" as used in this context refers to particular programmatic functional and symbolic features of Byzantine, as well as Serbian monasteries.

285 S. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* ("Manastirske trpezarije od XII do XV veka" – Monastery refectories from the 12th to the 15th centuries) pp. 242–76.

286 J. Nešković, *Djurdjevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu* (Kraljevo, 1984) [in Serbian with a French summary].

287 O. Kandić, S. Popović, and R. Zarić, *Manastir Mileševa* (Belgrade, 1995) (in Serbian), is a convenient up-to-date short account of the history, architecture, and art of the monastery. For more detailed accounts of various aspects of the architecture of the monastery, see also Popović *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u sredujevekovnoj srbiji*, especially pp. 164–69, and pp. 290–94; also M. Čanak-Medić and O. Kandić, *Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka* [*L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle*], vol. I: *Crkve u Raškoj* [*Églises de Rascie*] (Belgrade, 1995), especially pp. 119–22, where the history of the monastery is presented in detail.

288 O. Kandić and D. Milošević, *Monastery Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1986), is a convenient short account of the monastery in English. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, pp. 170–74.

289 S. Popović, "The Serbian Episcopal Sees in the Thirteenth Century," *Starinar* n. s., 51 (2002), pp. 171–82.

290 The initial identification of Serbian medieval architecture as a separate historical phenomenon, and thereby its scholarly isolation from the larger Balkan context, as in the case of Bulgaria, was due to non-Serbian scholars, e.g., P. Pokrishkin, *Pravoslavnaiā tserkovnaiā arkhitektura XII–XVIII stol. v nineshem Serbskom Korovlevstvie* (St. Petersburg, 1906), and especially G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe* (Paris, 1919), upon whose influential pioneering work the entire modern historiographical tradition rests. Following the First World War, and especially the Second World War, the study of Serbian medieval architecture passed almost exclusively into the hands of Serbian scholars. The main general history of the subject remains A. Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1953; also 1985, 3rd edition). When treated within larger studies of Byzantine architecture, the architecture of Serbia is also dealt with independently and, by and large, superficially; see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 433–40, Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 175–80.

291 M. Čanak-Medić, "Neka pitanja hronologije raških spomenika" [Problèmes de chronologie des monuments de Rascie], *Saopštenja* 17 (1985), 7–20. S. Ćurčić, "Origins of Thirteenth-Century Church Architecture in Serbia," in *Abstracts of Papers: Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (Madison, WI, 1976), pp. 21–22, where an outline of the ideas expressed here was first presented.

292 Čanak-Medić and Bosković, *L'architecture de l'epoque de Nemanja*, vol. I, pp. 26–28, offers a critical review of older scholarship on the subject.

293 J. Nešković, *Djurdjevi stupovi u Starom Rasu*, pp. 229–37, is the most thorough study of the monument following an extensive archaeological investigation and partial restoration. Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. I, pp. 55–69, largely based on Nešković, provides a useful assessment of unresolved issues in the study of the building (pp. 65–68).

294 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. I, pp. 79–117 (with a detailed bibliography), is the most useful general survey, though a number of special monographic studies and specialized articles are invaluable for the study of this important monument. Most of these, published before the Čanak-Medić and Bošković study, are listed in their bibliography. Important for a number of individual shorter special studies contained therein is *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. Korać.

295 M. Čanak-Medić, "Prvobitna zamisao kupolnog dela Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici" [The Original Conception of the Domed Part of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica], *Raška baština* 2 (1980), pp. 27–42.

296 S. Ćurčić, "Exonarthex of Hilandar," in *Osam vekova manastira Hilandara*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 2000), especially pp. 480–82, where this concept was first outlined.

297 D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje (Montenegro): ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der serbischen Architektur* (Munich, 1978), is the only comprehensive monograph on the building, though not without some serious flaws. For a critical updating and a more recent bibliography, see M. Čanak-Medić, *Arhitektura Nemanjinog doba / L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. II, *Crkve u Polimlju i na Primorju / Églises de la vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique* (Belgrade, 1989), pp. 47–84.

298 M. Čanak-Medić, "Tours géminées sur la façade des églises de l'époque de Nemanja," in *Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi, Istorija i predanje*, ed. Kalić, (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 181–96 [in Serbian with a French summary], reviews some general issues and the problem of the relationship of architecture in continental Serbia with that of the southern Adriatic littoral.

299 On this and the place of the church of Sv. Petar in regional developments, see I. Stevović, "Monuments in the principal Regions of the Serbian State in the 12th Century and the Termination of One of the Routes of Transmission of Byzantine Architectural Influences on the Balkans," in *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Rus' i stran'i vizantiiskogo mira XII vek*, pp. 18–32.

300 Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. II, pp. 87–108, offers the most comprehensive discussion of this church.

301 Korać, "Les églises a nef unique avec une coupole", pp. 10–14. Also: M. Čanak-Medić,

"Une variante des églises cruciformes à nef unique dans l'architecture médiévale Serbe," in *XIV Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongres: Akten*, vol. II/4 (Vienna, 1982), pp. 501–10.

302 It is notable that the interior dimensions of the two churches show remarkable similarities. On this, see M. Čanak-Medić, "Žička Spasova crkva: Zamisao Sv. Save" [The Church of the Holy Saviour in Žiča: The Conception of St. Sava], in *Saint Sava in the Serbian History and Tradition*, ed. S. Ćirković (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 173–87, especially p. 184.

303 M. Canak-Medić, "Architecture de l'église du Saint-Sauveur à Zitcha et du narthex de Radoslav à Studenica," *Saopštenja* 24 (1992), pp. 7–49, especially pp. 28–29 and fig. 20 [in Serbian with a French summary].

304 S. Ćurčić, "Smisao i funkcija katihumena u poznovizantijskoj i srpskoj arhitekturi" [The Meaning and Function of Katechoumenia in Late Byzantine and Serbian Architecture], in *Manastir Žiča: Zbornik radova* (Kraljevo, 2000), pp. 83–93 [in Serbian with an English summary]. Also, idem, "Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers: Survival of an Early Byzantine Monastic Concept and Its Meaning," in *Sofia. Sbornik Statei po iskusstvu Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi v Chest A. I. Komecha* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 491–512.

305 V. Korać, *Studenica Hvostanska* (Belgrade, 1976); review by S. Ćurčić in *Byzantine Studies / Études Byzantines* 9, no. 1 (1982), 141–45. Čanak-Medić and Kandić, *Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka / L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIème siècle*, vol. I, *Crkve u Raškoj / Églises de Rascie* (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 173–84, provide the most recent account with the bibliographical update.

306 M. Čanak Medić, *Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka / L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIème siècle*, vol. 2, *Crkve u Raškoj / Églises de Rascie* (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 15–85, provides the most useful, up-to-date discussion of the architecture of the building, as well as its relationship both to the earlier and to the later buildings on the site.

307 Čanak-Medić and Kandić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle*, vol. I, pp. 119–43, takes into account the results of extensive wo rks carried out on the building during the 1980s and 1990s, and provides a comprehensive up-to-date bibliography.

308 O. Kandić and D. Milošević, *Sopoćani Monastery* (Belgrade, 1986), is a brief but useful monograph on this important monument.

309 V. Korać, "Saint Sava et l'origine du plan des églises de Rascie," in *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava: istorija i predanje* (Belgrade, 1979), pp. 231–44 [in Serbian with a French summary], correctly stresses the role of patrons as a major unrecognized factor in the creation of Serbian churches during this period.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1 J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987), chapters 4–9, is the only comprehensive history of the Balkans covering the period in question. Also useful are the following general works: D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), chapters 8, 9, and 11; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd edn. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), part VIII; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1993); as well as S. Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici: društva srednjovekovnog Balkana* [Workers, Soldiers, Spiritualists: Societies of the Medieval Balkans] (Belgrade, 1997), a series of essential collected essays published by the author over the years, most of which appeared initially in Western languages in various journals. More detailed historiographical coverage can be found only within the framework of national histories of the various Balkan countries.

2 For a brief, but useful outline of the impact of wars on the Balkans during the late Middle Ages, see G. G. Litavrine, "Les guerres dans les Balkans aux XIIe–XVe siècles et leurs conséquences économiques," *Armos*, vol. II (Thessaloniki, 1991), pp. 1075–80.

3 J. C. Russell, *Population in Europe, 500–1500*, Fontana Economic History of Europe, vol. I, section 1 (London, 1969), p. 19, estimates that between 1340 and 1450 the population of the Balkans declined by about 25 percent, from approximately 6–4.5 million people.

4 For an introduction to an aspect of related developments in the architecture of the region, see S. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity: An Introduction to Secular Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 19–51.

5 R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn., revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), chapters 18 and 19; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), chapters VIII and IX; H. Hallensleben, review of R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66/1 (March 1973), pp. 120–32, has never received the attention that its main points warrant, largely because of his excessive focus on minutiae and his generally negative tenor.

6 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, uses the term "epilogue" (p. 416), though admitting its "surprising vitality"; H. Buchwald, "The Concept of Style in Byzantine Architecture," in *Form, Style and Meaning in Byzantine Church Architecture* (Aldershot, 1999), chapter VII, especially p. 9, introduces the concept of "nostalgic eclecticism" as a way of dismissing Late Byzantine architecture as an essentially irrelevant phenomenon.

7 Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 539f.

8 The map is located in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Codex Latinus 7239, fols. 113v–114r. It has been published on several occasions since it was first made known in 1862 (E.-F. Jomard, *Les monuments de géographie* (Paris, 1862)]. G. A. Škrivanić, ed., *Monumenta cartographica Iugoslaviae*, vol. II (Belgrade, 1979), pp. 81–83, a text by M. Nikolić provides relevant information about the small fort of Smederevo, which dates the map in the most accurate terms.

9 On the role of Macedonia and its capital, Thessaloniki, with an emphasis on the Late Byzantine period, see A. E. Laiou, "Thessaloniki and Macedonia in the Byzantine Period," and J. Koder, "Macedonians and Macedonia in Byzantine Spatial Thinking," in *Byzantine Macedonia: Identity, Image and History*, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2000), pp. 1–11 and 12–28, respectively.

10 M. Popović, "Les forteresses dans les régions des conflits byzantinoserbes au XIVe siècle," in *Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century*, ed. E. Papadopoulou and D. Dialeti (Athens, 1996), pp. 67–87. I. Mikulčić, *Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini vo Makedonija* [Medieval Towns and Castles in the Republic of Macedonia] (Skopje, 1996) [in Macedonian with an English summary, pp. 363–68], provides a detailed catalogue of seventy-eight late medieval fortifications on the territory of the FYROM.

11 A. Tourta, "Fortifications of Gynaikokastro, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 110–13, with relevant earlier literature.

12 N. Bakirtzis and P. Oreopoulos, *An Essay*

on Byzantine Fortifications: Northern Greece, 4th–15th c. (Athens, 2001), pp. 33–39.

13 On the importance of the Via Egnatia during this period, see N. Oikonomides, "The Medieval Via Egnatia," in *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule, 1380–1699*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1996), pp. 11–16.

14 S. Dadakē, "Hē vyzantinē ochyrōsē tōn Serrōn" [The Byzantine Walls of Serres], in *Diethnes synedrio oi Serres kai hē periochē kai tous apo tēn archaia stē Metabyzantinē koinōnia, Proceedings* 1 (Thessaloniki, 1998), pp. 175–96, especially pp. 180–81.

15 A. Xyngopoulos, *Erevnai eis ta Byzantina mnēmia tōn Serrōn* [Research on Byzantine Monuments of Serres] (Thessaloniki, 1965), pp. 1–21, especially pp. 20–21 [in Greek with a French summary].

16 M. Korres and Ch. Bakirtzis, "Fortress of Pythion, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 158–161, and more recently K. Tsouris and A. Brikas, *To frourio tou pythiou kai to ergo tēs apokatastaseōs tou: prokatariktikē anakoinōsē* [The fortress of Pythion and the work on its restoration: preliminaty report] (Kavala, 2002) [in Greek with a substantial English summary]; as well now R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley* (Thessaloniki, 2007), pp. 145–54.

17 S. Boĭadzhiev, "Fortress near Matochina, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 162–65.

18 G. Karaiskai, "Fortress of Petrelë, Albania," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 156–57.

19 B. Papadopoulou, "Fortifications of Rogoi, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 102–03.

20 K. Lovredou-Tsigarida, *To kastro tou Platamōna* [The fortress of Platamonas] (Athens, 2006); also A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Ta kastra tou Platamōna kai tēs Orias Tempōn kai o Tekes tou Chasan Mpampa* [The Fortresses of Platamonas and Orias Tempon, and the Hasan Baba Teke] (Thessaloniki, 1972), especially pp. 11–61.

21 Most of the literature on Late Byzantine towers is of a specialized nature, addressing issues of individual towers or special small groups of towers. Recent years have witnessed a few syntheses of certain larger groups of towers: see S. Ćurčić, "Pyrgos-Stĭp-Donjon: A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos and Its Sources," in *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers* 7 (1981), pp. 21–22; P. Theocharides, "Observations on the Byzantine buttressed towers of Macedonia," *Byzantine Macedonia: Art, Architecture, Music, and Hagiography*, eds. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2001), pp. 20–28; S. Popović, "Pyrgos in the Late Byzantine Monastic Context," in *Manastir Žiča: Zbornik radova*, ed. D. Drašković and S. Djordjević (Kraljevo, 2000), pp. 95–107; T. Pazaras, ed., *Towers of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki, 2002), a very useful volume with twenty-eight essays on individual towers on Mount Athos.

22 P. Theocharides and I. Papangelos, "Tower, Galatista, Halkidiki, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 222–23.

23 N. Zekos, "Byzantinoi pyrgoi sto katō tmēma tēs koiladas tou Strymona," [Byzantine towers in the lower Strymon valley], in *Diethnes synedrio oi Serres kai he periochē tous apo tēn archaia stē Metabyzantinē koinōnia, Proceedings* 1 (Thessaloniki, 1998), pp. 311–38, especially pp. 319–20.

24 Pazaras, ed., *Towers of Mount Athos*.

25 S. Nenadović, "Odbrana manastira Hilandara," [La défense de Hilandar] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 8 (1972), pp. 91–115 [in Serbian with a French summary].

26 M. Kovačević, "The Hrusija Tower," in *Hilandar Monastery*, ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 187–96.

27 S. Ćurčić, "Tower of King Milutin, Mt. Athos, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 216–17.

28 P. Theocharidis, "The Byzantine Fortified Enclosure of the Monastery of Chelandariou: A Preliminary Report," *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989), especially p. 64 and n. 16. Most recent work on the tower of St. George within the complex of Hilandar Monastery, itself belonging to this group, suggests that its lower parts are much older than the thirteenth-century reconstruction of its top story. Indeed, the tower could be as early as the tenth century: M. Kovačević, "Fortification Walls and Towers," in *Hilandar Monastery*, ed. Subotić, pp. 133–44, especially p. 133.

29 Zekos, "Byzantinoi pyrgoi sto katō tmēma tēs koiladas tou Strymona."

30 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, "Khrel'o's Tower: Rila Monastery, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 234–35, with older literature on the subject. Most recently: A. Kirin, "Contemplating the Vistas of Piety at the Rila Monastery Pyrgos," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 2005), 95–138.

31 Zekos, "Byzantinoi pyrgoi sto katō tmēma tēs koiladas tou Strymona."

32 P. Theocharides, "Tower, Mariana, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 220–21.

33 P. Theocharides, "Tower of Kaletzi (Kolitsou), Mt. Athos, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 218–19.

34 For the two examples referred to, see *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 214–15 (Karytaina) and pp. 226–27 (Phonias).

35 Lj. Maksimović, "Charakter der sozialwissenschaftlichen Struktur der spätbyzantinischen Stadt", in *Akten xvi. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress i. Hauptereferate [Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1] (1981), pp. 149–88; also Maksimović, "Poznovizantijski grad – slom ili renesansa jednog srednjovekovnog društva?" [Late Byzantine City – Collapse or Rebirth of a Medieval Society?], in Maksimović, *Grad u Vizantiji. Ogledi o društvu poznovizantijskog doba* [City in the Byzantine Empire: Studies on Late Byzantine Society] (Belgrade, 2003), pp. 181–98. A useful contribution to the potential archaeological perspective of the problem is F. Karayani, "Settlements of the Middle and Late Byzantine Period in Macedonia through Archaeological Data," *Mnēmeio kai perivallon* 7 (2001), pp. 57–77 [in Greek with a substantial English summary].

36 R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 6 (1980), pp. 13–41; A.-M. Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael viii," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), pp. 243–61; Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos ii: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001), pp. 329–43. K.-P. Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, pp. 315–28.

37 D. Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, pp. 277–97, has shown that the picture may not have been as bleak as is commonly believed. At the same time, he admits that whatever the Latins may have contributed departed from the spirit of

the Byzantine imperial metropolis. See also V. Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era," *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York, 2006), pp. 98–117: Ch. Bouras, "Architecture in Constantinople in the Thirteenth Century," *Byzantine Art in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Athens, 2007), pp. 105–112.

38 M. Ahunbay, "Tekfur Saray, Istanbul, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 248–51.

39 Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 155.

40 S. Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnēmeio kai perivallon* 6 (2000), pp. 11–41, especially pp. 11–18.

41 J. Schultz, "The Restoration of the Fondaco dei Turchi," *Annali di architettura* 7 (1995), pp. 19–38.

42 W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), p. 243.

43 Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans," pp. 33–36.

44 U. Peschlow, "Die befestigte Residenz von Mermerkule: Beobachtungen an einem spätbyzantinischen Bau im Verteidigungssystem von Konstantinopel," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001), pp. 385–403.

45 S. Ćurčić and K. Anadol, "Galata Tower, Istanbul, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 228–29.

46 For the column of St. Michael, see Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," pp. 258–60, where all aspects of the evidence are examined, and the significance of this monument is considered.

47 The most comprehensive historical discussion of Late Byzantine buildings in Constantinople is V. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurirung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1994). Also useful is S. Eyice, *Son Devir Byzans Mimârisi: İstanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anitları* (Istanbul, 1980) [in Turkish with a German summary], though it also includes monuments that cannot be attributed to the Palaeologan era, such as Gül Camii and the Panaghia Heybeliada.

48 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 126–31.

49 A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos tōn vizantinōn ktiriōn tēs Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens, 1973).

50 H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979), pp. 261–96.

51 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, p. 109; also Eyice, *Son Devir Byzans Mimârisi*, pp. 72–78, and pls. 123–30.

52 H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemahligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13–14 (1963–64), pp. 128–93.

53 A.-M. Talbot, "Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), especially pp. 77–79.

54 R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, DC, 1987).

55 Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), especially pp. 226–27.

56 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 169–71; H. Hallensleben, "Zur Annexbauten der Kilise Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 15 (1965), pp. 323–30.

57 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 79–80.

58 R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York, 1988), p. 92. A detailed account of the role of the supervising builders is given by Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," p. 322.

59 Here we may usefully recall that the design and construction of the cathedral of Milan, between 1389 and 1401, brought in a stream of foreign experts, invited to advise on various matters related to the building; see R. Wittkower, *Gothic vs. Classic: Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (New York, 1974), pp. 22–24. Nor should one forget that the Grand Duke of Moscow, thirty years after the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia, faced the collapse of the partially finished cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, Moscow. This prompted him also to invite an Italian master, Aristotle Fioravanti from Bologna, to finish the ill-fated project; see G. H. Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia*, 3rd edn. (Harmondsworth and New York, 1983), p. 191.

60 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, pp. 100–01.

61 On this important topic, see R. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture," in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, NJ, 1991), especially p. 78.

62 J. Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 5–33, for the latest assessment of the history of Thessaloniki in Late Byzantine times; C. Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 35–64, is a most useful up-to-date study of the city based on current archaeological results and the latest interpretation of textual evidence.

63 Sadly, a history of Late Byzantine architecture in Thessaloniki has never been written. Worse, not a single of its important churches has been the subject of a detailed published study. Two general articles with very specialized approaches may be singled out: A. Goulaki-Voutira, "Zur Identifizierung von paläologenzeitigen Kirchen in Saloniki," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34 (1984), pp. 255–64, and P. Vocotopulos, "Church Architecture in Thessaloniki in the 14th Century: Remarks on Typology," in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituals au XIVe siècle*, ed. R. Samardžić (Belgrade, 1987), pp. 107–16.

64 The notion of the "art of Constantinople in exile" has been in use in the context of studies on Byzantine painting during the thirteenth century for some time.

65 See pp. 512–13 above.

66 S. Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 65–84.

67 C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, ed., *Thessaloniki and Its Monuments* (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 28–33, provides a brief, but useful outline of the main interventions on the city walls, including the Late Byzantine undertakings (pp. 31–33), with illustrations of relevant inscriptions and monograms appearing on the walls.

68 E. Tsanana, *The Eptapyrgion: The Citadel of Thessaloniki* (Athens, 2001).

69 Preliminary results of the dendrochronological tests carried out on the monument by C. L. Striker indicate that most of the visible work was done in 1430–31, in remarkable correspondence with the date appearing in the inscription.

70 Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in

the Balkans," especially pp. 37–39, for a more detailed account.

71 M. Rautman, "Observations on the Byzantine Palaces in Thessaloniki," *Byzantion* 60 (1990), pp. 300–06.

72 Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," passim.

73 S. Kissas, "Srpski srednjevekovni spomenici u Solunu" [Les monuments serbes médiévaux à Thessalonique], *Zograf* 11 (1980), pp. 29–43, especially pp. 29–34. Most recently: C. Giros, "Présence athonite à Thessalonique, XIIIe–XVe siècles," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 265–78. For the properties associated with Hilandar Monastery, see also M. Živojinović, "The Houses of Hilandar Monastery in Thessalonike during the Fourteenth Century," in *To Ellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. J. S. Langdon et al., vol. 1 (New Rochelle, NY, 1993), pp. 465–72.

74 D. Papachryssanthou, "Maisons modestes à Thessalonique au XIVe siècle," in *Ametos, stē mnēmē phōtē Apostolopoulou* (Athens, 1984), pp. 254–67.

75 R.-S. Tripsiani-Omirou, "Byzantine Baths, Thessaloniki, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 314–17.

76 A. Zombou-Asimi, "Bey Hamam, Thessaloniki, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 318–21.

77 The problem was broached early by O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatroziemme siècle* (Paris, 1913), expecially pp. 97–129, who viewed the urban changes as a result of the Late Byzantine urban development of the city. The question has been raised again by the urban historians of the modern city; see A. Yerolymbos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820–1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1996).

78 E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens, 1997), pp. 45–47.

79 A. Goulaki Voutira, "Zur Identifizierung von paläologenzeitlichen Kirchen in Saloniki," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34 (1984), pp. 255–64 (pp. 258–59 for Hagios Panteleimon), considers the broader question of identity of several Thessalonikan churches, but not all of her identifications have met with general approval.

80 Ibid., pp. 260–61.

81 A virtually identical façade solution may be seen in the open narthex of the Byzantine church (now known as Fatih Camii) at Enez (originally Ainos); see Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 154. The exonarthex is dated variously to the twelfth or to the fourteenth century, but the earlier date has now been demonstrated as correct; see Ch. 7, p. 404, no. 127.

82 A detailed architectural study of Hagia Aikatherini is being prepared by E. Hadjitryphonos.

83 Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," pp. 68–70.

84 M. Rautman, "The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki: A Study in Early Palaeologan Architecture", Ph.D dissertation, University of Indiana (1984), the most recent study of the architecture of the church, but unfortunately it remains unpublished.

85 P. Kuniholm and C. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Architectura* 20/1 (1990), pp. 1–26, produces evidence based on the study of structural wood in the church, according to which the church should be dated *circa* 1328. This evidence would negate the indisputable historical evidence on the building, and therefore we cannot accept it.

86 M. Rautman, "Patrons and Buildings in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 39 (1989), pp. 295–315.

87 A. Xyngopoulos, *Tessares mikroi naoi tēs Thessalonikēs ek tōn chronōn Palaiologōn* (Thessaloniki, 1952), is still a basic study with good architectural drawings.

88 E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, *The Church of Christ the Saviour, Thessaloniki* (Athens, 2008).

89 A. Papazotos, "The Identification of the Church of 'Profitis Elias' in Thessaloniki," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), pp. 121–27.

90 S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Palaeologan Architecture," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 13 (1971), pp. 333–44.

91 G. Velenis, "Gyro apo ena katastrammeno vyzantino ktirio tēs Thessalonikēs" [Concerning a Ruined Byzantine Building in Thessaloniki], in *Amētos: Timētikos tomos gia ton kathēgētē M. Androniko* (Thessaloniki, 1986), pp. 119–27.

92 Ibid.; ruins of another gate stood on the present street of Agiou Pavlou at least as late as 1918, but has since been destroyed. Situated in the vicinity of the Monastery of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, this seems to have been a monastery gate, though it is uncertain to which monastery it may have belonged.

93 Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," see the concluding remarks, p. 64.

94 N. Moutsopoulos, "Redina, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 82–85. For a full account, see Moutsopoulos, *Rentina*, vol. I (Thessaloniki, 1995), vol. II (Athens, 2001), vol. III (Thessaloniki, 2002), and vol. IV (Thessaloniki, 2000) [in Greek].

95 N. Moutsopoulos, *Rentina, IV: Oi ekklēsies tou vyzantinou oikismou* [Rentina, IV: The Churches of the Byzantine Burg] (Thessaloniki, 2000), pp. 295–334; also Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," pp. 72–73.

96 T. Papazōtos, *Hē Veroia kai oi naoi tēs, IIos–18os ai* [Veria and its Monuments, IIth–18th cent.] (Athens, 1994) [in Greek with an extensive English summary].

97 V. N. Papadopoulou, *Hē Vizantinē Arta kai ta mnēmeia tēs* [Byzantine Arta and its Monuments] (Athens, 2002). D. Pallas, "Epirus," *Realexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* vol. II, columns 207–334; also G. Velenis, "Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Origins of the School," *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine* [Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200], ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 279–85.

98 L. Theis, *Die Architektur der Kirche der Panagia Parēgorētissa in Arta/Epirus* (Amsterdam, 1991), is the most recent monograph on the subject. A. K. Orlandos, *Hē Parēgorētissa tēs Artēs* (Athens, 1963), despite its publication date, is still basic.

99 P. L. Vokotopoulos, *Pantanassa Philippiados* (Athens, 2007), presenting the results of the excavations of this important monument.

100 G. Karaiskaj, "Fortifications of Berat, Albania," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 114–15.

101 G. Koch, *Albanien: Kulturdenkmäler eines unbekanten Landes aus 2200 Jahren* (Marburg, 1985), pp. 56–57 (Archangel Michael) and pp. 60–62 (Hagia Triada).

102 Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 422–34, especially p. 434.

103 D. Bošković and K. Tomovski, "L'architecture médiévale d'Ohrid," *Zbornik na trudovi* [Recuil de travaux: Musée national d'Ohrid] (Ohrid, 1961), despite being outdated, remains the only comprehensive overview of the medieval architecture of Ohrid.

104 H. Hallensleben, "Die architekturgeschichtliche Stellung der Kirche Sv. Bogorodica Peri-

bleptos (Sv. Kliment) in Ohrid," *Zbornik: Arheološki muzej na Makedonija* 6–7 (1975), pp. 297–31.

105 The latest chapter in the sad saga of this site has involved the destruction of the remains of the Imaret Camii and the rebuilding on the old foundations of the church of St. Clement. Thus this important site for the history of Ohrid has been irretrievably lost (cf. Epilogue, pp. 825–26).

106 B. M. Schellewald, "Die Architektur der Sophienkirche in Ohrid," Ph.D dissertation, Rheinisch Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1982 (Bonn, 1986); B. Čipan, *St. Sophia, the Cathedral Church of the Ohrid Archbishopric: A Chronology of Its Architecture* (Skopje, 1996), the latest monographic study, but shot through with numerous inaccuracies and arbitrary interpretations.

107 V. Korać, *Spomenici monumentalne srpske arhitekture XIV veka u Povardarju* [Les monuments de l'architecture serbe du XIVe siècle dans la region de Povardarje] (Belgrade, 2003), pp. 243–58. Zaum is included in this corpus of monuments despite the fact that it is not located in the Vardar valley.

108 G. Subotić, *Sveti Konstantin i Jelena u Ohridu* [L'église des Saints Constantin et Hélène à Ohrid] (Belgrade, 1971).

109 C. Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Thrace, AD 330–1453," in *Thrace*, ed. V. Papoulia et al. (Athens, 1994), especially pp. 199–206.

110 The exact date of the Ottoman conquest varies among modern authors. The date given here is based on H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London, 1995), p. 208.

111 A. Yerolympos, "A Contribution to the Topography of 19th-Century Adrianople," *Balkan Studies* 34/1 (1993), pp. 49–72.

112 G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York, 1987), pp. 55–57.

113 I. Büyükdigan, "Tahtkale Hamam, Edirne, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 330–31.

114 A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago and London, 1968), pp. 124–25.

115 Ibid., pp. 177–81.

116 For a convenient summary treatment of the Edirne palaces, see U. Vogt-Göknil, *Living Architecture: Ottoman* (London, 1966), pp. 145–47.

117 S. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity: An Introduction to Secular Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, especially pp. 40–41.

118 S. E. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003), pp. 147–234.

119 A.-M. Simatou and R. Christodoulopoulou, "Paratērēseis ston mesaiōniko oikismo tou Gerakiou" [Observations on the Medieval Town of Geraki], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 15 (1989–90), pp. 67–88.

120 N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Dēmētrokallēs, *Geraki: oi ekklēsies tou oikkismou* [Géraki: les églises du bourgade] (Thessaloniki, 1981), for the discussion of the architecture and frescoes of the churches of Geraki.

121 S. Runciman, *Mistra, Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnèse* (London, 1980). P. Kalamara and A. Mexia, eds., *The City of Mystras* (Athens, 2001). The most useful up-to-date overview of all of the main monuments of Mistra is S. Sinos, "Mistra," *Reallexikon zur byzanischen Kunst* VI (1999), columns 380–518.

122 C. Bouras, "Mistra, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 76–79, provides a good general introduction to the urbanism of Mistra with relevant older literature.

123 S. Sinos, "Organisation und Form des byzantinischen Palastes von Mystras," *Architectura* (1987), pp. 105–28. The main palace hall has recently been reconstructed.

124 C. Bouras, "Palace of the Despots, Mistra, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 242–43.

125 The principal study on residential architecture of Mistra is still A. K. Orlandos, "Ta palatia kai ta spitia tou Mystra," *Archaoin tōn Byzantinōn mnēmeion tēs Ellados* 3 (1937), pp. 1–114; also republished as a small book: Orlandos, *Ta palatia kai ta spitia tou Mystra* (Athens, 2000). See also Orlandos, "Quelques notes complémentaires sur les maisons paléologuiennes de Mistra," in *Art et société a Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), pp. 75–82.

126 A. G. Kalligas and H. A. Kalligas, "House of Laskaris, Mistra, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 244–45.

127 G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), a pioneering work, is still invaluable for a wealth of visual documentation – architectural drawings and photographs of buildings prior to their restoration.

128 G. Marinou, *Hagios Dēmētrios, Hē Mētropolē tou Mystra* (Athens, 2002).

129 H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des 'Mystratypus'," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 18 (1969), pp. 105–18.

130 Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 203, f. n. 28.

131 Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine (Paris, 1916)*, pp. 135–40, especially pp. 138–39. See discussion in chapter X.

132 A. Louvi, "L'architecture et la sculpture de la Perivleptos de Mistra", Ph.D dissertation, Université de Paris I, Panthéon, Sorbonne (1980), which remains unpublished. Louvi, "Oi ktētores tēs Perivleptou tou Mystra" [Les donnateurs de la Perivleptos de Mistra] *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 24 (2003), pp. 101–18, addresses the issue of patronage.

133 S. Ćurčić, "Smisao i funkcija katihumena u poznovizantijskoj i srpskoj arhitekturi" [The Meaning and Function of *Katēhoumenia* in Late Byzantine and Serbian Architecture], *Manastir Žiča: Zbornik radova*, ed. D. Drašković and S. Djordjević (Kraljevo, 2000), pp. 83–93, especially pp. 86–87.

134 A. Strati, *The Monastery of Timios Prodromos at Serres* (Athens, 1989), a short account of the monastery, the only currently available. A major study of the monastery is under preparation by N. Bakirtzis; cf. N. Bakirtzis, "Hagios Ioannis Prodromos Monastery on Mount Menoikeion: Byzantine Monastic Practice, Sacred Topography, and Architecture," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University (2006).

135 H. Hallensleben, "Das Katholikon des Johannes-Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrai," *Byzantinische Forschungen* I [*Polychordia: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*] (1966), pp. 158–73, though flawed in some details, is the only currently available study of the architecture of the katholikon.

136 S. Ćurčić, "A Lost Byzantine Monastery at Palatitzia-Vergina," *Mnēmio kai perivallon* 8 (2004), pp. 13–28.

137 D. Evyenidou et al., *The Monuments of Prespa* (Athens, 1991), pp. 55–59.

138 U. Peschlow, "The Churches of Nicaea/ Iznik," *Iznik throughout History* (Istanbul, 2003), pp. 201–18.

139 The church architecture of Epiros has been the subject of several studies recently; see especially G. Velenis, "Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Origins of the School," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, ed. Korać, pp. 279–85; P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Church Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Problem of Influences," *Zograf* 27 (1998–99),

pp. 79–92; and K. Tsouris, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos tōn ysterovyzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Voreiodytikēs Ellados* (Kavalla, 1988) [in Greek], a study of ceramic ornamental elements in Epirote architecture.

140 G. Koch, ed., *Albanien: Kulturdenkmäler eines unbekannten Landes aus 2200 Jahren* (Marburg, 1985), pp. 64–65.

141 P. Miljković-Pepek, "Sur la chronologie de l'église de Saint Nicolas à Varoš près de Prilep," in *Studien zur Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. B. Borgkopp et al. (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 73–84, citing older literature.

142 H. M. Küpper, *Der Bautypus der griechischen Dachtranseptkirche* (Amsterdam, 1990). The English term "cross-vaulted churches" that occasionally appears in the literature is misleading, for the term "cross vault" has another established technical meaning.

143 R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), chapter 4.

144 V. Ristić, "Crkva Svetog Dimitrija u Prilepu" [The Church of St. Demetrius in Prilep], *Sinteza* 10/3–4 (Kruševac, 1979), pp. 171–226.

145 P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Ho naos tou Pantokratoros sto Monastēraki Vonitzēs" [The Church of the Pantokrator at Monastiraki near Vonitsa], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, 10 (1980–81), pp. 357–78.

146 E. G. Stikas, "Une église des Paléologues aux environs de Castoria," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958), pp. 100–12.

147 E. Hadjitryphonos, *To peristoo stēn ysterovizantinē ekklesiastikē architektonikē: schediasmos – litourgia* [The *Peristoon* in Late Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture: Planning – Function] (Thessloniki, 2004).

148 M. Hatjigiannis, "L'architecture Byzantine à l'époque des Palaéologues: le cas du Catholicon de Olympiotissa à Elasson (Thessalie)," Ph.D dissertation, Université de Paris, Panthéon-Sorbonne (1989), and K. Englert, *Der Bautypus der Umgangskirche unter besondere Berücksichtung der Panagia Olympiotissa in Elasson* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991). Note also M. Hatziyanni (same as Hadjigiannis), "Relations architecturales entre la Thessalie et la Macédoine à l'époque des Paléologues: le cas du catholicon de l'Olympiotissa à Elasson," in *Thessalia: Dekapente chronia archaiologikēs ereunas 1975–90*, vol. II (Athens, 1994), pp. 371–86.

149 G. Velenis, "L'église Panagia Olympiotissa et la chapelle de Pamacaristos," *Zograf* 27 (1998–99), pp. 103–11, who proposes a date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

150 D. Evyenidou et al., *The Monuments of Prespa* (Athens, 1991), pp. 44–47; for a detailed discussion, see N. Moutsopoulos, *Ekklēsies tou nomou Florinas* [Churches of the District of Florina], Byzantina kai metabyzantina mnēmeia tēs Makedonias (Thessaloniki, 2003), pp. 63–69 [in Greek].

151 V. Dimova, "Ts'rkvata Sv. Ivan Predtecha na manastira pri Sozopol" [The Church of St. John the Forerunner in a Monastery near Sozopol], *Izvestiia na natsionalniia istoricheski muzei* 9 (1992), pp. 53–63.

152 A. Louvē-Kizē, "Ho naos ton Hagion Apostolon sto Leontari Arkadias" (L'église des Saints Apôtres à Léontari), *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, ser. 4, vol. 28 (2007), pp. 99–114.

153 Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 182–83.

154 M. Kiel, "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gülmücine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of Ilica (Loutra) in Greek Thrace, 1370–1390," *Sanat Tarihi Yilligi, Kunsthistorishe Forschungen* 12 (1983), pp. 117–38.

155 Kiel, "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans." See also P. Androudis, *Chania kai karavan-seragia ston Elladiko chōro kai sta Valkania* [Khans and Karavan-Sarays in Greece and in the Balkans] (Thessaloniki, 2004), pp. 190–91. This is a useful catalogue of relevant buildings in this category, though most of them are of a much later date and consequently beyond the scope of this book.

156 I. Büyükdigan, "Bridge, Uzunköprü, Turkey", in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 346–47.

157 P. Balâbanov, S. Boĭadzhiev, and N. Tuleshkov, *Krepostno stroitelstvo po b'lgarskite zemi* [Fortification Architecture in Bulgarian Lands] (Sofia, 2000), is a general volume on fortification architecture in medieval Bulgaria, including the Ottoman period. Despite its recent date and a wealth of material, the book is not without flaws.

158 I. Dzambov, *Srednovekovnata krepost krai Sopot* [Medieval Fortress near Sopot] (Plovdiv, 1991); also Dzambov, "Anevsko Kale, Kopsis, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 122–23.

159 D. Ovcharov and I. Dzhambov, eds., *Srednovekovniiat zamak v B'lgarskite zemi, XII–XIV vek* [Medieval Castle in Bulgarian Lands, 12th to 14th Centuries] (Sopot, 1987), the entire volume containing sixteen essays is devoted to demonstrating this concept.

160 S. Boĭadzhiev, "Citadel of Despot Slav, Melnik, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 200–01.

161 Ibid., compare figs. 3 and 6, on p. 201, for the illustration of the two building techniques.

162 N. Chaneva-Dechevska, "'Baba Vida Fortress', Vidin, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 174–77.

163 V. Antonova, *Shumen i Shumenskata krepost* (Shumen, 1995) [in Bulgarian with a brief English summary], is a comprehensive report on the results of the excavations.

164 Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans," pp. 11–41.

165 S. Mihailov, *Srednovekovniiat Cherven*, vol. 1, *Tsitadelata na grada* (Sofia, 1985) [Medieval Cherven. Citdel].

166 Initially, exclusively foreigners – e.g., the Russian, P. P. Pokrishkin (in 1902) and the German, M. Zimmerman (in 1913); see Z. V'zharova, *Ruskite ucheni i b'lgarskite starini* [Russian Scholars and Bulgarian Antiquities] (Sofia, 1960), pp. 246–61, and M. Zimmermann, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis christlicher Baudenmäler in Bulgarien* (Berlin, 1913), respectively.

167 The single most important work on the churches of Mesembria is A. Rashenov, *Mesemvriiski ts'rkvi* [Églises de Mesembria] (Sofia, 1932), with parallel texts in Bulgarian and French. Rashenov was also responsible for the introduction of the "national" element into the debate of the origins of style: A. Rashenov, "B'lgarska shkola v vizantiiskiia stil," *Izvestiia na b'lgarskiia arkheologicheski institut* 6 (1932), pp. 206–20 [French summary: "L'école bulgare dans l'architecture Byzantine]; and a recent reprint (Nessebar, 2006).

168 Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture," pp. 75–110, especially pp. 83–84, and most recently E. Bakalova, "Mesemvria's Churches in the Context of Late Byzantine Architecture: A Historiographical Survey," *Sophia. Sbornik statei po iskusstvu Vizantii i Drevneii Rusi v chest A. I. Komecha* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 547–72, both see direct links between the architecture of Mesembria with Constantinople.

169 D. Sâsâlov, "problèmes sur l'origine de la décoration de façade céramoplastique," *Izvestiia na arkheologicheskiia institut* 35 (1979), pp. 92–110, favors the Bulgarian

origins of these elements while ignoring many relevant examples elsewhere. The subject is deserving of a new study.

170 A. Deroko, *Srednjevekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji* [Les châteaux forts médiévaux sur le territorie de la Serbie, Crna Gora et Macèdoine] (Belgrade, 1950), though outdated in various ways, is still the basic corpus of fortification architecture in medieval Serbia; see also a brief survey: M. Popović and G. Simić, *Fortifications in Serbia* (Belgrade, 2003).

171 M. Popović, "Defensive Systems in the Eastern Part of Yugoslavia in the Middle Ages," *Balcanoslavica* 11–12 (1984–85), pp. 11–32.

172 S. Djordjević, "Fortification of Maglič, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 124–27.

173 M. Popović, *Užički grad* [La forteresse d'Užice] (Belgrade and Užice, 1995), especially pp. 58–76.

174 M. Kovačević, "L'architecture profane médiévale de Kruševac – résultats des recherches," *Starinar* n. s., 30 (1979, published 1980), pp. 13–29 [in Serbian with a French summary].

175 G. Milošević, *Stanovanje u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Housing in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1997), pp. 79–82.

176 N. Jocović and J. Nešković, "Fortifications of Smederevo, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 132–35. P. J. Popović, *Spomenica petstogodišnjice Smederevskoga grada despota Djurdja Brankovića* [Memorial Volume on the Occasion of the 500th Anniversary of the Smederevo Fortress] (Belgrade, 1930; reprinted 1990, with a comprehensive bibliography by M. Spremić), despite its outdated aspects, is still the basic monograph on the subject.

177 Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans," pp. 29–33.

178 G. Simić, "Golubački Grad" [The Golubac Fortress] *Starinar* n. s., 33–34 (1984), pp. 71–86.

179 G. Simić, "Palace, Golubac, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 274–75; also Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans," pp. 27–28.

180 S. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Cross in Circle: Architecture of Monasteries in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1994), pp. 212–17.

181 Ibid., pp. 230–35.

182 See Chapter 7.

183 G. Simić, "Donjon, Manasija Monastery, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 236–39.

184 J. Kalić and M. Čolović, eds., *Socijalna struktura srpskih gradskih naselja, XII–XVIII vek)* [La structure sociale des agglomerations urbaines, XIIe–XVIIIe s.] (Smederevo and Belgrade, 1992), a collection of essays by eminent Serbian historians concerned with issues pertaining to medieval urbanism. Also: Lj. Maksimović, "Grad," in *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka* [The Lexicon of Serbian Middle Ages], ed. S. Ćirković and R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade, 1999), pp. 122–24.

185 A good history of Byzantine and Serbian Skopje is lacking. I. Mikulčić, *Staro Skopje so okolnite tvrdini* [Skopje und umgebende Festungen in der Antike und in dem Mittelalter] (Skopje, 1982), pp. 118–27, and A. Deroko, *Srednjovekovni grad Skoplje* [Medieval Skopje] (Belgrade, 1950), provide useful outlines.

186 For some preliminary ways of looking at the place of the region around Skopje in the context of broader developments in Byzantine architecture from *circa* 1300 to *circa* 1370, see S. Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Façades during the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in *Vizantijska umetnost početkom 14 veka*, ed. S. Petković (Belgrade, 1978), pp. 17–27; also Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," in *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade, 1989), pp. 55–68.

187 Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," especially p. 76.

188 Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II."

189 Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," especially p. 80.

190 Ibid., especially p. 81.

191 V. Lilčik, *Matka niz vekovite* [Matka in Antiquity and Middle Ages] (Skopje, 1995).

192 L. Mirković and Ž. Tatić, *Markov Manastir* (Novi Sad, 1925), is still invaluable, despite its early date of publication.

193 E. Dimitrova, *Manastir Matejče* (Skopje, 2002) [in Macedonian with an English summary], is a comprehensive monograph on this important building. The church was used as a base for operations by the Albanian extremists during a brief insurgence in the summer of 2001. At that time serious damage was inflicted on its frescoes, some of which were burned, while others were defaced by white paint.

194 J. Prolović, *Die Kirche des Heiligen Andreas an der Treska: Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer palaiologenzeitlichen Stiftung des serbischen prinzen Andreaš* (Vienna, 1997).

195 *World Monuments Watch: 100 Most Endangered Sites, 2002* (New York, 2002), p. 87.

196 *Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe: Kosovo. Protection and Conservation of a Multi-Ethnic Heritage in Danger. Mission Report, 26–30 April 2004*, UNESCO (Venice, 2004). This UNESCO mission was occasioned by the destruction caused by massive Albanian violent demonstrations in March of the same year.

197 S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška: njen postanak i njeno mesto u arhitekturi Milutinovog vremena* [Bogorodica Ljeviška: Its Origins and Its Place in the Architecture of the Times of King Milutin] (Belgrade, 1963). For an updated view of the origins, see S. Ćurčić, "'Renewed from the Very Foundations': The Question of Genesis of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. J. J. Emerick and D. M. Deliyannis (Mainz am Rhein, 2005), pp. 23–35.

198 For more on this, see Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity," pp. 48–50.

199 S. Ćurčić, "Two Examples of Local Building Workshops in Fourteenth-Century Serbia," *Zograf* 7 (1977), pp. 45–51.

200 V. Jovanović et al., *Novo Brdo* (Belgrade, 2004) [with parallel texts in Serbian and English].

201 M. Popović, "Fortifications of Belgrade, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 128–31. For a comprehensive study of the fortress of Belgrade, see M. Popović, *Beogradska tvrdjava* [The Fortress of Belgrade] (Belgrade, 1982) [in Serbian with a substantial English summary], and now 2nd edn. (Belgrade, 2006), updated with new photographs and computer-generated three-dimensional reconstructions.

202 M. Popović and V. Bikić, *Komplex srednjovekovne mitropolije u Beogradu* (Belgrade, 2004) [English summary: "The Complex of the Medieval Metropolitan Church in Belgrade].

203 Literature on Hilandar Monastery is considerable. A convenient introduction to most aspects of the monastery may be gained by referring to G. Subotić, ed., *Hilandar Monastery* (Belgrade, 1998), with the latest scholarly interpretations and an up-to-date bibliography. For the history of the mona-

stery see M. Živojinović, *Istorija Hilandara I. Od osnivaja manastira 1198. do 1335. godine* (Belgrade, 1998) [English summary: "History of Chilandari I, from its foundation 1198 to 1335"]. The most valuable study of the architecture is S. Nenadović, *Osam vekova manastira Hilandara: gradjenje i gradjevine* [Eight Centuries of Hilandar Monastery: Building and Buildings] (Belgrade, 1997) [in Serbian with a substantial French summary].

204 V. Korać and M. Kovačević, *Manastir Hilandar: Konaci i utvrdjenje* [Le monastère de Chilandar: Konaks et fortifications] (Belgrade, 2004) [in Serbian with extensive summaries in French and Greek]. The later history of Hilandar was marked by numerous modifications, many of them caused by catastrophic fires. One of the worst such fires took place on 3–4 March 2004, as a result of which approximately 40% of the monastic buildings was burned. Fortunately, the buildings of the greatest historical significance, including the katholikon, were not affected. The reconstruction of the monastery is still in progress as of the summer 2009.

205 Expansions and changes in the context of all monastic complexes are an inevitable function of time. In that sense, a monastery as a physical entity is no different from any urban conglomeration. Periodic large fires have been a major contributing factor to this process.

206 M. Marković and T. Hosteter, "Prilog hronologiji gradnje i oslikavanja hilandarskog katolikona" [On the Chronology of the Construction and the Painting of the Katholikon of the Hilandar Monastery], *Hilandarski zbornik* 10 (1998), 201–20 (English summary, pp. 218–20).

207 Ćurčić, "The Architectural Significance of the Hilandar Katholikon," *Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Ann Arbor, 1978), pp. 14–15.

208 S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 13 (1971), pp. 333–44.

209 S. Ćurčić, "The Exonarthex of Hilandar: The Question of Its Function and Patronage," in *Osam vekova Hilandara: istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura* (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 477–87. S. Ćurčić, "Unobserved Contributions of Hilandar to the Development of Serbian Medieval Architecture" (in Serbian wtih English summary). *Četvrta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori* (The Holy Mountain – Thoughts and Studies) 4 (2005), 18–37.

210 O. Kandić, *Gradac: istorija i arhitektura manastira* [Gradac: History and Architecture of the Monastery] (Belgrade, 2005).

211 M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju: istorija, arhitektura i prostorni sklop manastira* [Saint-Achille d'Arilje: histoire, architecture et structure spatiale du monastère] (Belgrade, 2002), a major study of the monastery with the results of recent archaeological excavations.

212 S. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira srednjovekovne Srbije* [Cross in Circle: Architecture of Medieval Monasteries in Serbia] (Belgrade, 1994),

213 Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, pp. 198–203; also Čanak-Medić, "Slikani ukras na crkvi sv. Ahilija u Arilju" [Painted Decoration on the Church of St. Achileos in Arilje], *Zograf* 9 (1978), pp. 5–11.

214 G. Millet, *L'ancien art Serbe: les églises* (Paris, 1919), pp. 48–88.

215 M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska* [Banjska Monastery] (Belgrade, 1989), is a small, albeit useful publication on the monastery. The excavations of the complex were never completed and a report of their results has not been published in any detail.

216 Popović, *Krst u krugu*, pp. 187ff.

217 S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, PA, and London, 1979), chapter 1, especially pp. 8–9.

218 V. J. Djurić, "Dubrovački graditelji u Srbiji srednjeg veka" [French summary: "Architectes et maitres maçons de Dubrovnik dans la Serbie médiévale] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 3 (1967), pp. 87–106. In addition to a group of stonemasons (p. 100), a contract preserved in the Archives of Dubrovnik indicates that a carpenter specializing in roofing with lead sheets was hired on behalf of King Milutin, probably in conjunction with the construction of Banjska (pp. 93–98).

219 D. Popović, *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku* [The Royal Tomb in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1992), pp. 95–100.

220 Popović, *Krst u krugu*, pp. 210 ff.; fig. 70.

221 Ibid., pp. 199ff.; fig. 63.

222 V. R. Petković and D. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, 2 vols. (Belgrade, 1941), is still a basic work. See also B. Pantelić, *The Architecture of Dečani and the Role of Archbishop Danilo II* (Wiesbaden, 2002), and, most recently, a major new monograph: B. Todić and M. Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade, 2005).

223 Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," especially pp. 342–44.

224 S. Radojčić, "Gračanica and Dečani," *Umetnički pregled* 4–5 (April–May 1940), pp. 130–33.

225 J. Maglovski, "Dečanska skulptura: Program i smisao" [The Sculpture of Dečani: Programme and Meaning], in *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka*, ed. Djurić, pp. 193–223.

226 S. Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina manastir Svetih arhandjela kod Prizrena* [Monastère des Saints Archanges près de Prizren, fondation de l'empereur Dušan] (Belgrade, 1967).

227 Popović, *Krst u krugu*, pp. 204–10.

228 Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, especially pp. 5–11.

229 B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino* (Belgrade, 1993) [in Serbian with a French summary].

230 For a more elaborate discussion of this issue, see Ćurčić, "'Renewed from the Very Foundations'," esp. pp. 34–35.

231 Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, chapter 4.

232 Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," pp. 70–90.

233 G. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* (Belgrade, 1987) [French summary: "L'église du Roi à Studenica]; also S. Ćurčić, "The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 14–15 (1973), pp. 191–95.

234 Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," pp. 76–77.

235 M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIIIème siècle*, II, passim, with exhaustive earlier bibliography.

236 Ibid., p. 47.

237 The subject was broached in an important article by V. J. Djurić, "Nastanak graditeljskog stila Moravske škole: fasade, sistem dekoracije, plastika," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 1 (1965), pp. 35–64 [French summary: "L'école de la Morava: origines du décor, parement des façades système d'ornamentation plastique].

238 S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo: istorija i slikarstvo* (Belgrade, 1998) [English summary: "The Monastery of Lesnovo: History and Painting], a detailed monograph on the church history and frescoes, while the architecture of the building and of the monastery complex will have to await further study.

239 Ćurčić, "The Exonarthex of Hilandar."

240 V. J. Djurić, "Položko – Hilandarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica" *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 8 (1975), pp. 327–44 [French summary: "Položko, Metoque de Chilandar et mausolée de Dragušin]. An architectural study of this monument is still lacking.

241 Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere," p. 59.

242 Millet, *L'ancien art serbe*, chapter three ("L'école de la Morava"); V. Ristić, *Moravska*

arhitektura [The Morava Architecture] (Kruševac, 1996). For a critical reassessment of the problem, see J. Trkulja, "Aesthetics and Symbolism of Late Byzantine Church Façades", Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University (2002).

243 N. Katanić, *Dekorativna kamena plastika Moravske škole* (Belgrade, 1988) [French summary: "La plastique décorative en pierre de l'école Morave].

244 Dj. Stričević, "Dva varijeteta plana crkava Moravske škole," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 3 (1955), pp. 213–20 [French summary: "Deux variants du plan de l'architecture de l'école de la Morava]; Stričević, "Uloga starca Isaije u prenošenju svetogorrske tradicije u Moravsku arhitektonsku školu," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 3 (1955) pp. 221–32 [French summary: "Le rôle de Starac Isaïa dans le transfert des traditions athonites dans l'école d'architecture de la Morava].

245 V. Ristić, *L'église Lazarica et la place forte de Kruševac* (Belgrade, 1989).

246 Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence," especially pp. 67–68, on the Constantinopolitan characteristics of Lazarica and the so-called Morava School.

247 B. Vulović, *Ravanica: njeno mesto i njena uloga u sakralnoj arhitekturi Pomoravlja* [*Saopštenja* 7] (1966) [French summary: "Ravanica: son rôle dans l'architecture réligieuse de Pomoravlje].

248 S. Popović and S. Ćurčić, *Naupara* (Belgrade, 2000) [with parallel texts in Serbian and English].

249 Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, passim.

250 Ibid., passim.

251 V. Petković and Z. Tatić, *Manastir Kalenić* (Vršac, 1926) [French summary: "L'église de Kalenić]; most recently, I. Stevović, *Kalenić. Bogorodičina crkva u arhitekturi poznovizantijskog sveta* [Kalenić. Church of the Mother of God in the architecture of the Late Byzantine world) (Belgrade, 2006), became available to me too late to be of greater consequence in writing this section of the text.

252 S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja: Crkva Uspenja Bogorodičinog* [Ljubostinja: The Church of the Dormition] (Belgrade, 1985).

253 S. Stanojević, L. Mirković, and D. Bošković, *Manastir Manasija* (Belgrade, 1928) [French summary: "Le monastère de Manasija]. Several publications on Manasija have appeared since, but they have been focused almost exclusively on its frescoes. A comprehensive study of the architecture of this important church is still lacking.

254 Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, passim.

255 Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 191ff.

256 Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans*, especially pp. 204–14 and 488–95.

257 M. Popović, "Srednjovekovne tvrdjave u Bosni i Hercegovini," [Medieval Fortresses in Bosnia and Hercegovina], *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 1 (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 33–55 (in Serbian with an English summary), provides an extensive bibliography.

258 P. Andjelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska: stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću* [Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska: Bosnian Royal Courts in the XIVth and XVth Centuries] (Sarajevo, 1972).

259 Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 391.

260 L. Beritić, *Stonske Utvrde* [Fortifications of Ston] (Dubrovnik, 1958).

261 B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City Between East and West* (Norman, OK, 1972).

262 C. Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji* (Dubrovnik, 1955) [French summary: "Les premiers architects connus de Dubrovnik].

263 A. Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika, XV. i XIV. stoljeće* [The Golden Age of Dubrovnik, XVth and XIVth Centuries] (Zagreb, 1987), p. 289, cat. no. U/2, and p. 378, cat. no. Z/46; also pls. on pp. 41 and 257.

264 I. Fisković, "Les symbioses des traditions et des innovatioins dans le tissu et les monuments de Dubrovnik du XIe au XVe siècles," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 2 (1996), 105–22. Also B. Krstić, ed., "Statut grada Dubrovnika iz 1272. godine" (Statute of Dubrovnik from 1272), *Informativni pregled* 4 (1978), 2–32; idem, *Zakonodavstvo arhitektonske baštine* (The Legislation of Architectural Heritage in South Slavic States) (Belgrade, 2006), pp. 13–36.

265 Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, p. 296, cat. no. U/17.

266 D. Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače* [Maisons et palais de Dubrovnik] (Belgrade, 2000), is a recent corpus of major residential and public buildings in Dubrovnik, richly illustrated, though the drawings are not always of the highest quality. Idem, *Dubrovačke studije: oblici i tipologija* [Études de l'architecture de Dubrovnik: formes et typologie] (Belgrade, 2005), is a useful compendium for the study of architectural elements and details in the architecture of Dubrovnik during the period in question. Useful, though more limited in scope, is also N. Grujić, "Reprezentativna stambena arhitektura," in *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, ed. Šorić, pp. 65–89 and 307–11.

267 Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, p. 307.

268 M. Djurović, et al., eds., *Istorija Crne Gore* [History of Montenegro]. Vol. II, *Od kraja XII do kraja XV vijeka* [From the end of the 12th to the end of the 15th century]. Part 2, *Crna Gora u doba oblasnih vladara* [Montenegro in the age of regional rulers] (Titograad, 1970), passim, for the city of Kotor during the period in question.

269 S. Vučenović, "Drago Palace, Kotor, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 266–7.

270 D. Bošković, *Stari Bar* (Belgrade, 1962) [in Serbian with an extensive French summary, pp. 317–42], is a major study of Stari Bar.

271 V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja* (Belgrade, 1965) [French summary: "L'école de Pomorje dans l'architecture serbe], pp. 78–92.

272 G. Novak, *Povijest Splita* [History of Split], vol. I, *Od prethistorijskih vremena do definitivnog gubitka pune autonomije 1420.* godine (From pre-history to the final loss of autonomy in 1420) (Split, 1957); vol. II, *Od 1420. godine do 1797. godine* [From 1420 to 1797] (Split, 1961).

273 D. Kečkemet, *Juraj Dalmatinac i gotička arhitektura u Splitu* (Split, 1988) [Italian summary: "Giorgio Dalmata e l'architettura gotica a Spalato].

274 Ibid, pp. 22–34.

275 M. Prelog, *Poreč: grad i spomenici* [Poreč: la ville et ses monuments] (Belgrade, 1957), still the basic history of the medieval town and its architecture.

276 Ibid., pp. 132–34.

277 Ibid., pp. 138–43.

278 K. Horvat, "Hum – razvoj grada," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 10 (1986), pp. 41–68 [English summary: "Hum – Development of the Town].

279 A. Deanović and Z. Ćorak, *Zagrebačka katedrala* [The Cathedral of Zagreb] (Zagreb, 1988).

280 D. Bošković and V. Korać, "Ratac," *Starinar* n. s., 7–8 (1958), pp. 39–75 [in Serbian with a short French summary].

281 M. Čanak-Medić, "Srednjovekovna crkva u Arači: uvod sa istoriografijom," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 10 (1974), pp. 17–45 [French summary: "L'église médiévale à Arača], and more recently N. Stanojev, *Arača. Crkve, nekropola, manastir* (Novi Sad, 2004), with results of recent excavations.

282 Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, pp. 17–33.

283 Ibid., pp. 70–73.

284 G. Subotić, *Arhitektura i skulptura srednjeg*

veka u Primorju [Medieval architecture and sculpture along the Adriatic Littoral] (Belgrade, 1963), p. 52. M. Vasic, *Arhitektura i skulptura u Dalmaciji od početka IX do početka XV veka. Crkve* [Architecture and sculpture in Dalmatia from the beginning of the 9th to the beginning of the 15th century. Churches] (Belgrade, 1922), pp. 40–42, dates the church to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but such early dating has been proven wrong.

CHAPTER NINE

1 H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London, 1994), chapters 4 and 5. See also C. Kafadar, *Between the Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA, 1995).

2 A. Fotić, "The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and Their Estates at the Time of Selim II," *Turcica* 26 (1994), pp. 33–54.

3 I. K. Hasiotis, ed., *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki History and Culture* (Thessaloniki, 1997), p. 247.

4 İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 150.

5 N. Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400–1900* (Seattle, WA, 1983), is an essential study for the understanding of the demographic, social, and economic transformation of medieval Balkan urban centers under the Ottomans. Also H. Lowry, "From Lesser Wars to the Mightiest War," in *The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century: Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham and Washington, DC, 1986), p. 323.

6 A useful article introducing various aspects of Ottoman urban centers is: T. Stoianovich, "Model and Mirror of the Pre-Modern Balkan City," in *Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds*, vol. II (New Rochelle, NY, 1992), pp. 79–119.

7 Ibid., pp. 96–99.

8 E. Zachariadou, ed., *The Via Egnatia under the Ottoman Rule, 1380–1699* (Rethymnon, 1996), with a number of relevant studies by T. Stoianovich, M. Kiel, and V. Demetriades. N. Tuleshkov, "Kraip'tnata arkhitektura na k'snoto srednovekovie" [Roadside Architecture of the late Middle Ages], *B'lgarsko arkhitekturno nasledstvo* 1 (1994), pp. 28–74, is an attempt at looking comprehensively at the architectural aspects of the Ottoman road network in the Balkans. Focused predominantly on Bulgaria, the work does take into account some of the monuments in Serbia, FYROM, and, to a much lesser degree, Greece, while Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania are not included at all.

9 The name "Constantinople," used throughout this book, will also be used in this chapter. Modern scholarship has debated the question when and how the name was changed to the present Istanbul. H. İnalcık, "Istanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. P. J. Bearman et al., 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1960–), vol. IV, p. 224, suggests that Mehmed II introduced the name "Islambol" ("Islam abounds"), colloquialized into "Istanbul." İnalcık acknowledges also the use of the name "Konstantiniyye." If the new official name given to the city was indeed Islambol, and if this was a personal act of Mehmed II, it would be hard to understand how the later popular version – Istanbul – could have corrupted the name of Islam in "Islam-bol," and how that corrupted version could have become the present official name of the city – Istanbul. Since "Constantinople" was in use as an alternative name of the city as late as the nineteenth century, its use in the context of this chapter seems eminently appropriate.

10 A useful general overview is given by D. Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History* (Istanbul, 1996), chapters 17–27. The most effective study produced thus far is Ç. Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis-Istanbul: The Making of the Ottoman Capital* (in preparation). I am grateful to Prof. Kafescioğlu for making the manuscript of her book available to me prior to its publication. For outlines of the ideological framework of the transformation, see H. İnalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," reprinted in İnalcık, *Essays in Islamic History* (Istanbul, 1998), pp. 249–71; and Ç. Kafescioğlu, "Reckoning with an Imperial Legacy: Ottomans and Byzantine Constantinople," in *1453: hē alōsē tēs Kōnstantinoupolēs kai hē metavasē apo tous mesaiōnikous stous neōterous chronous* [1453: The Fall of Constantinople and the Transition from Medieval to Modern Times], ed. T. Kiousopoulou (Iraklion, 2005), pp. 23–46. An essay of major importance that offers insights into thematic continuities is: S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in the Millennial Imperial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. I. A. Bierman et al. (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), pp. 13–51. Curiously, neither Kuban nor İnalcık took this important essay into account. W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), is the basic source on buildings of both the Byzantine and the Ottoman eras.

11 This is one of the themes discussed by Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul."

12 On these processes, see S. Yerasimos, "The Foundation of Ottoman Istanbul," in *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: "A Supra-National Heritage,"* ed. N. Akin et al. (Harbiye-Istanbul, 1999), pp. 459–79.

13 G. Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. S. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 195–225, especially pp. 195–204.

14 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 198.

15 The building program of Mehmed II in Constantinople has never been the subject of a comprehensive study per se. A particularly useful introduction is Yerasimos, "The Foundation of Ottoman Istanbul." The implications of Mehmed's program have been analyzed in different contexts by various authors, among them by Kuban, *Istanbul*; İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*; and Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul"; as well as H. İnalcık, "The Conqueror, the Conquest and the Restructuring of Istanbul," in *Istanbul: A World City*, ed. A. Batur (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 22–47. See also the forthcoming Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis-Istanbul*.

16 H. İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–70), pp. 231–49, especially pp. 235ff.

17 Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul," f. n. 22. The figure of 50,000 is given by İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," p. 231; elsewhere, H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London, 1973), p. 140, gives the figure of 30,000–40,000.

18 H. Lowry, "Pushing the Stone Uphill: The Impact of Bubonic Plague on Ottoman Urban Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 23 (2004), pp. 93–132.

19 İnalcık, "The Policy of Mehmed II," p. 239.

20 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 218–19.

21 Very useful in this regard is ibid., pp. 206–12.

22 Ibid., p. 202.

23 Ibid., p. 199.

24 A.-M. Talbot, "Monasticism in Constantinople in the Final Decades of the Byzantine

Empire," in *550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University: International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium, xvth Century*, ed. S. Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 295–407.

25 İnalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," p. 257.

26 More on this in S. Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnêmeio kai perivallon* 6 (2000), especially pp. 33–47.

27 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 226; also H. İnalcık, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980), for the social and economic role of the *bedesten* in the context of Constantinople. The term *bedesten* is a corruption of the persian *bezzazistan*.

28 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 229, for the information on *hans*.

29 Ibid., for the information on *hamams*.

30 G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971, reprinted 1992), p. 108.

31 Ibid., pp. 110–12; also A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago, IL, and London, 1968), pp. 142–43, gives the date of construction as 1462.

32 Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, where the early Ottoman examples of the type are analyzed.

33 Superficial comments such as "In the reign of Mehmed II, the use of brick was frequent and this would indicate that the quarries were better organized later in the classical period rather than that the architects and their patrons preferred to use brick" (Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 114) do not suffice.

34 Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 96–97.

35 Ibid., p. 97, gives previous explanations as well as his own, neither of which seem to provide a satisfactory answer to this extremely important question.

36 N. N. Ambraseys and C. F. Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Ancient Areas: A Historical Review, 1500–1800* (Istanbul, 1995), p. 40 (for the damage in the earthquake of 1509) and p. 138 (for the effects of the earthquake of 1766).

37 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 206–12, especially pp. 210–12, where the concept is clarified in greater detail.

38 Ibid., pp. 213–15, provides a convenient summary discussion of the complex.

39 Z. Ahunbay, "Fatih Complex Tabhane, Istanbul, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 296–97.

40 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 216–18, who addresses the problem, makes a number of unfortunate contradictions in his analysis that underscore the need for serious revisiting of this crucial issue.

41 Kritovoulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos (1451–1467)*, trans. C. Riggs (Princeton, NJ, 1954), p. 149.

42 G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1991).

43 Ibid., p. 53.

44 Ibid., pp. 212–17.

45 Ibid., p. 14.

46 Kuban, *Istanbul*, p. 202.

47 Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 166–67.

48 Ibid., pp. 168–74.

49 Equally surprising is the contrast to Bayezid II's own *külliye* complex in Edirne, built in the years 1484–88 (see p. 746), where considerable orderliness in the overall planning is apparent. Despite the lack of rigid symmetry, characteristic of the Fatih *Külliye*, Bayezid's Edirne complex is conceptually much closer to it than to the layout of Bayezid's own *külliye* in Constantinople.

50 Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, p. 194, gives the name of the architect as Yakub S,ah bin Sultan S,ah.

51 M. Ahunbay and Z. Ahunbay, "Structural Influence of H. Sophia on Ottoman Mosque Architecture," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. Mark and Çakmak, pp. 179–94, is but the most recent investigation of Hagia Sophia's impact. M. Charles, "Hagia Sophia and the Great Imperial Mosques," *Art Bulletin* 12 (1930), pp. 321–44, exemplifies an earlier point of view in Western scholarship that sought to demonstrate the inferiority of all imperial mosques, largely on aesthetic grounds.

52 Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 184–87.

53 Ahunbay and Ahunbay, "Structural Influence of H. Sophia on Ottoman Mosque Architecture," pp. 190–92, especially p. 191.

54 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 246–49.

55 The bibliography on Sinan is extensive. A. Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, DC, and Istanbul, 1987), and M. Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezgirat-ül Bünyan* (Istanbul, 1989), are but two of the more recent publications. The latest major book, G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2005), appeared too late to be fully taken into account in this context.

56 Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 270–83, provides a list of 344 buildings in Istanbul attributed to Sinan.

57 A convenient summary of Sinan's career and his role in the age of Süleyman I is given in Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 250–55.

58 Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 55–70; Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 207–12.

59 Ambraseys and Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Ancient Areas*, p. 40.

60 S. Ćurčić, "Some Reflections on the Flying Buttresses of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 8 (2004), 7–22.

61 Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 209, who calls them "urns."

62 Ibid., pp. 243–44.

63 Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 136–39.

64 Ibid., p. 156.

65 According to Peçevi, an official court historian, whose propensity for flattery may be compared to that of Procopios in his official account of Justinian's buildings; H. Crane, "The Ottoman Sultans' Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. Bierman et al., p. 195. The article as a whole (pp. 172–243) is an excellent overview not only of the iconography and ideological underpinnings of the great Ottoman imperial mosques, but also of the modern historiography that has dealt with the related issues.

66 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 260–61.

67 Crane, "The Ottoman Sultans' Mosques," p. 213.

68 Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 92–98. The account given by Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 225–47, while providing a more detailed account, contains several factual errors, among them the dimensions of the mosque (57 × 57 m, as opposed to 61 × 70 m), and the assertion that the dome of the mosque collapsed in 1766, a fact completely rejected by Ambraseys and Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Ancient Areas*, p. 138.

69 İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 144.

70 Kuban, *Istanbul*, pp. 280–84.

71 Ibid., p. 281.

72 Ibid.

73 Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 143–50.

74 Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 168–80.

75 The exact sizes of the two domes are difficult to compare. The dome of Hagia Sophia, on account of the distortions that began to occur already in the course of its original construction, is not a perfect circle, its diameter varying between 31.4 and 32.9 meters.

76 M. Harbova, *Gradoustroisvo i arkhitektura po b'lgarskite zemi prez XV–XVIII vek* [Town Plan-

ning and Architecture in Bulgarian Lands during the 15th–18th Centuries] (Sofia, 1991), is a study devoted predominantly to typological phenomena. Weak on historical data, it nonetheless provides virtually the only available coverage of Ottoman architecture in Bulgarian cities.

77 E. Hadjitryphonos, "The Urban Image of Thessaloniki in the 15th Century," in *Uluslararası Byzans ve Osmalı Sempozyumu, XV. Yüzyıl*, ed. S. Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 171–95.

78 C. Bakirtzis, "Thessaloniki from 1430 to 1912: Archaeology and Art," in *Thessaloniki: History and Culture*, ed. I. K. Chasiotes (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 246–54, provides a useful overview of material with basic up-to-date literature. E. Hadjitryphonos, "Die Architektur der osmanischen Bauten in Thessaloniki: erste Periode," in *9. Milletlerarasi Türk Sanatlari Kongresi*, vol. II (Ankara, 1995), pp. 235–52, is a thorough analysis of all of the relevant monuments excluding the fortifications.

79 S. N. Stephanou, "Ho pyrgos tou Trigōniou: symvolē stē melēte tōn Tourkikōn ochyrōseōn tēs Thessalonikēs" [The Trigonion Tower: A Contribution to the Study of Turkish Defence System of Thessaloniki], *Byzantina* 14 (1988), pp. 413–53, is a major study of the Trigonion Tower, with relevant comments on all Ottoman additions to the fortifications of Thessaloniki.

80 J. P. Braun et al., "Deux tours turcs de Thessalonique," *Makedonika* 23 (1983), pp. 1–15; also A. Papadamou, "The White Tower at Thessaloniki," in *Conservation Today: proceedings on the Seminar at the Royal Fine Art Commission, 17–18 May 1989*.

81 Hadjitryphonos, "Die Architektur der osmanischen Bauten in Thessaloniki," p. 242.

82 P. Astrinidou, "Bedesten, Thessaloniki, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 286–89.

83 E. Hadjitryphonos, "Pazar Hamam, Thessaloniki, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 322–25. An important new comprehensive publication on Ottoman *hamams* on the territory of Greece is E. I. Kanetakē, *Othōmanika loutra ston Elladiko chōro* (Athens, 2004).

84 M. Kiel, "Observations on the History of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule," in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Aldershot, 1990), part III, pp. 415–44 on Serres.

85 A. Stefanidou, "Bedesten, Serres, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 290–93; Stefanidou, "To mpezesteni tōn Serrōn" [The Bedesten of the City of Serres], *Mnēmeio kai perivallon* 3 (1996), pp. 61–84, with an extensive comparative analysis of the Serres *bedesten* in relationship to other buildings.

86 L. Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje* [Ottoman Monuments in Skopje] (Skopje, 1998).

87 P. Miljković-Pepek, "Aqueduct, Skopje, FYROM," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 342–43; also Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, pp. 197–98.

88 Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, pp. 48–55.

89 Ibid., pp. 56–63.

90 A. Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji: kupolne džamije* [Sixteenth-Century Islamic Monumental Art in Yugoslavia: Domed Mosques] (Belgrade, 1984), pp. 23–24; see also Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, pp. 68–74.

91 P. Miljković-Pepek, "Daut Pasha's Hamam, Skopje, FYROM," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 326–29; also Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, pp. 176–82.

92 Kumbardži-Bogoeviḱ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, pp. 156–60.

93 For a summary of Gazi Husref-beg's contribution to the growth of Sarajevo, see Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 30–41.

94 Ibid., p. 32, who provides documentary evidence for both. Dubrovnik stonemasons, smiths, timber construction workers, as well as glaziers, are mentioned as working on the mosque in the archival records dated between 1529 and 1531.

95 H. Redžić, *Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini* [Studies on Islamic Architectural Heritage] (Sarajevo, 1983), pp. 275–86.

96 The main general history of Belgrade in the late Middle Ages is J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku* [Beograd au môyen âge] (Belgrade, 1967).

97 G. Elezović and G. Škrivanić, *Kako su Turci posle više opsada zauzeli Beograd* [The Capture of Belgrade by the Turks after Repeated Sieges] (Belgrade, 1956). On the fall of Belgrade under Ottoman control, see Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku*, chapter 7. D. Djurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima, 1521–1867: arhitektonsko-urbanistička studija* [Belgrade as an Oriental Town under the Turks, from 1521 until 1867: An Architectural-Urban Study] (Belgrade 1977), though flawed in some of its details, remains a major resource of information pertaining to the built environment of Belgrade under the Ottomans.

98 A. Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans, 1820–1920* (Thessaloniki, 1996), especially pp. 41–43.

99 Now in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the so-called Wathay Codex has a catalogue no. K 62; the panorama of Belgrade is on fols. 23v–24r. M. Bajalović Hadži-Pešić, "Beograd 1603 godine, kako ga je video jedan ratni zarobljenik" [Belgrade in 1603, as Seen by a War Prisoner], *Saopštenja* 17 (1985), pp. 145–53. A facsimile edition of the manuscript has been published along with a commentary volume in Hungarian: *Wathay Ferenc Enekeskönyve* (Budapest, 1976).

100 M. Popović, *Beogradska tvrdjava* [The Fortress of Belgrade] (Belgrade, 1982) [in Serbian with a substantial English summary], is a major historical, archaeological, and architectural study of this important complex, from its Roman beginnings to modern times; and now 2nd edn. (Belgrade, 2006), updated with new photographs and computer-generated three-dimensional reconstructions; also Popović, "Fortifications of Belgrade, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 128–41, a good short overview in English.

101 A. Fotić, "Uloga vakufa u razvoju orijentalnog grada: beogradski vakuf Mehmed-paše Jahjapašića" / "Le rôle de vakuf dans le dévéloppement de la ville orientale: le vakuf de Mehmed Pasha Jahjapachić à Belgrade," in *Socijalna struktura srpskih gradskih naselja, XII–XVIII vek* [Social Structure of Serbian Urban Settlements, 12th–18th Centuries] (Smederevo and Belgrade, 1992), pp. 149–59; and Fotić, "Rustem-pašin vakuf u Beogradu (icareteyn)" [Wakouf de Roustem-Paša à Belgrade (icareteyn)], *Istorijski časopis* 38 (1991), pp. 233–41.

102 Djurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varos pod Turcima*, pp. 17–157, provides extensive information on civic architecture in Belgrade under the Ottomans.

103 For a particularly useful overview of major characteristics of Ottoman cities, see İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, chapter XV.

104 İnalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic city," p. 253.

105 The case of Banjaluka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, though developed mostly after 1550, is very instructive for the understanding of

the role of *vakıfs* in the shaping of an urban center; see S. Husedžinović, "Les vakoufnamas: sources historiques importantes pour la connaisance de la topographie urbaine de Banjaluka du XVIe au XIXe siècles," in *La culture urbaine des Balkans, XVe–XIXe siècles*, ed. N. Tasić and D. Stošić, vol. III (Belgrade and Paris, 1991), pp. 101–42.

106 No general study of Ottoman fortifications exists. A good introduction is S. Peper, "Ottoman Military Architecture in the Early Gunpowder Era: A Reassessment," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. J. D. Tracy (New York, 2000), pp. 282–416.

107 Z. Ahunbay, "Fortress of Rumeli Hisar, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 166–69, with older literature on the subject.

108 See the discussion of Yedi Kule Kalesi on pp. 712–14, above.

109 B. Özgüven, "Fortress of Kilid-ül-Bahir, Turkey," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 170–73.

110 G. Karaiskai, "Fortress of Bashtovë, Albania," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 154–55.

111 N. Jocović and J. Nešković, "Fortifications of Smederevo, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 132–45.

112 G. Simić and Z. Simić, "Grad Ram" / "La forteresse de Ram," *Saopštenja* 16 (1984), pp. 31–55.

113 M. Popović, "Uticaj pojave topova na razvoj odbrambenih sistema srednjovekovnih gradova u Bosni" / "Influence de l'apparition des canons sur le développement des systèmes défensifs des forteresses médiévales en Bosnie," in *Bosna i Hercegovina u tokovima istorijskih i kulturnih kretanja u jugoistočnoj Evropi: Zbornik referata* (Sarajevo, 1989), pp. 99–110, especially pp. 105–06.

114 For the Albanian examples, see G. Karaiskaj, "Les canonnières dans les fortifications médiévales: leur origine et leur évolution," *Monumentet* 31/1(1986), pp. 93–111 [in Albanian with a French summary, pp. 109–11].

115 E. Karpodine-Dimitriade and N. Lianos, *Kastra tēs Peloponnēsou* [Fortifications of Peloponnesos] (Athens, 1990); also A. Triposkoufi and A. Tsitouri, eds., *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers: Military Architecture Networks* (Athens, 2002).

116 Triposkoufi and Tsitouri, eds., *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 111–15.

117 N. Lianos, "'Castello da Mare': Methoni, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 140–43.

118 G. Simić, "Malo i veliko utvrdjenje Fetislam u Kladovu" / "Fetislam – fortifications de Kladovo," *Saopštenja* 18 (1986), pp. 115–45.

119 İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 36.

120 A. Baçe, "Kalaja e Vlorës" / "La citadelle de Vlore," *Monumentet* 5–6 (1973), pp. 43–57.

121 I. Zdravković, *Izbor gradje za proučavanje spomenika islamske arhitekture u Jugoslaviji* [Selection of Material for the Study of Islamic Architecture in Yugoslavia] (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 58–61.

122 I. N. Traulos, *Poleodomikē exelixis tōn Athēnōn* [Urban Development of Athens] (Athens, 1993), pp. 181–82.

123 M. Kiel, "Little-Known Monuments of Ottoman Turkish Architecture in the Macedonian Province: Štip, Kumanova, Prilep, Strumitsa," *Güney-dogu Avrupa arastırmaları dergisi* 4–5 (1976), pp. 168–70.

124 Brief remarks in M. Kiel, "Osmanische Baudenkmäler in Südosteuropa," in *Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die Osmanen*, ed. H. G. Majer (Munich, 1989), p. 76; and A. K. Orlandos, "Ta Tourkika ktēria tēs Artēs," *Archeion tōn vyzantinōn mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados* 2 (1936), pp. 200–02.

125 Kiel, "Little-Known Monuments of Ottoman Turkish Architecture in the Macedonian Province," p. 64; and more extensively M. Kiel, *Islamic Architecture in Albania* (Istanbul, 1989).

126 Kiel, "Osmanische Baudenkmäler in Südosteuropa," p. 73.

127 Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 24–26.

128 Ibid., pp. 27–28.

129 M. Kiel, "Armenian and Ottoman Influences on a Group of Village Churches in North-Eastern Macedonia," *Revue des études Arméniennes* n. s., 8 (1971), pp. 267–82.

130 Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 32–33.

131 A. Andrejević, *Aladža Džamija u Foči* [Aladža Mosquée à Foča] (Belgrade, 1972), is an excellent monograph on the building with extensive documentation of its decorative ensemble.

132 N. Moutsopoulos, "To tzami tou Osman-Sach sta Trikala", *Byzantina arthra kai meletēmata, 1959–1989* (Thessaloniki, 1990), pp. 1179–1208.

133 No comprehensive study of *hamams* on the Balkan scale exists. An important new comprehensive publication of Ottoman *hamams* on the territory of Greece is: E. I. Kanetakê, *Othômanika loutra ston Elladiko chôro* (Athens, 2004). In addition to presenting more than fifty individual *hamams* still preserved in Greece, with their individual histories and rich documentation, the work has broader significance because it offers some important methodological guidelines that would be applicable to related material elsewhere. Regrettably, the book was published without a summary in any of the Western languages. Other related noteworthy contributions are: V. Stylla, "Hammams du bas môyen âge en Albanie," *Monumentet*, 7–8 (1974), pp. 119–47 [in Albanian with a French summary, pp. 135–37); and A. Andrejević, "Typologie des Hammams turcs en Serbie," in *La culture urbaine des Balkans*, vol. III, ed. V. Han and M. Adamović, pp. 133–45.

134 K. Kreiser, "Bedesten-Bauten in osmanischen Reich," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29 (1979), pp. 367–400; and M. Cesar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System* (Istanbul, 1983), are the only attempts to discuss the architecture of the *bedestan* within the broad framework of the Ottoman Empire as a whole. S. Eyice, "Les bedestens dans l'architecture Turque," in *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di arte turca* (Naples, 1965), pp. 113–17, gives a short overview; Stefanidou, "To mpezesteni tōn Serrōn," in addition to the extensive discussion of the Serres *bedestan*, also offers some general reflections on the typology of the *bedestan* as a building type.

135 Tuleshkov, "Kraip'tnata arkhitektura na k'snoto srednovekovie," discusses some aspects of kervansarays in the Balkans, although his coverage is neither comprehensive nor balanced in terms of the different areas of the Balkans that the book addresses. A far more successful treatment is P. Androudis, *Chania kai karavan-seragia ston Elladiko chōro kai sta Valkania* [Khans and Karavan-Sarays in Greece and in the Balkans] (Thessaloniki, 2004), though chronologically it covers the material through the nineteenth century, thus going well beyond the time frame of this book.

136 Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 113–14.

137 M. Kiel, "Remarks on some Ottoman-Turkish Aqueducts and Water Supply Systems in the Balkans – Kavalla, Chalkis, Aleksinac, Levkas and Ferai/Fetecik," *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus. Commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati* (Utrecht, 1992), especially pp. 108–12. Kiel attributes the construction of

the aqueduct to grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha in 1528–36, but opinions on the matter differ.

138 Necipoğlu (as in f.n.), pp. 140–41.

139 Dž. M. Čelić and M. Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Old Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Sarajevo, 1969), pp. 184–98 [in Serbo-Croatian with extensive English summary]; and M. Gojković, *Stari kameni mostovi* [Old Stone Bridges] (Belgrade, 1989), pp. 48–52 and 114–20 [in Serbian with an extensive English summary].

140 For more on this, see Chapter 10.

141 Gojković, *Stari kameni mostovi*, pp. 130–46.

142 Two brief accounts of Christian church architecture under the Ottomans in the Balkans broadly speaking are: S. Ćurčić, "Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453," in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas (Boulder, NY, and New York, 1988), pp. 59–81, and C. Bouras "The Byzantine Tradition in Church Architecture of the Balkans in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. J. J. Yiannias (Charlottesville, VA, 1991), pp. 107–49. Most of the studies dealing with this architectural heritage are divided strictly along modern national lines. Among these, especially noteworthy are the following general studies:

GREECE: C. Bouras, ed., *Ekklēsies stēn Ellada meta tēn Alosē* [Churches in Greece, 1453–1850], 6 vols. (Athens, 1979–2002). A major contribution, this is essentially a corpus of monuments in Greece; each monument is covered by an essay written by a different author. Written in Greek, the essays all have a summary in one of the Western languages. Vol. VI also contains a comprehensive up-to-date bibliography (pp. 225–85), compiled by C. Bouras, and organized according to the geographic regions of modern Greece. S. Vogiatzis, *Symvolē stēn istoria tēs ekklēsiastikēs architektonikēs tēs kentrikēs Ellados kata to 16o aiōna* [A Contribution to the History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Central Greece during the 16th Century] (Athens, 2000) [in Greek with a substantial English summary]. Though focused on two monastery complexes (Dousiko and Zavorda), the book offers some general thoughts on the architecture of the period in question.

SERBIA: M. Šuput, *Srpska arhitektura u doba turske* vlasti, 1459–1690 [L'architecture serbe pendant la dominion ottomane, 1459–1690] (Belgrade, 1984) [in Serbian with a French summary]; M. Šuput, *Spomenici srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva, XVI–XVII vek* [Monuments of Serbian Sacral Architecture of the 16th and 17th Centuries] (Belgrade, 1991) [in Serbian with an English summary]; O. Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri na području Pećke patrijaršije do 1683 godine* [Churches and monasteries under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć] (Belgrade, 1984); V. Matić, *Arhitektura fruškogorskih manastira: kasnosrednjovekovne crkvene gradjevine* [Architecture of the Monasteries on Fruška Gora: Late Medieval Church Buildings] (Novi Sad, 1984) [in Serbian with a short German summary].

BULGARIA: M. Koeva, *Pametnitsi na kulturata prez b'lgarskoto v'zrazhdane* [Cultural Monuments during the Bulgarian Renaissance] (Sofia, 1977); M. Kiel, *Art and Society in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen, 1985), though focused on Bulgaria, addresses a broader range of issues pertaining to the historiography and ideology of modern scholarship in the Balkans related to the period in question. For a strong, albeit little known methodological rebuttal, see M. Todorova, review of M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, in *Vekove* (1986), no. 4, pp. 81–86 (in Bulgarian).

ALBANIA: P. Thomo, *Kishat pasbizantine në Shqipërinë e Jugut* [The Postbyzantine Churches in Southern Albania] (Tirana, 1998) [in Albanian with an English summary]; A. Meksi and P. Thomo, "Arkhitektura pasbizantine në Shqipëri" [L'architecture postbyzantine en Albanie], *Monumentet* II (1976), pp. 127–45; A. Meksi and P. Thomo, "Arkitektura pasbizantine në Shqipëri: kishat me structure në formë kryqi me kupolë" [L'architecture postbyzantine en Albanie: églises à structure en forme de croix avec coupole], *Monumentet* 20 (1980), pp. 45–68; A. Meksi and P. Thomo, "Arkitektura pasbizantine në Shqipëri: bazilikat" [L'architecture postbyzantine en Albanie: les basiliques], *Monumentet* 21 (1981), pp. 99–148.

143 V. Korać, "Stara crkva u Slankamenu i njeno mesto u razvitku stare srpske arhitekture kasnog srednjeg veka" [L'ancienne église de Slankamen et sa place dans le développément de l'architecture Serbe du môyen âge avancé], *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 6 (1970), pp. 293–412.

144 Matić, *Arhitektura fruškogorskih manastira*.

145 Šuput, *Spomenici srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva*, pp. 129–44.

146 Ibid., pp. 232–44

147 B. Knežević, "Ktitori Lapušnje" [Les fondateurs de Lapušnja], *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 7 (1971), pp. 37–54.

148 V. R. Petković, *Pregled crkvenith spomenika kroz povesnicu srpskog naroda* [Aperçue des monuments réligieux à travers l'histoire serbe] (Belgrade, 1950), pp. 256–57.

149 Šuput, *Spomenici srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva*, pp. 188–92, who alone believes that the church was built after 1557.

150 P. Mylonas, "Le katholikon de Kutlumus," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 42 (1994), pp. 75ff.

151 D. M. Nicol, *Meteora: The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London, 1963).

152 P. Mylonas, "Hē Monē Petras stēn Notia Pindo" [The Monastry of Petra on Southern Mount Pindus], *Ekklēsies stēn Ellada meta tēn Alosē*, ed. Bouras, vol. II, pp. 121–48.

153 C. Bouras, "Hē architektonikē tou katholikou tēs Monēs Agiou Dēmētriou Stomiou (t. Tzagezi)" [The Architecture of the Katholikon of the Monastery of St. Demetrios at Stomion], *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias* ser. 4, 24 (2003), pp. 145–61.

154 C. Siaxabani-Stefanou, "To katholikon tēs Monēs Dionysiou ston Olympo" [The Katholikon of the Monastery of St. Dionysios on Mt. Olympos], in *Ekklēsies stēn Ellada meta tēn Alosē*, ed. Bouras, vol. III, p. 111–24.

155 Šuput, *Spomenici srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva*, pp. 95–96.

156 G. Subotić, "Sveti Djordje u Banjanima: istorija i arhitektura [Saint-Georges de Banjani: histoire et architecture], *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 21 (1985), pp. 135–60.

157 Šuput, *Spomenici srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva*, pp. 32–33.

158 Ibid., pp. 146–50.

159 C. Bouras, *Vizantinē kai metavizantinē architektonikē stēn Ellada* [Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture in Greece], pp. 253–54.

160 B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman, OK, 1972). A most useful essay on the development of the Dubrovnik Republic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is B. Stulli, "Dubrovačka Republika u XV. i XVI. stoljeću," in *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika, XV. i XVI. stoljeće* [The Golden Age of Dubrovnik, XVth and XVIth Centuries], ed. A. Šorić (Zagreb, 1987), pp. 15–25.

161 Stulli, "Dubrovačka Republika u XV. i XVI. stoljeću," p. 20.

162 H. McNeal Caplow, "Michelozzo at Ragusa: New Documents and Revaluations," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31, no. 2 (May 1972), pp. 108–19.

163 Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, p. 290, cat. no. U/5, and p. 292 ("Michelozzo").

164 Ibid., p. 290, cat. no. U/6, and p. 292 ("Michelozzo").

165 Ibid., p. 292, cat. no. U/12.

166 For further preliminary comments, see S. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity: An Introduction to Secular Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, ed. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, pp. 48–50, where the phenomenon is outlined on a broader, Balkan scale.

167 Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, pp. 296–97, cat. no. U/18.

168 Ibid., p. 341, cat. no. K/31.

169 Ibid., p. 327, cat. no. S/29.

170 Ibid., p. 308, cat. no. P/2; and D. Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače* [Maisons et palais de Dubrovnik] (Belgrade, 2000) pp. 114–16.

171 Šorić, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, p. 310, cat. no. P/6.

172 M. Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na Području Dubrovačke Republike* [Planned Construction on the Territory of the Dubrovnik Republic] (Zagreb, 1980); see also N. Grujić, "Prostori dubrovačke ladanjske arhitekture" [Spatial Setting of the Dubrovnik Country Villas], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 399 (Zagreb, 1982) [in Croatian with an Italian summary]. For a discussion of the architecture of these villas, see also I. Zdravković, *Dubrovački dvorci* [Dubrovnik Palaces] (Belgrade, 1951); and most recently Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače*, pp. 177–279.

173 N. Grujić, "Reprezentativna stambena arhitektura – Ljetnikovci" [The Palaces and Villas of Dubrovnik], in *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, ed. Šorić, pp. 70–75.

174 Ibid., p. 318.

175 Ibid., pp. 314–15; Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače*, pp. 212–14.

176 S. M. Nenadović, *Arhitektura u Jugoslaviji od IX–XVIII veka* (Belgrade, 1980), pp. 274–76.

177 M. Prelog, ed., *Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac* [Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 3–6] (1979–82); an important volume of essays devoted to master Juraj (Giorgio) and his time by a group of international scholars. Several of the essays address issues pertaining specifically to the Cathedral of Šibenik.

178 M. Prelog, *Poreč: grad i spomenici* [Poreč: The Town and its Monuments] (Belgrade, 1957), pp. 16–17.

179 Ibid., pp. 125–41.

180 Ibid., pp. 163–65.

181 Ch. Cheilas, "Karakallou Monastery Tower," in Pazaras, ed., *The Towers of Mount Athos*, pp. 112–17.

182 I. A. Papangelos and J. Tavlakis, "The Maritime Fort of Monastery Karakalou in Mt. Athos," *Pyrgoi kai kastra*, ed. N. K. Moutsopoulos (Thessaloniki, 1980), 98–120; also Ch. Cheilas, "The Coastal Tower and Bailey of Karakallou Monastery," in Pazaras, ed., *The Towers of Mount Athos*, pp. 118–21.

183 P. Theocharidis, "The Consolidation Works on the South Tower at Siderokausia, Chalkidiki," *Pyrgoi kai kastra*, ed. N. K. Moutsopoulos, pp. 76–97.

184 V. J. Korać, *Trebinje, Istorijski pregled* (Trebinje. Historical overview) II. *Period od dolaska Turaka do 1878. god.* (Trebinje, 1971), pp. 220–23.

185 Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama* [Travelogue: Fragments related to the Yugoslav lands], translated H. Šabanović (Sarajevo, 1967), pp. 418–19.

186 Korać, p. 221.

187 H. Kreševljaković, "Kule i odžaci u Bosni i Hercegovini" [Les chateaux-forts et les manoirs (odzak) de Bosnie et Herzégovine], *Naše starine* 2 (1954), 71–86 [Bosnia and Herzegovina]; A. Deroko, *Narodno neimarstvo* (Architecture folklorique), 1 (Belgrade, 1968), pp. 99–102 [Serbia]; F. Drançolli, *Kulla Shqiptare* [The Albanian *kulla*] (Prishtina, 2001), in Albanian with an English summary; this book is marked by the flawed assumption that the fortified residence (*kulla*) is a uniquely Albanian phenomenon [Albania]; N. G. Vasilatos, *Kastra kai pyrgoi tēs proepanastatikēs Peloponnēsou* [English summary: "Prygoi: Fortified houses in the villages and the countryside of premodern Peloponnesus] (Athens, 1987–88) and G. Saïtas, *Manē. Ellēnikē paradosiakē architektonikē* (Athens, 1992) [Manē, Greece].

188 S. Sekulić–Gvozdanović, *Fortress-Churches in Croatia* (Zagreb, 1995). A large number of churches referred to by the author are merely massively built churches, and have no distinctive "fortress-like" elements or characteristics.

EPILOGUE

1 E. Hadjitryphonos, "Some Reflections on the preservation of Architectural Heritage of a Critical Historical period in the Balkans," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 53–68.

2 N. Tuleshkov, *Arkhitekturnoto izkustvo na starite Bŭlgari* [Architecture of the Old Bulgarians], vol. 1: *Srednovekovie* [The Middle Ages] (Sofia, 2001). The author essentially argues that Serbia had no architecture of its own during the medieval period. Instead, he sees it as an amalgam of the Croatian and Bulgarian inputs, while completely ignoring the Byzantine role in the shaping of larger regional developments in the Balkans, especially of that in Bulgaria.

3 Hadjitryphonos, "Some Reflections on the Preservation of Architectural Heritage of a Critical Historical Period in the Balkans."

4 D. Koco, "Klimentoviot manastir Sv. Pantelejmon i raskopkata pri 'Imaret' vo Ohrid" [Le monastère de St. Pantéléimon fondé par St. Clément et les foilles d' 'Imaret' à Ohride], *Godišen zbornik. Filozofski fakultet* 1 (1948), pp. 129–82.

5 The new church design displays a curious blend of architectural styles very obviously based on the mid-tenth-century triconch church of Panagia Kastriotissa (Koumbelidiki) at Kastoria and the late thirteenth-century church of Theotokos Perivleptos at Ohrid, reflecting the presumed styles of the two construction phases associated with the original church, for which no actual documentation exists.

6 Thus, G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971, reprinted 1992), p. 313, devotes but a single sentence to it, while G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2005), p. 441, devotes it a paragraph.

7 A Google internet search conducted in March 2007 listed a formidable 138,000 references to the monument, reflecting the degree of publicity the bridge has attracted since its destruction in 1992.

8 Z. Ahunbay, "Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Mostar and Its Preservation," in *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: "A Supra-National Heritage"*, ed. N. Akin et al. (Harbiye-Istanbul, 1999), pp. 382–90, especially p. 383.

9 L. Kojić, *Manastir Žitomislić* (Sarajevo, 1983).

10 Our lament for its disappearance can be muted in small part only by the realization that it had been thoroughly documented and published before its unfortunate destruction. A. Andrejević, *Aladža Džamija u Foči* [Aladža Mosqué à Foča] (Belgrade, 1972).

11 S. Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 65–84, especially pp. 76–77.

12 S. Ćurčić, "Destruction of Serbian Cultural Patrimony in Kosovo: A World-Wide Precedent?" *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 26 (2000), pp. 101–06, especially pp. 103–04.

13 *Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe: Kosovo. Protection and Conservation of a Multi-Ethnic Heritage in Danger. Mission Report, 26–30 April 2004*, UNESCO (Venice, 2004), occasioned by the violence of March 2004 and the resulting damage inflicted on the monuments in Prizren, especially to Bogorodica Ljeviška. The ultimate result of this episode was a decisive action on the part of UNESCO that put Bogorodica Ljeviška on its List of World Heritage Monuments, as well as on its List of Most Endangered Monuments, in July 2006. See now also A. Lidov, ed., *Kosovo: Orthodox Heritage and Contemporary Catastrophe* (Moscow, 2007).

14 F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vol. I (Oxford, 1929), p. 129; see also L. Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, trans. A. Cutler (University Park, PA, and London, 1969), pp. 5–6.

15 M. Letts, trans. and ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff Knight from Cologne . . . Which He Accomplished in the Years 1496 to 1499*, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. 94 (London, 1946), p. 247.

16 S. Ćurčić, "Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453," in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas (Boulder, CO, and New York, 1988), especially pp. 68–72.

17 S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, PA, and London, 1979), pp. 17–18.

18 M. Čanak-Medić, "Arhiepiskop Danilo II i arhitektura Pećke Patrijaršije," in *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade), especially pp. 299–303 [French summary: "L'archevêque Danilo II et l'architecture du Patriarchat du Peć].

19 R. Radić, "Hilandarska zvona su utihnula 1491. godine," in *Osam vekova Hilandara: istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 85–92 [English summary: "Hilandar Bells Became Silent in 1491].

20 H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13–14 (1963–64), pp. 128–93.

21 The three are: Kilise Camii, the main church of Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), and the church of Kyriotissa (Kalenderhane Camii). See H. Hallensleben, "Zur Annexbauten der Kilise Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 15 (1965), pp. 323–30; R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 106–10; and C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), respectively.

22 G. Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. S. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 195–225, especially. Now also: A. Berger, "Der Glockenturm der Hagia Sophia," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri 8* (Istanbul, 2004), 59–73.

23 G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910).

24 G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), p. 135.

25 The list of scholars subscribing to Miller's hypothesis is extensive; among the few more significant ones are H. Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Glockentürme," *Kunstchronik* 19/10 (October 1966), pp. 309–11; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), p. 146; E. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton, NJ, 1985), chapter 3, especially p. 23.

26 A. Dundes, ed., *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook* (Madison, WI, and London, 1996), especially pp. 186–90. I owe the reference to this important book to Prof. Margaret Beisinger.

27 Ibid., p. 3.

28 M. Eliade, "Master Manole and the Monastery of Arges," in *The Walled-Up Wife*, ed. Dundes, pp. 71–84 [first published in English in M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis: The Vanishing God* (Chicago, IL, and London, 1972), pp. 164–90], is one of the richest essays on the general subject, though focused on a particular, Romanian version of the ballad.

29 Ibid., especially pp. 81–83.

30 I. Taurisano, *Beata Osanna da Caattaro* (Rome, 1929), 129–31, records nine cases of voluntarily walled-up women in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Kotor. Known as *reclatusae*, these were evidently virgins or widows committed to unconditional chastity and, therefore, uncompromising seclusion. Similar phenomena were noted in village churches near Dubrovnik; cf. K. Jireček and J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*, v. 2 (Belgrade, 1952), 276. I owe these reference to Prof. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, to whom I am grateful.

31 N. Moutsopoulos, "Byzantine Bridge, Karytaina, Greece," *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, eds. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 334–335.

32 S. Ćurčić, "Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers: Survival of an Early Byzantine Monastic Concept and Its Meaning," *Sofia. Sbornik statei po iskusstvu Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi v chest A.I. Komecha* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 491–514.

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